

Reporting on Zimbabwe's 2018 elections

A POST-ELECTION ANALYSIS



**MEDIA
MONITORS**
PUTTING THE MEDIA INTO PERSPECTIVE

Table of Contents

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ii
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	iii
1.0 INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND	1
PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS	8
2.0 MEDIA MONITORING OF THE NEWS AGENDA	8
3.0 MONITORING POLITICAL PLURALISM	13
4.0 GENDER REPRESENTATION DURING THE 2018 ELECTIONS	18
5.0 MEDIA CONDUCT IN ELECTION PROGRAMMING - BROADCAST MEDIA	24
6.0 MEDIA'S CONDUCT IN ELECTION REPORTING	28
7.0 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS	34
ANNEX 1: HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS REPORTED IN THE MAINSTREAM MEDIA	35
ANNEX 2: LIST OF ACRONYMS	37

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Executive Summary

Zimbabwe's 2018 harmonised national elections presented a unique opportunity for the media and their audiences alike. In previous election periods, the local media received severe criticism for their excessively partisan positions, which had been characterized by hate speech, editorialised news content, sensationalism, bias, and even fake news, mainly emanating from the dominant government-controlled public media. The big question was: Could the media collectively redeem itself from such damaging epithets this time around?

At the same time, the 2018 elections represented a crucial opportunity for President Emmerson Mnangagwa to establish his own legitimacy as president and restore that of his ZANU PF administration since seizing power in a military coup in November 2017.

In the intervening eight months (between the coup and the election) President Mnangagwa spared no effort in his attempts to convince the nation - and the world - that under his watch he would undertake deep and widespread political and economic reforms that would bring a complete break from the old, repressive ways of doing business. He described what he called his "Second Republic" as a "new dispensation" that would restore democracy, respect for the rule of law, and open the country to international investors to help revive Zimbabwe's comatose economy. "Zimbabwe is open for business," was his mantra, and as a first step to convincing the international community of his commitment to reform, he repeatedly promised "a free, fair and peaceful election".

How would this commitment affect the operating environment for the media? For the first time since the turn of the century, political parties were able to campaign freely in formerly "no-go" rural areas regarded as ZANU PF strongholds - and the media were free to follow. This, in itself, represented a significant change, together with the licensing of eight local commercial radio stations and two new weekly newspapers, *Business Weekly* and the *Business Times*. These new news outlets would be involved in a national election for the first time and represented a grudging expansion of the local media space granted by the ZANU PF government.

However, this small progress (mainly in the broadcasting field) was offset by the closure of several established news outlets since the 2013 harmonised elections due to the increasingly hostile economic environment. Three newspapers, *The Zimbabwean*, *SouthernEye* and *The Zimbabwe Mail* stopped publishing after the 2013 elections, and the national public broadcaster, ZBC, suspended the operations of its second television channel, ZTV2, and one of its radio stations, Voice of Zimbabwe.

So how did they fare? Certainly, under Mnangagwa's rule the physical operating environment for media houses improved significantly in the absence of physical threats of violence and banning orders.

But the challenges this time were more subtle and complex, with the media required to understand - and respond to - sometimes-convoluted legal and electoral administration issues, as well as investigating claims made by various political contestants.

Media Monitors observed that although the media reported extensively on election administration issues and electoral

irregularities, they struggled to clearly articulate the implications of the irregularities they reported and the allegations of maladministration levelled against the country's election management body, the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC). In some of the contentious issues they reported on, there was very little evidence from the media to put to rest any confusion arising from electoral administration processes. There was a tendency by the media to rely on the claims of political players and election administrators without independent investigation to verify claims and clarify disputes and confusion over administrative issues.

However, the privately owned press did make commendable efforts to help interpret the electoral processes for the electorate by enlisting commentary from civil society groups and political analysts. They also carried profiles of candidates from various political parties at some point during the campaign period; they allocated some less well-known presidential candidates, such as Blessing Kasiyamhuru and Harry Peter Wilson, columns to articulate their aspirations.

One of the limitations of the private press was the reactionary nature of their coverage, which seemed to be driven by events and pronouncements instead of using their journalistic intuition to dig deeper and investigate the impact of some of these irregularities in their own right before the opposition parties raised their own complaints.

In as much as they documented cases of human rights violations, the privately owned media appeared to lose sight of key issues in the election environment. For example, they reported on the alleged deployment of 5,000 soldiers to rural areas, but did not appear to attempt to verify this claim. Most of the media outlets that reported the issue, merely reported the claim - and the denials from the military and other sources. Nor did they attempt to verify or evaluate the impact of the more subtle forms of intimidation that were reported to be taking place, especially in the rural communities, such as politicised food distribution, taking voter registration slips from the public and threats of "retribution" if voters voted "wrongly". Whereas in previous elections it would have been difficult to verify these claims, the less tense and repressive environment that prevailed during this election period represented the best opportunity for the media to go out and investigate these perennial claims first-hand.

One of the media's primary roles was to assess whether the electoral processes were being handled according to the law, but they struggled to make a plausible case to expose electoral malpractice. For example, before the election was proclaimed the Parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Justice and Legal Affairs had called for electoral reforms to be included in the Electoral Amendment Bill, but when many of these "minimum reforms" were not included when the Bill was gazetted into law there was no outcry from the media. Subsequently, many of the court cases challenging the legality of some of the electoral processes were dismissed and the media failed to link these to the failure to include many of these reforms in the amended Electoral Act.

The media's main focus in this election was on the campaigns of the presidential candidates without paying much attention to the activities of candidates vying for the National Assembly and local authority seats. There was need for the media to also document



what candidates at all levels were planning to do for their constituencies. This was prudent since MPs and councillors would have a more direct influence on the welfare of their constituencies. Even though the electorate had information on the presidential candidates they did not have adequate information about many of the aspiring councillors. Indeed, the results of these elections - and even the vote for MPs - tended to be overshadowed by issues surrounding the presidential vote, especially the August 1st killing of six civilians in Harare following the deployment of the military to "assist" the police in quelling riotous demonstrators protesting ZEC's delay in releasing the results of the presidential election.

The state-owned media once again wilfully failed to fulfil their public service mandate of neutrality and their function as an outlet for the expression of all Zimbabwe's diverse political opinion and players. They were, as in previous elections since the turn of the century, blatantly biased in favour of ZANU PF. It had been hoped that Mnangagwa's promised political reforms would include reform of the media environment, and especially the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC) the country's national public broadcaster. The nation hoped that Zimpapers too, would be reformed, since the Zimbabwe Mass Media Trust holds a majority stake in the country's most dominant newspaper business (which has also become a broadcaster) "on behalf of the people of Zimbabwe" specifically to protect its activities from political interference from government and private enterprise.

But these public service mandates were flagrantly ignored and both major news outlets remained mouthpieces of the ruling party and its new leader. Such crude violations of the country's Constitution is amplified by the fact that ZBC's television channel, ZTV, continues to enjoy an illegal monopoly of television broadcasting.

Section 61 (4) of the Constitution specifically states that all state-owned media must:

- a) Be free to determine independently the editorial content of their broadcasts and other communications
- b) Be impartial
- c) Afford fair opportunity for presentation of divergent views and dissenting opinions.

Despite these clear regulations, it appears there is an invisible hand controlling the editorial stance taken by the state-owned media. ZANU PF enjoyed both dominant and positive coverage in the Zimpapers' titles and throughout ZBC's programming. These two news outlets passively followed up on ZANU PF's campaigns without interrogating the feasibility of their proposals or holding party officials to account. They were also invariably critical of the opposition, particularly the MDC Alliance that was persistently framed in a negative light. Their analysis of the opposition parties' manifestos and activities was not fair or balanced, using unprofessional techniques such as selective sourcing, denial of the right of reply, editorialised intrusions and even fake news to discredit them. Equally, their reluctance to subject ZANU PF's pronouncements and activities to the same critical scrutiny compromised the credibility of their reports. Such bias also paralysed their capacity to hold ZEC accountable for its lack of transparency and evasiveness, particularly in relation to its reluctance to release the voters' roll to opposition parties.

Government's efforts to convince the nation and the international community that it was reforming the country's media landscape by granting broadcasting licenses to so-called independent local and national private commercial broadcasters has also been severely

criticised for the lack of transparency in the licensing process, which led to the establishment of two national broadcasting stations, Star FM and ZiFM. Star FM is owned and operated by the Zimbabwe Mass Media Trust's Zimpapers group, publishers of *The Herald* and *Sunday Mail*, among other major print products. It should, therefore, adhere to the laws imposed on state-owned media by the Constitution, but instead, purports to operate as an independent private commercial broadcaster. ZiFM is a private commercial national broadcaster, but was established by a private company, AB Communications that was owned by a former ZANU PF government minister Supa Mandiwanzira.

These issues raised questions about the content of these stations' programming. However, Media Monitors found that while they were not openly biased towards ZANU PF, they did not hold the party to account, avoided serious investigation of electoral irregularities and tended to be critical of ZANU PF's political opposition. The local commercial radio stations (licensed since the last election) gave the most publicity to independent candidates. These stations also contributed marginally to the improvement of diversity in the Zimbabwean media landscape, mainly due to their regional focus covering political actors contesting within their areas of influence.

The country's mainstream media had the daunting task of ensuring all 55 political parties contesting the 2018 harmonised elections were given fair, balanced and equitable coverage as required by Zimbabwe's Constitution, the Electoral Act and Statutory Instrument 33 of 2008. Overall, 53 of the 55 political parties did receive some form of coverage in the news platforms monitored in this report. Only, Suffering Voices of Zimbabwe (SUVOZ) and Election Reform Agenda (ERA) were not covered at all. The traditional political parties received most media exposure with ZANUPF, MDC Alliance and independents (most of whom were former MDC Alliance and ZANU PF members) comprising 79% of the total media coverage monitored, while just 21% was shared among the remaining 51 political parties. While the coverage was not balanced, it was difficult to determine whether it was inequitable since most of the political parties were contesting in their first election and were competing for fewer seats than the established political parties. It might be helpful if a definition of "equitable coverage" is more clearly described in the Electoral Act, as it will help guide the media in their representation of political actors.

Women's participation as candidates was very low. They comprised just 17% of the candidates contesting at all levels of 2018's harmonised elections. This was testament to the dominance of men in the political arena. Despite their limited participation however, they were further marginalized in the media as their voices were heard in just 9% of the total coverage. In addition, female participants were subjected to hate language and were frequently stereotyped in the media exposure they received. The nature of this coverage does nothing to encourage aspiring female political players and could deter those few women who do take part in Zimbabwe's male-dominated political landscape from pursuing their ambitions.

Most surprisingly, the media also marginalized the voice the country's youth, in spite of the fact that ZEC has stated that the 18-40 age group constitutes 60% of registered voters. But the media chose to feature them in just 4% of their overall election coverage. This was extraordinary because the media ignored a golden opportunity to air the voice of the country's youths about their needs and concerns as well as their opinions on governance issues - and to interrogate the various contestants about what they were going to do for youths. However, in most cases, when issues affecting youths were discussed, their voices were not heard; instead older politicians spoke on their behalf.

1.0 Introduction and Background

1.1 Introduction

This report is a reflection of the performance of selected local media outlets in the 2018 elections. It presents findings on reporting trends that were observed in the run-up to the July 30 elections based on monitoring by Media Monitors from the day the election was proclaimed on May 31, to August 24 when the election result was announced after the Constitutional Court's ruling that declared Emmerson Mnangagwa the winner of the presidential race. The study monitored the representation of political parties, candidates, government officials and the prevailing issues, as well as the professional conduct of the media in covering the electoral processes leading up to the election.

The main objective of this report is to assess the performance of a selected cross-section of Zimbabwe's mainstream media in their coverage of the 2018 elections in order to create an evidence base on the quality of reporting observed in the local media. It is intended that this report will help inform future interventions on the nature of election reporting in the country.

The report also attempts to understand the media's role in the election and whether:

- They provided adequate and reliable information on the various electoral processes that took place during the electoral period.
- The contesting political parties and candidates received fair and equitable coverage and were given enough time and space in the media to articulate their manifestos so that the electorate had sufficient information to make informed choices about who to vote for.
- They monitored the administration of the election, to identify irregularities and violations that could tarnish the integrity of the election.

Media Monitors' analysis was guided by national and international standards of professional and ethical journalism. In Zimbabwe obligations on the media and elections are contained in the national Constitution, the Electoral Act and statutory instruments that regulate the conduct of the media during elections.

1.2 Background

Monitoring for this report began when the election date was proclaimed on May 31, marking the start of the official electoral period. It continued up to the date the results of the elections were

announced following the conclusion of the Constitutional Court hearing.

The election represented a significant shift in Zimbabwe's political landscape: It was the first election since the emergence of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) in 1999 that did not feature perennial rivals, former President Robert Mugabe and the MDC's late Morgan Tsvangirai. The presidential race included 23 new candidates, 19 men and four women. Another outstanding factor was that an unprecedented 55 political parties contested the election, which presented more options for the electorate to choose from, although some of these were clearly "briefcase" parties set up just prior to the election either to confuse the electorate, or as a result of personal vanity.

The election was used by the incumbent ZANU (PF) government as a platform to retrieve the country's long-lost legitimacy as an investment-friendly destination and to get rid of the tag of being regarded as a Pariah state.

The Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) embarked on a national biometric voter registration exercise to create an entirely new voters' roll that resulted in the registration of 5,2 million voters. ZEC struggled to convince the nation of its independence from the ruling party, especially given its dubious track record in previous elections. Its commitment to electoral reforms was also called into question by opposition parties, and its failure to conduct its business transparently and in consultation with all political players was an endless source of friction.

Economically, President Mnangagwa's administration exhibited the investment opportunities in Zimbabwe through his "*Zimbabwe is open for business*" mantra and his repeated statements pledging a "free and fair" election. This saw more international observer missions being invited to observe the elections and included the Commonwealth (a group from which Zimbabwe had withdrawn in 2003 following its suspension a year earlier), The European Union, IRI/NDI, SADC, COMESA and the African Union among others.

Mnangagwa's promise of "a free, fair and peaceful election" meant that for the first time in 20 years, the physical environment allowed the media to conduct their business with minimal official harassment, including travelling to districts previously regarded as "no-go areas" to hear and report on the voices of rural communities. Few seemed to take up this opportunity. Apart from reporting on the pronouncements and activities of all the political contestants, the media was also charged with understanding and reporting on the numerous administrative electoral processes that sparked contention and several legal challenges. And eight new local commercial radio stations would be reporting on a national election exercise for the first time. Would they contribute positively to the media's overall coverage of elections in the districts they served?

1.3 Media landscape

1.3.1 Broadcasters

Broadcast media is widely acknowledged to have a greater influence on public opinion because of the wider reach it has compared to the print media. It is officially recognised that the airwaves are a public resource, with Zimbabwe placing licensing requirements that seek to regulate the airwaves, though reform of these restrictive laws still needs to take place.

State broadcasters

The Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC) is the country's national public broadcaster, as defined by the Broadcasting Services Act. ZBC operates one television channel (ZTV) and four radio stations, SFM (formerly Spot FM), Radio Zimbabwe, Power FM and National FM.

Private commercial radio stations

Zimbabwe has two national commercial radio stations (ZiFM and Star FM). The two stations are owned by AB Communications and Zimbabwe Newspapers (Zimpapers) respectively.

Local private commercial stations

There are eight local commercial radio stations in Zimbabwe; these are situated in seven of the country's 10 provinces. Local commercial radio stations transmit within a 40 km radius. Below is a list of the local commercial stations.

Table 1: Scope of transmission for local commercial radio stations

Local Commercial Station	Area of Transmission
98.4FM	Gweru
Breeze FM	Victoria Falls
Capitalk FM	Harare
Diamond FM	Mutare
Hevoi FM	Masvingo
Nyaminyami FM	Kariba
Skyz FM	Bulawayo
Ya FM	Zvishavane

Radio listenership in Zimbabwe

Total listeners across the country is estimated at over nine million. ZBC's Radio Zimbabwe is estimated by the Zimbabwe All Media Products Survey (ZAMPS)¹ to have the highest percentage share of the national audience at 43%. The other stations' share appears in the following table:

Table 2: Radio listenership in Zimbabwe

Radio station	Audience
National	
Radio Zimbabwe	40%
Star FM	14%
Power FM	11%
ZiFM	4%
VOA	3%
Classic 263	1%
National FM	17%
Regional (listenership within their sphere of influence)	
Hevoi	2%
Ya FM	3%
Diamond FM	3%

Reach of ZBC radio stations

Of the ZBC radio stations, Radio Zimbabwe's coverage is listed as +80 percent of the country's territory, while the other three stations are rated at 70 percent. Overall, geographical coverage for radio is 72 percent within Zimbabwe. However, this figure fluctuates from station to station with Radio Zimbabwe being the most accessible with an estimated coverage of 95% reception. It is followed by Power FM, which has a reception in 88% of surveyed regions and SFM with the lowest coverage at 52 %.

1.3.2 Newspapers

State owned/government-controlled newspapers

By definition, the Zimbabwe Newspapers' Group (Zimpapers) with a 51% shareholding held by the Zimbabwe Mass Media Trust (ZMMT) qualifies as a state-owned broadcaster/publisher, with similar expectations on its performance as ZBC. Zimpapers runs four daily newspapers and seven weeklies, as well as three radio stations (one national and two local). The radio stations purport to be "independent commercial" radio stations, but since they are wholly owned by the Zimpapers Group, they should be operating as state-owned commercial broadcasters and should be governed by strict neutrality laws that govern state-owned public broadcasters.

Private print media

It is relatively easy to register private print media in Zimbabwe, but the market is dominated by two publishers; Alpha Media Holdings (publishers of *NewsDay*, *The Standard* and *Zimbabwe Independent*), and Associated Newspapers of Zimbabwe (publishers of the *Daily News*, *The Daily News on Sunday*, and the *Financial Gazette*), in addition to other, smaller regional publications, such as *The Mirror* in Masvingo. Private print media have a moral obligation to report in the public interest, an obligation pro-actively taken on by the private print media

that belong to an industry self-regulating body, the Voluntary Media Council of Zimbabwe (VMCZ). Alpha Media Holdings, also notably has an ombudsman to ensure its publications subscribe to fair, accurate and professional reporting standards.

1.4 Constitutional and legislative framework

Zimbabwe's Constitution provides for freedom of expression and freedom of the media in Section 61, and this right extends to all media, both private and publicly owned. The Constitution however, places a special mandate on state-owned media to be free to determine editorial content, to be impartial, and to provide fair opportunity for the presentation of divergent views and dissenting opinions. This distinction between the private and public media and their responsibilities is important in reflecting the role that each media plays in political and election reporting.

Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment (No. 20)

Section 61 of Zimbabwe's Constitution specifically enshrines freedom of expression and the media, putting in place obligations for the State and the media in promoting this right. While every person is entitled to freedom of the media, including protection of the confidentiality of journalists' sources of information, Section 61 (4) specifically states that all state-owned media must:

- a) Be free to determine independently the editorial content of their broadcasts and other communications;
- b) Be impartial; and
- c) Afford fair opportunity for the presentation of divergent views and dissenting opinions

The Constitution places exceptions to freedom of expression and freedom of the media as these freedoms will not include:

- a) Incitement to violence;
- b) Advocacy of hatred or hate speech;
- c) Malicious injury to a person's reputation or dignity; or
- d) Malicious or unwarranted breach of a person's right to privacy

Electoral Act (Chapter 2:13)

Sections 160 E - K of the Electoral Act sets out the parameters of the media's coverage of elections.

- **Access to broadcasting media (160G)**

This section provides for the public media's coverage of political parties where all political parties and candidates are to be treated fairly and time allocated in a balanced and equitable manner.

- **Political advertising in broadcasting and print media (160H)**

Similar terms and conditions of publication of political adverts should be given to all political parties and candidates by the media, should they choose to publish political adverts.

- **Conduct of news media during an election period (160J)**

During an election period, broadcasters and print publishers shall ensure that:

- (a) all political parties and candidates are treated equitably in their news media, in regard to the extent, timing and prominence of the coverage accorded to them;
- (b) reports on the election in their news media are factually accurate, complete and fair;
- (c) a clear distinction is made between factual reporting on the election and editorial comment on it;
- (d) inaccuracies in reports on the election are rectified without delay and with due prominence;
- (e) political parties and candidates are afforded a reasonable right of reply to any allegations made in their news media that are claimed by the political parties or candidates concerned to be false;
- (f) their news media do not promote political parties or candidates that encourage violence or hatred against any class of person in Zimbabwe
- (g) their news media avoid language that
 - (i) encourages racial, ethnic or religious prejudice or hatred; or
 - (ii) encourages or incites violence; or
 - (iii) is likely to lead to undue public contempt towards any political party, candidate or class of person in Zimbabwe.

¹ 2018 Q1 National Survey Results presentation

2018

amendments to the Electoral Act

Section 160J - Conduct of the news media during election period now has a subsection 2, which reads:

(2) The Commission may, after consultation with the Minister, by notice in the Gazette, activate the operation of subsection (1) and of any specified provision of this Part before an election period, so, however, that subsection (1) and the specified provisions take effect from any specified date on or after the beginning of the period of six months before the end of the five-year term of Parliament as specified in section 143 of the Constitution.

- **Monitoring of the media during an election**

Section 160K of the Electoral Act states that the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission will monitor the Zimbabwean news media during any election period with the assistance of the Zimbabwe Media Commission and the Broadcasting Authority of Zimbabwe. Anyone else can, however, monitor news media and report on their conduct during elections.

SI 33 of 2008

The Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (Media Coverage of Elections) Regulations 2008 (SI 33 of 2008), sets regulations on:

- Election programmes to be broadcast - These programmes should be clearly defined and identified as such. The public broadcaster is required to include programmes where political parties and candidates present their election manifestos and policies without being interviewed; discussions on elections; and interviews with candidates and representatives of political parties.
- The equal allocation of airtime on radio and TV. The public broadcaster is required to allocate airtime equitably among contesting political parties, and carry election adverts upon payment of the specified fee.
- Election broadcasts - A public broadcaster is required to transmit programmes during prime time and in a manner that the programme does not follow immediately before or after another election broadcast. Programmes and adverts do not incite violence or advocate hatred based on race, ethnicity, sex, gender, religion or political conviction and that constitutes incitement to cause harm.
- Election adverts - A public broadcaster is required to allocate four hours of available purchasable time during an election period for election advertisements and these will be equitably distributed to political parties and candidates taking into consideration the number of constituencies being contested by respective political parties.

- Election publications (print media) must not incite violence or advocate hatred based on race, ethnicity, sex, gender, religion or political conviction and that constitutes incitement to cause harm in their election publications.
- Media conduct - News and current affairs programmes on elections are required to be fair, accurate, complete and balanced in both print and electronic media. Political parties are also entitled to the right of reply within 24 hours of a broadcast or publication.
- An appeal mechanism for aggrieved parties - An appeal mechanism for aggrieved candidates and parties is provided for in the Statutory Instrument. An appeal during elections is made to the electoral commission and the period between lodging a complaint and its determination will not exceed two days.

1.5 Standards of election reporting

1.5.1 Professional and ethical conduct

During elections, the media is required to observe the core values of journalism which include:

- Accuracy - News stories must be accurate, factual and based on sound evidence. Names, places, descriptions and quotes must be correct and contextual.
- Balance - Media must reflect the views of different parties and candidates.
- Opinion and analysis - Editorial opinion must be clearly distinct from fact and news.
- Use of language - Media must avoid language that encourages stereotypes, constitutes hate speech and incites violence.
- Diversity - Media must reflect diversity and plurality of voices in their coverage and ensure gender balance and sensitivity in the treatment of men and women.

1.5.2 A duty to inform

While all media have a role to inform the public, publicly owned and funded media have special obligations imposed on them during elections. ZBC has a mandate to inform the public about matters relevant to elections in a neutral manner, while ensuring that programming reaches and reflects all groups in society. Where ZBC provides direct access programming, where

contestants present information about themselves and their views to the public;

- Space and time should be allocated on a fair, balanced and non-discriminatory basis.
- The amount of time allocated should be sufficient for parties and candidates to communicate their messages.
- Programmes should be aired at times that are likely to reach the largest audiences for all parties.
- Time slots should be assigned in an equitable manner.

One of the 10 principles for conducting democratic elections in the SADC Principles and Guidelines Governing Democratic Elections state the need to allow “equal opportunity for all political parties to access state media” (Section 2.1.5)

1.5.3 Political Pluralism

On reporting on political parties and candidates

- All broadcasters and print publishers are mandated to ensure that “all political parties and candidates are treated equitably in their news media in regard to the extent, timing and prominence of the coverage accorded to them,” in Section 160J of the Electoral Act.
- News media are also obliged to afford political parties and candidates a reasonable right of reply to any allegations made in their news media that are claimed by political parties and candidates concerned to be false.
- News media should not promote political parties and candidates that encourage violence or hatred against any class of persons in Zimbabwe.

1.6 Media and elections 2000 - 2013

From independence in 1980 until 2013, Zimbabwe’s old Constitution protected freedom of expression in Section 20, although freedom of the media was not expressly provided for. Until 2000, there was no media-specific legislation, and no specific rules relating to reporting by the media during an election. International standards on election reporting were therefore used to measure media performance. The legislative environment however, changed over the years, with various pieces of legislation introduced from 2001 as highlighted in Table 1 below.

The introduction of the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA) had the effect of closing the media space, particularly the space in which the private media was operating. The closure of *The Daily News* in 2003 followed by other publications such as the *Tribune* and *Weekly Times* saw the dominance of government-controlled public media in elections held from 2005 onwards. The main trend in election news reporting saw an increasingly polarized media environment. Public media, particularly the ZBC maintained a pro-ZANU PF reporting stance. In elections from 2000 to 2005 space afforded to ZANU PF for example, went up from 91 to 98.7 percent with very little space offered to the opposition political parties. In this period, space afforded to ZANU PF in *The Herald* went up from 70 - 81%, and opposition voices were almost non-existent. Where opposition parties featured in these state-owned media, reporting was negative. During its existence, the *Daily News* in 2000 carried 30% ZANU PF voices as opposed 19% for the MDC. But in the 2002 Presidential elections, they carried 60% MDC voices as opposed to 37% ZANU PF voices.

While reporting trends tended to be increasingly unbalanced and biased in the media, legislation was passed that sought to enhance direct access programmes by the various political parties. On ZTV, while each party was allocated just 15 minutes of direct access programming, this was increased to over two hours each for the bigger political parties, with the smallest political party allocated one hour and forty-five minutes. While this direct access programming allowed more time to political parties, reporting in the various elections till 2013 remained skewed and heavily polarized. In 2013, the Zimbabwe Media Commission (ZEC's media monitoring election partner) noted in its 2013 report that "the media has neither been fair, objective nor factual in the coverage of political parties and players". The report noted that Zimpapers newspapers supported ZANU PF and the private papers endorsed MDC T. Their surprising conclusion however, was that this had resulted in "unintentional balance" in the mainstream media in coverage of the two parties.

Table 3: Media-related legislation and regulations

2000 parliamentary elections	2002 presidential and mayoral elections	2005 parliamentary election	2008 Harmonized elections and run-off
No media regulations	AIPPA 2001 setting up of a Media Information Commission (MIC) to register media houses, accredit journalists, monitor media content and investigate complaints against the media POSA 2002 banned communication or publication of statements that are offensive to the Zimbabwean state or the President, or which endanger public order.	2004 ZEC Act created the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission.	Electoral Laws Amendment Act, 2007 included provisions to ensure fair media coverage during elections with ZEC as the monitoring authority. AIPPA amendments - ZMC replaced MIC with new rules for selection and appointment as well as a new Media Council to enforce a Code of Conduct and Ethics.
	Broadcasting Services Act 2001 4th Schedule <i>"If, during an election period, a broadcaster broadcasts election matter, the broadcaster shall give reasonable opportunities for the broadcasting of election matter to all parties contesting an election."</i> S39 (4) of the Act said <i>"Every licensee shall, when providing an information service, provide a fair, accurate and complete service."</i>	Broadcasting Services (Access to Radio and television During an Election) Regulations. -Main political parties have equal opportunities of access to all stations under the national broadcaster in relation to election programmes and advertising.	
No media regulations ¹³ June 2000 Supreme Court ruling that: ZBC should be impartial, conduct broadcasting without discrimination on the basis of political opinion.	ZBC "10 Golden Rules" on direct access and political advertising.	<i>The Daily News</i> and <i>The Daily News On Sunday</i> were closed under order of the Supreme Court in September 2003 The MIC also closed down the <i>Tribune</i> and the <i>Weekly Times</i>	Internet started featuring in elections. Report by the <i>Zimbabwe Independent</i> in 2007 said ZANU PF planned cyber-warfare against 41 websites it had "blacklisted" for promoting regime change against President Mugabe's government.

1.6.1 Media Monitoring Methodology

This research focused on monitoring three different but inter-related aspects in the media. These are:

Media monitoring of political pluralism (quantitative analysis)

Monitoring aims to quantify and qualify time and space dedicated to political parties by the mainstream print and broadcast media. The quantitative analysis measures the total amount of space and time devoted to politicians and political parties by the media. The analysis also evaluates whether the information about actors is positive, negative, or neutral in its content.

For print media, all articles within a selection of pages have been analysed. The monitored sample includes articles published in the following sections: front page, home news, political/election news. Monitoring also focuses on editorial pages and 'letters to the editor' sections. Monitoring does not include articles published in the business section, sport pages, and entertainment sections.

Television and radio stations have been monitored daily during a select time-frame, from 6pm to 9 pm, which is regarded as prime-time evening viewing or listening. All programmes have been analysed during the sampled time period.

Monitoring adherence to journalistic standards in election reporting

This layer of analysis aims at verifying to what extent and how election reporting respects professional journalistic standards. In this respect, the Media Monitors (MM) produced an assessment for a number of dimensions (accuracy, separation of facts and opinions, use of misleading headlines and graphics among others.)

Besides this, Media Monitors, using a more qualitative approach, also observed and reported on media coverage of different aspects of the election process, including coverage of women candidates and women's issues and coverage of election administration.

Only election-related stories were monitored to verify the quality of election reporting.

Media Monitoring of agenda-setting

The analysis of agenda-setting aims to identify the main topics covered by the main news programmes of the media houses on a daily basis. Different issues are classified according to a number of thematic pre-determined categories and a brief description of the story. This type of monitoring identifies the key issues presented in the public discourse and it represents

a complementary element to assess the quality of media coverage of topics of public interest during an election campaign.

All election-related news, opinion pieces, editorial pages and letters were assessed to determine the media's agenda during this period.

1.6.2 The sample

The following media set was identified for the monitoring as representative of Zimbabwe's mainstream media environment.

Table 4: News outlets monitored

Daily newspapers	Ownership
The Herald	state-owned
Chronicle	state-owned
NewsDay	Private
Daily News	Private
Weekly newspapers	Ownership
The Independent	Private
The Standard	Private
Sunday Mail	state-owned
Radio	Ownership
Star FM	Private (but owned & operated by Zimpapers)
ZiFM	Private
SFM	Public
Radio Zimbabwe	Public
CapiTalk FM	Private
Diamond FM	Private (but owned & operated by Zimpapers)
Hevoi FM	Private
98.4 FM	Private
Skyz Metro FM	Private
Television	Ownership
ZTV	Public

Presentation Of Findings

2.0 Media monitoring of the news agenda

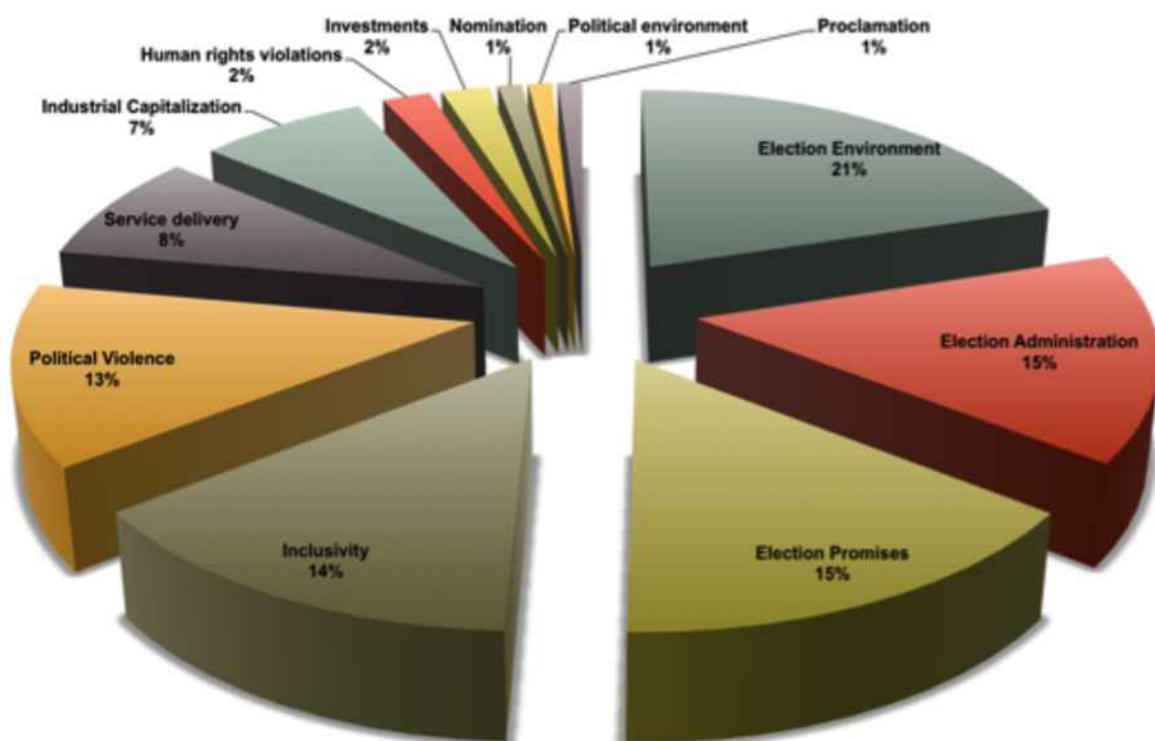
2.1 What was the media's agenda during the 2018 electoral period?

During the monitoring period, there was extensive coverage of the election agenda. There was a remarkable attempt by the local media to disseminate information about the ongoing electoral processes. Overall, most of the recorded stories were on the prevailing election environment. These made up 21% of the coverage, ahead of election administration and promises by various political actors when they were canvassing for votes. These issues each contributed to 15% to the coverage. Pronouncements on key electoral processes like proclamation of the election date and the sitting of the nomination courts had the least coverage.

The media's agenda varied from one news platform to the next. The privately owned press concentrated its coverage on highlighting administrative challenges being faced by the electoral commission as well as instances of political violence. They also had proportionally more reports on human rights violations. The private press focused on identifying gaps and loopholes in the ongoing electoral processes, these were not highlighted by the other news platforms.

The government-controlled press was the antithesis of the privately owned press; they carried more reports on the election promises and the election environment. Most of the promises they reported on were those by ZANU PF officials. They also critiqued promises by members of the opposition. In as far as the election environment is concerned, the publicly owned press created a narrative that portrayed a peaceful and conducive environment for a free and fair election.

Fig 1: The election agenda on the monitored media platforms



The election agenda on ZBC's stations was similar to that of the government-controlled press. However, their main focus was on issues of inclusivity and election administration. The stations also appeared to be the electoral commission's mouthpiece. They disseminated information about the ongoing electoral processes that ZEC wanted to be made public. They also gave prominence to campaigns by political actors from various political parties. Promises by the ruling party were covered as fact, whilst those from opposition political parties were interrogated vehemently.

The national and local commercial radio stations had almost similar trends; they concentrated more on the election environment and election promises. These platforms featured more promises from independent candidates and politicians from opposition parties. They seemed to level the playing field for the opposition. However, they also seemed to promote the ZANU PF agenda that Zimbabwe was open for business, as shown by the high percentage of stories relating to industrial re-capitalization.

Table 5: Election agenda on the monitored news platforms

Topic	Private Press	Press	ZTV	National commercial	Local Commercial
Election Environment	16%	18%	12%	31%	24%
Election Administration	23%	13%	15%	11%	13%
Election Promises	4%	18%	13%	18%	24%
Inclusivity	16%	16%	26%	5%	7%
Political Violence	23%	14%	13%	8%	5%
Service delivery	6%	9%	9%	9%	9%
Industrial Capitalization	0%	10%	1%	12%	10%
Human rights violations	6%	1%	0%	0%	0%
Investments	4%	0%	4%	3%	3%
Nomination	0%	1%	2%	1%	3%
Political environment	1%	0%	4%	0%	2%
Proclamation	1%	0%	2%	1%	3%

2.2 The economy used as a campaign tool

The economic environment was a key factor in the 2018 elections. The ZANU PF government appeared to be showcasing the country's resources to potential foreign investors. The media played a key role in documenting the investment opportunities that government had lined up and industrial re-capitalization endeavours that it planned to embark on. In most cases, these projects were announced or launched at or before ZANU PF rallies. These initiatives tied in with President Mnangagwa's "Zimbabwe is open for business" mantra.

President Mnangagwa was mostly featured in the media calling for companies to invest in Zimbabwe's mining and industrial sectors. While commissioning a 30 million-dollar Pepsi plant for Varaun beverages in Harare, the President called on foreign companies *"to be part of Zimbabwe's economic drive aimed at upgrading people's living standards and creating a middle class economy by 2030"*². The President was quoted on 98.4FM saying the country had attracted \$16 billion of investment in June³. The mining industry was recorded to have received pledges of investment with the Chinese govt being said to have made plans to invest \$100 million in the mining industry⁴. The government also pledged to support small-scale miners by purchasing mining equipment to help ease their operations⁵. There was, however, very little effort by the media to question the truth behind these pronouncements, and also to investigate what the government had ceded to acquire such deals.

Throughout the election period Zimbabwe endured serious cash shortages, which forced the presidential candidates to highlight how they were going to address the situation in their campaign messages. President Mnangagwa was cited saying cash shortages would subside after the election *"due to increased investment and economic interventions"*⁶. In another report he added that the shortages would ease once investors start making weekly injections of foreign currency. The President took a central role at the launches of the Women's Bank and the Empower Bank. Nelson Chamisa stated that, *"There are a lot of things that we will be doing starting from August 1 when I would be president...The first one is to remove the bond note and replace it with real money. Before*

*bringing our own currency we will bring the pula, rand and the United States dollar. On top of that we are going to change how banks operate."*⁷

The agricultural sector also played a key role in the election campaign, with reports of government initiatives to capacitate the agricultural sector being the most prominent. Star FM reported that government had secured half a billion dollars for the Command Agriculture Input Scheme⁸. This year's presidential inputs scheme was launched earlier than usual with President Mnangagwa telling supporters at a ZANU PF rally that this was due to *"hard work by government"*⁹. It was strange that the scheme coincided with the election campaign period and that pronouncements about the scheme were made at a political rally.

2.3 ZEC and legitimacy - Competing narratives

The performance of the electoral commission was consistently in the media's spotlight throughout the electoral period. The media appeared to be divided over the commission's capacity to implement its mandate impartially during the run-up to the 2018 election. The government-controlled media gave the impression that the commission was well prepared and equipped to run a successful election by publishing and broadcasting its periodic updates on electoral processes. The privately owned media, particularly the press, was critical of the commission; they scrutinised every process and demanded accountability and transparency throughout the electoral period.

2.3.1 ZEC's Independence and integrity

Ever since its establishment ZEC has had to prove its independence as a Chapter 12 Commission. It has been accused of being a ZANU PF institution that has been essential in maintaining the party's long-standing rule. MDC Alliance Information Committee member, Jacob Mafume accused ZEC and ZANU PF of "conflation". He alleged that, *"ZEC has proved to be an extension of ZANUPF, they are conflated, compromised and incapable of playing an impartial role therefore cannot be entrusted with running a free,*

² The Herald (14/6) ED commissions \$30m Pepsi plant

³ 98.4FM (31/5) Govt attracts \$16bn worth of investments

⁴ Hevoi FM (1/6) Mining sector to receive \$100m from Chinese

⁵ Star FM (2/6) Government to support small scale miners

⁶ Diamond FM (2/6) Cash shortages to ease after elections

⁷ The Standard (17/6) I will scrape bond notes-Chamisa

⁸ Star FM (2/6) Half a billion for command agriculture

⁹ The Herald (9/7) Presidential inputs distribution begins

¹⁰ NewsDay (12/7) Data leak exposes ZANU PF-ZEC conflation; Page 14

¹¹ NewsDay (12/7) I'll announce Poll Results: Chamisa, Page 1

*fair and credible election*¹⁰. MDC Alliance leader, Nelson Chamisa alleged that, Justice Priscilla Chigumba was “only doing the bidding for the ruling ZANU PF party”¹¹. Chamisa also raised suspicions of ‘rigging’ when he insinuated that, “Right now, they have Russians in Mt Pleasant, about 64 of them. They think I don’t know, but I am being told by sources within the military... I am watching them. They brought others and if they are helping Zanu PF in elections, then we have a problem”.

Questions about ZEC’s independence were raised in the privately-owned press. The perception of ZEC was less negative in the government-controlled media where ZANU PF came to the commission’s defence contending its independence. While addressing a rally in Budiro, Vice-President, Constantino Chiwenga noted that, “We hear there are some who are planning to demonstrate against ZEC saying they do not agree with what they are doing, but ZEC is an independent body which should not be directed by anyone on how to do its job. They should be left to do their job as required by law,”¹² In another article by *The Herald* commentator, Nick Mangwana, in his column *Views from the Diaspora*, he states that, “The MDC Alliance is deliberately trying to subvert the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC)’s ability to smoothly manage our elections. ZEC has tried to establish a well-articulated and predictable process using both the legal framework and engagement as the modus operandi. But the opposition is raising points of disputation at all points of the process”¹³.

2.3.2 ZEC - transparency and accountability

Even though the electoral commission was more open to the electorate in the mechanisms used to disseminate information on the ongoing electoral processes. It remained secretive and constricted about the most critical processes. In some instances ZEC had to be legally compelled to provide certain pieces of information. In perhaps the most contentious issue, the commission failed to furnish contesting candidates with the final voters’ roll before the sitting of the nomination courts as required by law. The political party, the NCA, was eventually obliged to file an urgent application on the day of nomination (of candidates) seeking an order compelling ZEC to provide a copy of the voters’ roll. The

party’s application stated that, “ZEC’s conduct in failing to avail copies of the voters’ roll contravenes section 21(4) of the Electoral Act, section 155(2) of the Constitution and section 67(3)(b) of the Constitution, which among other (issues) entitles the NCA to have all material and information necessary for the opposition political party to participate in elections,”¹⁴ The party added that, “Having access to the voters’ roll, enhances effective participation in the elections in that it ensures that our members are able to comply with the formalities spelt out for purposes of nomination of candidates,” The MDC Alliance threatened to boycott the elections over the unavailability of the voters’ roll. ZEC responded by saying that “nothing short of an earthquake”¹⁵ would stop the election from being conducted on July 30

Another problematic issue that the commission struggled to address was the debacle over the design of the presidential election ballot paper and the details of the company who won the tender for its printing. MDC director of elections, Murisi Zwizwai implored ZEC to ensure ballot papers for the presidential election have names arranged in alphabetical order beginning with surnames in line with international best practices. He said, “We do not expect to see a situation where the incumbent (President Emmerson Mnangagwa)’s name is on the front page seeing that there are over 20 candidates, meaning that the ballot paper will be more than one page”¹⁶.

ZEC’s responses to the issue of accountability were featured in both the government-controlled and privately-owned media. In an interview with *NewsDay*, ZEC’s Acting Chief Elections Officer; Utoile Silaigwana said, political parties would be invited to observe the printing of ballot papers¹⁷. He noted that, “I am a bit perplexed that this question continues to come. You will know that in terms of the law, ZEC is supposed to publicise the printer, the place where the printer is located, the number of ballots to be printed and the distribution thereof. We have done this in previous elections and it will be done again in this election,” In the government-controlled press, the commission articulated the extent of its transparency as ZEC Commissioner, Qhubani Moyo indicated that representatives of political parties would also be given a chance to test the paper used for printing¹⁸. Even though the opposition parties were given a chance to observe the printing of the ballot paper, MDC Alliance accused ZEC of feigning transparency since

¹² The Herald (10/7) Hands off ZEC: Chiwenga

¹³ The Herald (10/7) Opposition impairing ZEC’s autonomy

¹⁴ NewsDay (15/6) NCA sues ZEC over voters’ roll

¹⁵ The Herald (19/6) Only an earthquake can stop elections, says Chigumba; Page 1

¹⁶ Daily News (16/6) Put presidential ballot names in alphabetical order: MDC Alliance

¹⁷ NewsDay, (19/6) ZEC capitulates: Parties to observe ballot printing

¹⁸ Chronicle, (19/6) ZEC to unveil ballot printing company

¹⁹ Daily News (3/7) Chamisa cries foul over ZEC

the party representatives who went to observe the printing “were not given access to the specimen ballot paper which we thought would be part of the observation... we were only invited after the process had already started three days before¹⁹.”

In another issue, a local legal and parliamentary civil society watchdog, Veritas, filed a high court application seeking to compel ZEC to disclose the names of people seconded to it by the government, amid suspicions that these included military and intelligence operatives. Veritas’ executive director Valerie Ingham-Thorpe contended that ... “*In the interest of transparency, the first respondent (ZEC and the Attorney-General) must publish the names of these persons as soon as they have been seconded and must also stipulate the guidelines that will be used to select and screen such persons*²⁰”. She added that, “*there is no legal basis for involvement of the uniformed forces in the logistical management of the electoral process since Section 10 of the Electoral Act only provides for members of the Civil Service Commission and Health Services Board to be seconded to the to the respondent*”.

Veritas filed two other lawsuits:

- 1) Challenging the constitutionality of the Electoral Act’s Section 40C, which gives ZEC and political parties exclusive authority to conduct voter education programmes, and Section 40F, relating to the channelling of voter education resources through ZEC. CSOs are supposed to submit all voter education material to ZEC. Veritas argued that these clauses were “so restrictive they violate citizens’ constitutional rights to freely receive and impart information and ideas and their rights to equality and to make free and informed political choices”²¹.
- 2) To compel ZBC and The Herald to fairly cover the political parties and candidates contesting in the 2018 election.

The state-controlled media tried to discredit Veritas by questioning the organisation’s motives for filing the lawsuits. *The Herald* alleged that Veritas was employing a “string-pulling strategy”²² to bring futile litigation against the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission in an attempt to discredit President Mnangagwa’s administration in the event of an election loss by opposition political alliances in the July 30 harmonised elections.

2.4 Human rights violations

The 2018 election had relatively fewer human rights violations than in 2008 and 2013. Cases of political violence comprised 62% of the human rights violations that made news headlines ahead of instances of intimidation, which made up 23%. The remaining 15% consisted of defacing of posters, deprivation of children’s freedom of association, and the invasion of privacy. It appeared as though the recorded cases were framed to suit the different news outlets’ agendas. The privately owned press was responsible for documenting most of the violence. The government-controlled media mostly reported on cases that implicated members of the opposition. **(see annex 1 for full list of violations).**

Despite numerous calls for peace during the election period, which included the signing of a National Peace Pledge by all presidential candidates, cases of politically-motivated violence still overshadowed the election with the most notable event being the August 1 killing of six civilians after the Zimbabwe National Army was called in to help police quell riotous demonstrators protesting ZEC’s delay in releasing the results of the presidential vote.

The incident placed doubts on the credibility of the election which had been up to that point been held in a relatively peaceful manner. The demonstration occurred at a time when, the international observers were making their preliminary statements on the elections.

The local mainstream media appeared to be polarised in their coverage of this incident, which clouded perceptions about the reality of what happened. Details around the true extent of the damage caused by the altercation were obscured with statistics of the identity and number of the dead and injured being inconsistent and vague. While most platforms reported that six people were killed *Daily News* cited seven instead²³.

The coverage of the incident was politicized with government-controlled media apportioning blame to the “violent rioters” while in the privately owned media, particularly the press, blamed the army “for firing live ammunition at civilians”. A Commission of Inquiry was formed to probe the post election violence.

²⁰ Daily News (18/6) ZEC reeling from multiple lawsuits

²¹ The Herald, (20/6) High Court to rule on Veritas challenge

²² The Herald, (20/6) Veritas Zimbabwe under fire

²³ Daily News (5/8) Army shootings condemned (after the killing of 7 people)

3.0 Monitoring Political Pluralism

3.1 Fairness and balance in the coverage of political parties

The observed trends in the distribution of space and time reflected a lack of fairness and diversity on the part of the local media. Even though 53 political parties out of the contesting 55 were covered in the media, two parties and independent candidates received significantly more coverage than the other parties most of which received marginal coverage. These three entities combined for 79% of the time and space dedicated to political actors. ZANU PF commanded the lion's share of the coverage; the ruling party enjoyed 52% of the coverage ahead of MDC Alliance's 20% while Independent candidates comprised 7%. The remaining, 51 parties shared the remaining 21%. While many of these were clearly "briefcase" outfits that sprung up ahead of the election, there were others that represented significant minorities and should have received more media exposure. Such coverage disregards the spirit of the Electoral Act's stipulation of the "equitable" allocation of time and space to all political contestants. This trend of reporting almost exclusively on the major political players tends to give a skewed impression of the electoral context and hinders the electorate's capacity to make informed choices about less well known political entities, since they have very little information about them.

Table 6: Percentage of space and time allocated to the top 10 political parties on the monitored media platforms

Party	Private Press	Public Press	ZBC	National commercial radio	Local commercial radio	Average
ZANU PF	51%	73%	49%	29%	21%	52%
MDC ALLIANCE	34%	20%	7%	22%	23%	20%
INDEPENDENT	3%	1%	4%	15%	27%	7%
MDC-T	3%	1%	3%	7%	3%	3%
APA	1%	0%	6%	3%	6%	3%
PRC	2%	0%	2%	5%	9%	3%
NCA	0%	0%	6%	2%	1%	2%
CODE	0%	0%	2%	2%	2%	1%
BUILD ZIM	0%	0%	1%	4%	3%	1%
PPPZ	0%	1%	2%	0%	0%	1%

ZANU PF received overwhelmingly more coverage on publicly-owned news platforms. The party received, 73% of the coverage in the state-owned press and 49% on ZBC.

Despite the illusion of plurality presented above, a look at the individual news platforms shows that more political parties were disenfranchised. On average, 33 political parties were covered per platform; this translates to 60% of the parties that were contesting in the election. This means that 40% of the political parties were disenfranchised on each platform.

Table 7: Number of political parties covered per platform

	Private Press	Public Press	ZBC	National commercial radio	Local commercial radio
Number of parties covered	33	38	31	29	34
Number of parties not covered	22	17	24	26	21

3.1.1 Representation of presidential candidates

Coverage of the aspiring presidential candidates was also heavily focused on the main contestants to the near exclusion of the others. Of the 23 presidential candidates, Emmerson Mnangagwa accounted for 57% of the coverage, ahead of MDC Alliance's Nelson Chamisa who was featured in just 16% of the coverage across all platforms. Nkosana Moyo and Lovemore Madhuku were a distant third with 4% of the coverage each. The women presidential candidates were severely under-represented as combined, they accounted for just 7% of the coverage. Joice Mujuru was the most prominent woman candidate; she was featured in 3% of the coverage. This is an indication of disparities in the prominence given to men and women.

While the presidential election was widely regarded as a two-horse race, it is important that less well known contestants receive “equitable” coverage. The table below also reflects the media’s attitude to the evidently obscure candidates’ chances of attracting votes - as well as those candidates’ efforts to attract media attention.

Table 8: Percentage of space and time allocated to presidential candidates

Candidate	Party	ZBC	National commercial radio	Local commercial radio	Private Press	Public Press	Average
Mnangagwa Emmerson	ZANU PF	43%	39%	36%	55%	77%	57%
Chamisa Nelson	MDC Alliance	5%	6%	17%	33%	17%	16%
Moyo Nkosana	APA	8%	12%	15%	1%	1%	4%
Madhuku Lovemore	NCA	11%	3%	0%	0%	0%	4%
Mujuru Joice	PRC	1%	20%	15%	3%	1%	3%
Khupe Thokozani	MDC-T	1%	5%	1%	4%	1%	2%
Mhambi Divine	NAPDR	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	2%
Mangoma Elton	CODE	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	2%
Chikanga Evaristo	Rebuild Zimbabwe	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%
Manyika Noah	Build Zim Alliance	0%	6%	14%	0%	0%	1%
Mteki Bryn	Independent	4%	3%	0%	0%	0%	1%
Mugadza William	BCP	4%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%
Mapfumo Timothy	PPPZ	3%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%
Gava Peter	UDF	2%	0%	1%	0%	0%	1%
Dzapasi Melbah	#1980 FMZ	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%
Mariyacha Violet	UDM	1%	3%	0%	0%	0%	1%
Wilson Peter	DOP	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%
Munyanduri Tendai	New PF	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Busha Joseph	FreeZim Congress	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Mutinhiri Ambrose	NPF	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%
Shumba Daniel	UDA	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%
Kasiyamhuru Blessing	ZIPP	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Hlabangana Kwanele	RPZ	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

3.2 Tone of coverage

Overall, the tone of coverage for political parties and candidates was mostly neutral. There was, however, more positive and negative sentiment for ZANU PF and the MDC Alliance. The government-controlled public news platforms gave significantly more positive coverage to ZANU PF, while the MDC Alliance was vilified more. In their coverage, Emmerson Mnangagwa was presented as the party’s only choice for President. ZANU PF’s activities were not questioned or interrogated. They were presented as fact. However, the MDC Alliance did not receive similar treatment. The party’s presidential candidate, Nelson Chamisa, was framed as an immature leader with a penchant for telling lies. The party’s policies were portrayed as unrealistic. There was more focus on the internal battles that were rocking the party.

In the privately owned media, ZANU PF endured the most negative publicity. However, it also enjoyed most of the positive coverage. The party’s capacity to lead the country for the next five years was questioned. The precarious state of the economy was used to discredit President Mnangagwa’s capacity to be a good President. The party was often implicated in cases of election irregularities. Surprisingly, the privately owned media was critical of the MDC Alliance, even though it had less negative coverage than ZANU PF. There was more coverage of the internal power struggles in the party and its court battle with the Thokozani Khupe-led MDC-T. The party however, received more space to express its discontent with the electoral commission over the need for electoral reforms and its suspicions of electoral maladministration. In most of the negative reports, there was no right of reply given to the actors from different political parties or when reporters editorialised their content to discredit a certain political actor or party.

Table 9: Tone of coverage in the Press (in cm2)

POLITICAL PARTY	PRIVATE PRESS			PUBLIC PRESS		
	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Positive
#1980FM	20	119	0	1	267	0
ANP	0	12	0	0	0	0
ANSA	0	191	0	0	2	0
APA	1	1110	330	0	472	83
BCP	0	1	0	0	57	137
BUILD ZIMBABWE	0	198	545	0	341	346
CODE	40	263	0	65	288	0
DAWN	0	9	0	0	0	0
DOP	0	1030	472	0	206	0
FLOANP	0	0	8	96	197	0
ID	0	0	0	389	0	0
FREEZIM CONGRESS	0	116	0	0	20	0
INDEPENDENT	251	4817	532	616	2803	107
MDC ALLIANCE	7145	43569	7150	24685	17385	937
MDC-T	528	4544	258	986	19114	371
MRCD	0	1	0	0	0	0
MPCD	0	0	0	0	169	58
MRP	209	594	0	0	100	0
NAPDR	0	102	0	183	244	0
NCA	0	714	0	42	512	0
NEW PF	10	130	0	334	347	158
NPF	306	1617	81	232	740	0
PIPZ	0	3	0	0	0	0
PPP	0	613	0	0	313	287
PRC	110	3224	84	365	1589	91
RPZ	0	2	228	0	60	0
REBUILD ZIM	0	4	0	0	200	0
UANC	40	266	0	0	24	0
UDA	0	422	0	0	51	0
UDF	0	18	0	0	246	0
UDM	0	373	0	25	227	0
VOP	0	0	0	0	10	0
ZIPP	0	453	1	0	0	0
ZANU PF	19672	56921	9108	2290	118460	53911
ZANU NDONGA	0	1	0	0	52	0
TRUE DEMOCRACY	0	0	0	0	20	0
ZDP	0	0	0	0	10	0
ZAPU	0	31	0	1	42	243
ZDU	0	0	0	0	38	0
ZIPP	0	0	0	0	47	228
ZRDP	0	0	0	0	166	202
POVO	0	0	0	0	66	0

Table 10: Tone of coverage on national broadcasters (in seconds)

TONE POLITICAL PARTY	ZBC			COMMERCIAL RADIO		
	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Positive
#1980 FMZ	25	1741	0	185	16	181
ANSA	0	1	0	0	0	0
APA	0	11158	0	95	98	96
BCP	0	3026	1239	2	65	0
BZA	0	1925	0	99	334	139
CODE	0	4647	0	0	243	285
DAUPP	0	781	0	0	0	0
DC	0	1	0	0	0	0
DOP	0	642	0	0	55	0
FLOANP	0	0	0	0	19	0
FREEZIM CONGRESS	0	2658	0	127	0	0
INDEPENDENT	0	7600	14	1829	227	309
MDC ALLIANCE	3256	9191	4	4742	5752	131
MDC T	16	688	680	938	1109	1803
MRCD	0	258	0	0	0	0
MRP	0	167	0	0	34	0
NAPDR	0	5036	0	0	12	87
NPF	0	290	0	21	173	291
NCA	0	10211	1559	84	181	114
NEW PF	124	3488	0	0	1	0
POVO	0	0	0	2	0	88
PRC	283	2918	600	84	3331	103
PPP	8	3128	0	0	0	0
REBUILD ZIM	0	4748	0	0	0	0
RPZ	0	188	0	0	34	90
RZP	0	2	0	0	0	231
TAD	0	0	0	0	125	0
UANC	28	432	0	0	36	0
UDF	0	1845	0	0	1	8
UDM	0	2296	0	21	2339	0
WOYE	0	0	0	1	0	0
YAD	0	1346	0	0	0	0
ZANU PF	556	77288	15395	1257	35520	2614
ZAPU	69	3255	0	0	105	0
ZDU	0	0	0	0	137	0
ZIPP	0	445	0	0	130	11
FCZ	0	332	0	0	0	0
UDA	0	200	0	0	28	0
UDP	0	0	0	0	6	0

Table 11: Tone of coverage on local commercial radio (in seconds)

LOCAL COMMERCIAL RADIO (in seconds)			
TONE	NEGATIVE	NEUTRAL	POSITIVE
#1980 FMZ	0	11	0
APA	0	5542	62
BCP	0	14	0
BZA	0	2877	0
CODE	0	1786	53
DOP	0	141	0
FDZ	0	129	0
FREEZIM	0	252	0
INDEPENDENT	0	19125	4424
MDC ALLIANCE	65	19241	644
MDC-T	0	2371	0
MRP	0	347	0
NAPDR	0	16	0
NCA	0	336	134
NEW PF	0	10	0
NPF	86	672	0
PPP	0	11	0
PRC	0	7449	107
RZ	0	13	0
RPZ	0	169	0
UANC	0	157	0
UDA	0	267	0
UDF	0	118	0
UDM	0	13	0
UPZ	0	129	0
ZANUPF	176	15654	2699
ZAPU	0	372	0
ZDU	0	167	0
ZIPP	0	413	0
ZLP	0	129	0
African Democrats	0	116	0
KAMBIZI PARTY	0	35	0
NAWQ	0	1	0
ZITR	0	2	0

4.0 Gender representation during the 2018 elections

This section assesses the performance of the media in the representation of gender during the run-up to the 2018 elections. In its analysis, Media Monitors used the following indicators:

- The visibility of men and women in election coverage
- The media's duty to inform the electorate on electoral processes
- The professional conduct of the media in covering election-related news

4.1 Context

In Zimbabwe women comprise 53% of the population. However, men have largely overshadowed their participation in politics as in most other spheres of public life. This is reflected in the local media's reporting trends. In the 2018 elections an unprecedented number of women ran for the presidential candidacy. Four women, Joice Mujuru, Thokozani Khupe, Violet Mariyacha and Melbah Dzapasi ran for the highest public office in the country. Despite the numerical increase in the number of women presidential candidates, women remained under-represented at all levels of candidacy. They comprised 17% of the presidential candidates, 15% of the National Assembly candidates and 17% of the local authority aspirants. Despite the disparity in the participation of male and female political actors in the race for public office, the media have a constitutional obligation to fairly represent all political actors regardless of their sex.

4.2 Visibility of men and women in election coverage

During elections, the media have a mandate to ensure their coverage of political actors is fair and balanced. Men and women running for elections are required to be given equitable media space and airtime to market themselves. However, this was not the case during the 2018 election period as the media tended

to pay more attention to male candidates than their female counterparts.

4.2.1 Presidential candidates

The mainstream media also severely marginalised female presidential candidates. Combined, the four presidential candidates accounted for just 7% of the space and time allocated to presidential candidates. Joice Mujuru was the most prominent woman candidate with a 3% share of the exposure, ahead of Thokozani Khupe, who had a 2% share. The other two women, Melbah Dzapasi and Violet Mariyacha received a 1% share each.

Their prominence paled in comparison with the top male candidates, Emmerson Mnangagwa (57%) and Nelson Chamisa (15%). For the coverage to have been fair, each of the candidates should have been allocated at least 4,3% of the total. None of the women presidential candidates were above this threshold, which attests to the under-representation of women presidential candidates. The media tended to give most of its attention to the two candidates who were tipped to win the election; the remaining 21 candidates appeared to be similarly marginalised. This raises questions around the Zimbabwean society's readiness to accept politicians outside ZANU PF and MDC Alliance (this includes both men and women) as contenders for presidency.

4.3 Women's visibility in the media

Female political actors were marginalised during the 2018 electoral period. Overall, women comprised 9% of the political actors featured in the monitored media while men accounted for 91%. Most of women's visibility was in the national commercial radio stations, which featured women in 16% of their coverage. On most of the news platforms monitored, coverage of women peaked between nomination and the campaign period. However, it declined drastically after polling.

Table 12: Gender representation in the media during the election period

Research Period	Proclamation	Nomination	Campaigns	Polling & results	Overall
News Platform					
Public Press	7%	7%	8%	5%	7%
Private Press	9%	14%	6%	3%	8%
ZBC	5%	7%	11%	6%	7%
National commercial radio	5%	27%	26%	4%	16%
Local commercial radio	1%	21%	5%	5%	8%
% coverage per research period	5%	15%	11%	5%	9%

Overall, 152 (11%) women out of 1,423 female candidates were featured in the monitored media platforms. The private press featured a more diverse range of women followed by the public press. The distribution of women's voices on the monitored platforms was as follows.

Table 13: Coverage of women in the media

News platform monitored	Overall	Public Press	Private Press	ZBC	National Commercial radio	Local Commercial Radio
Number of women covered	152	65	114	51	44	38

Table 14: The top women covered by the media in each category of leadership

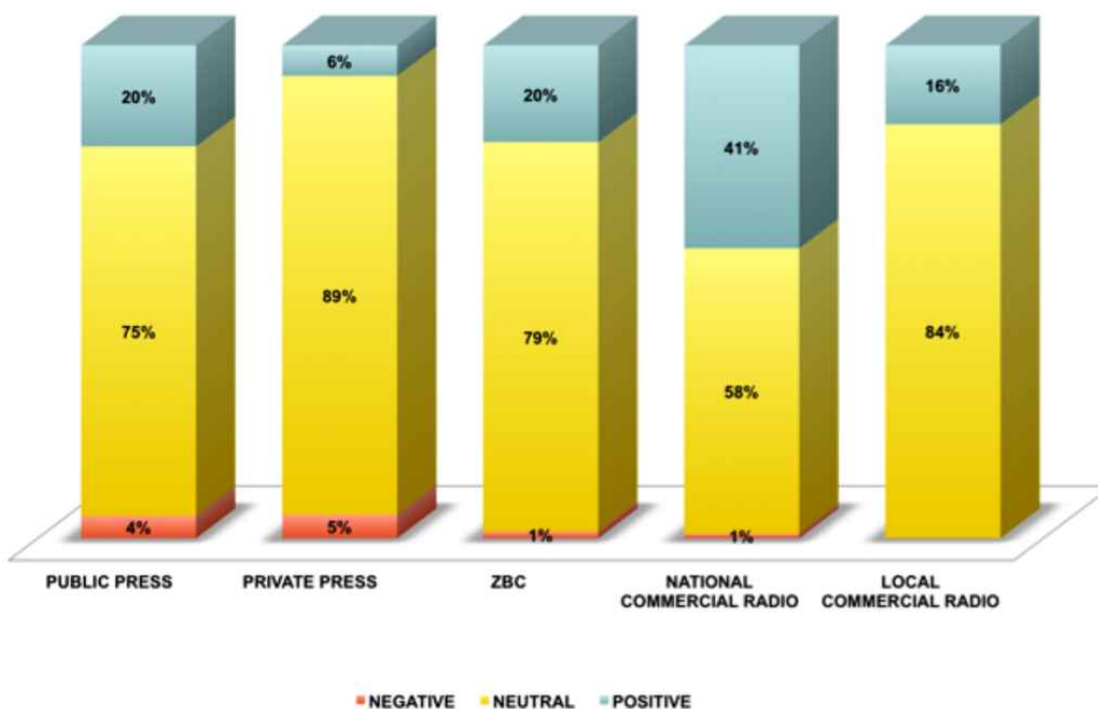
Politicians	Public administration	CSOs
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Auxilia Mngangwa - First Lady • Jessie Majome - Independent candidate • Joice Mujuru - PRC Presidential Candidate • Thokozani Khupe - MDC-T Presidential Candidate 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Priscilla Chigumba - ZEC Chair person • Charity Charamba - ZRP Spokesperson • Netsai Mushonga - ZEC Commissioner • Virginia Mabhiza - Perm sec in the Justice Ministry 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Jestina Mukoko - ZPP Director • Rindai Chipfunde Vava - ZESN Director • Esther Muia - UNFPA Zimbabwe Representative • Roselyn Muzerengi • Cecilia Alexander - Apex Council Chairperson

Women in public administration and CSO leadership were less visible in the media even though they were at the forefront of election management, more attention was given to men who hold similar positions, which has undermined their contributions to democratic processes. Media investigations seemed to digress from critiquing women's professional competencies to focus on their private lives. In addition, language used to describe women in public administration and civil society leadership has been stereotypical and hateful. This nature of coverage reversed the gains of the women empowerment movement as it has forced some women to recline into their shells when confronted by the media.

4.4 Tone of coverage of women

Despite being under-represented during the election period, women enjoyed favourable coverage in the monitored media. Overall, 77% of their coverage was neutral and 21% was positive. Only 2% of their coverage was negative. Most of the negative coverage of women was in the press, whereas the electronic media coverage was relatively more positive.

Fig 2: Tone of coverage for women in the monitored news platforms



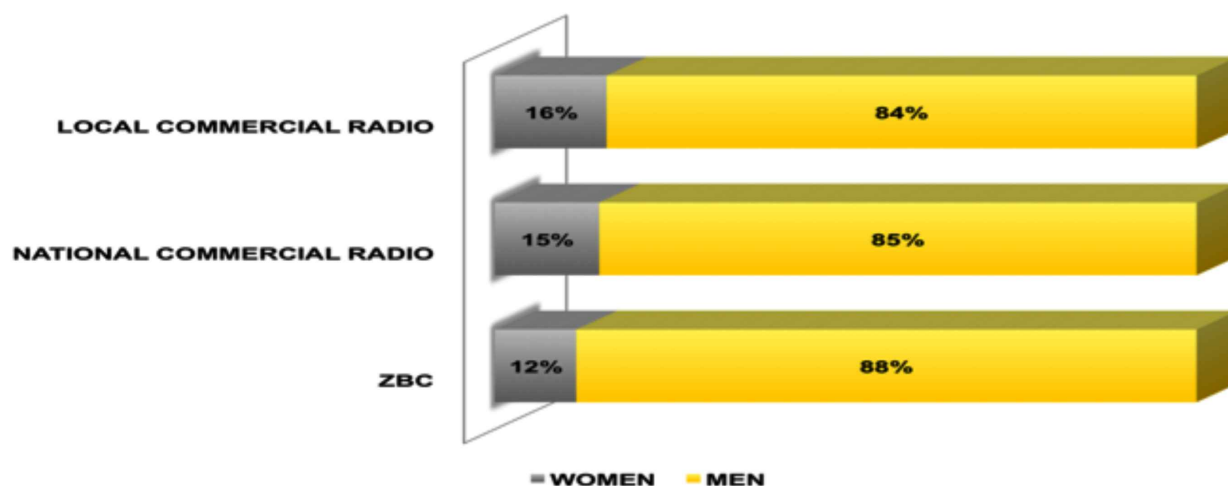
4.5 Gender representation in election programming

Due to the extensive reach of broadcast media it was imperative for the electronic news outlets to give equitable coverage to men and women who were contesting in the 2018 elections. However, women politicians were not given adequate access to the media to canvass for votes in the different programming variables as stipulated in SI 33 of 2008.

4.5.1 Gender representation in broadcast news

Women politicians were not prominently featured in news bulletins. Overall the perspective of women politicians was heard in 14% of the coverage as opposed to men’s 86%. The prevailing trends were indicative of the limited participation of women in the election as candidates. This is a reflection of the male-centric nature of the political arena in Zimbabwe.

Fig 3: Gender representation in news broadcasts



Overall, women from 12 political parties and female independent candidates were featured in broadcast news. This left out politicians from 43 other parties that were contesting in the elections. Women from ZANU PF dominated news coverage on all the news platforms monitored. They accounted for 59% of the voices of women in the news followed by representatives from MDC-T who accounted for 15%. Political actors from the remaining 11 parties combined for 26% of the coverage.

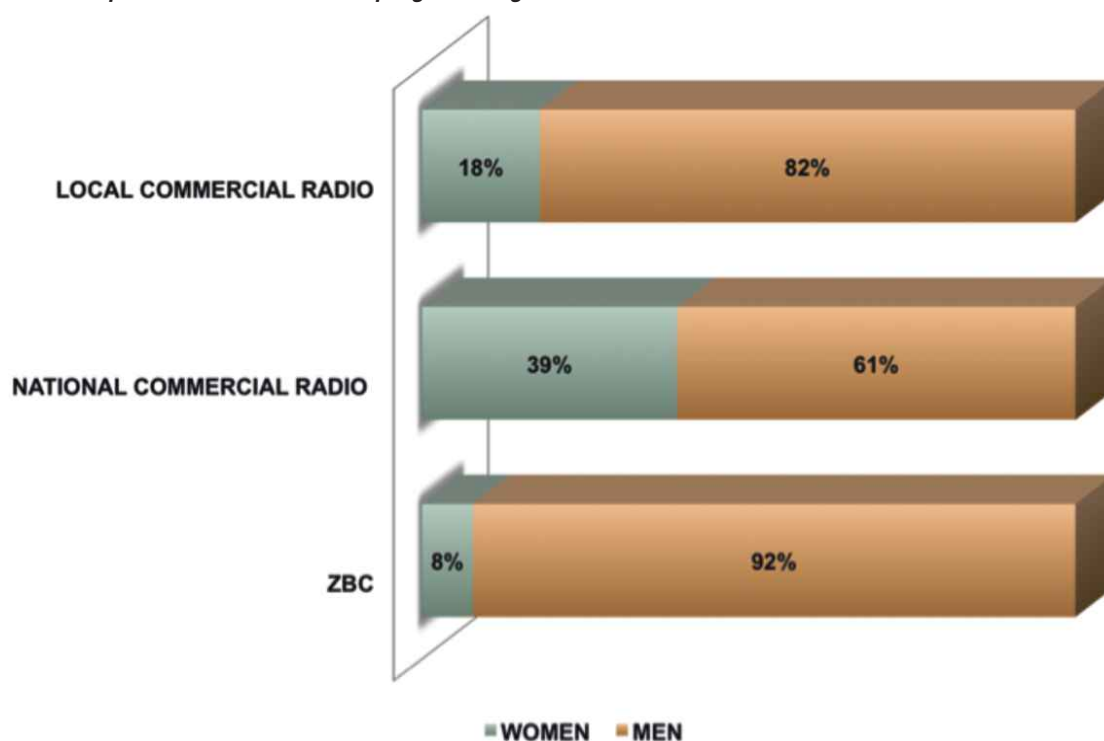
Table 15: Coverage of political parties in broadcast news

POLITICAL PARTY	ZBC	NATIONAL COMMERCIAL	LOCAL COMMERCIAL	AVERAGE
ZANU PF	79%	62%	35%	59%
MDC-T	7%	19%	19%	15%
PRC	7%	0%	13%	7%
INDEPENDENT	4%	0%	3%	2%
ZIPP	0%	0%	13%	4%
MDC ALLIANCE	0%	0%	7%	2%
MRP	0%	0%	8%	3%
POVO	0%	8%	0%	3%
UDM	1%	4%	0%	1%
ZDU	0%	3%	3%	2%
#1980FMZ	1%	0%	0%	0%
NPF	0%	4%	0%	1%
PPP	0%	0%	0%	0%

4.5.2 Gender representation in election related current affairs programming

Even though women political actors were not prominently featured in current affairs programmes, they fared slightly better than in the news. Overall, women politicians were featured in 28% of the current affairs programmes that were aired during prime time on the monitored stations. National commercial radio stations gave relatively more time to women politicians in current affairs programmes. On these stations women were allocated 39% of the time in current affairs programmes.

Fig 4: Gender representation in election programming



Overall, women from 14 political parties and independent candidates were featured in current affairs programming on the monitored stations. Independent female candidates were the most featured group in current affairs programmes; they comprised 37% of the coverage ahead of representatives from MDC-T and PRC who accounted for 20% and 19% respectively. Even though actors from 14 parties were featured, six of the parties and independent candidates were allocated more than 99% of the coverage; the time allocated to the remaining nine parties was negligible.

Table 15: Coverage of political parties in current affairs programmes

PARTY	ZBC	NATIONAL COMMERCIAL RADIO	LOCAL COMMERCIAL RADIO	TOTAL
INDEPENDENT	1%	29%	65%	37%
MDC-T	37%	23%	8%	20%
PRC	10%	21%	21%	19%
ZANU PF	14%	11%	6%	10%
#1980FMZ	27%	3%	0%	6%
MDC ALLIANCE	0%	10%	0%	5%
UDM	11%	3%	0%	3%
Other Parties	0%	0%	0%	0%

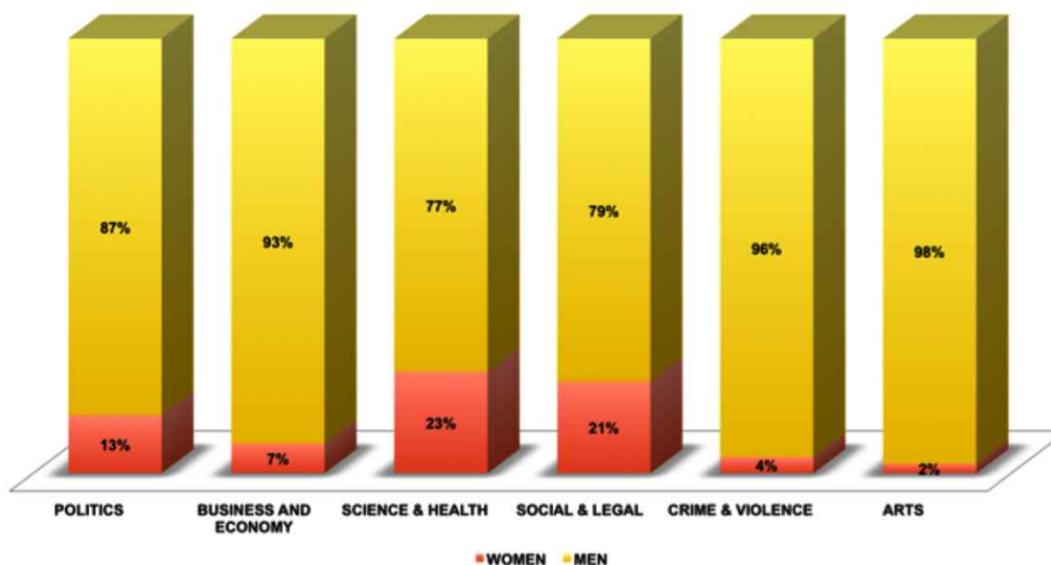
4.6 Nature of coverage in election programming

Most of the recorded programmes discussed women’s campaign activities as well as the role of women in elections. When women were featured in current affairs programmes it was often as a group of women discussing women-related issues. For example, MDC-T spokesperson Linda Masarira was featured on Radio Zimbabwe’s *Dairo* discussing women’s participation in politics and the upcoming elections. Other guests on the programme included executive director of the Zimbabwe Women’s Bureau and vice-president of Women’s Coalition in Zimbabwe, Ronica Mumbire. In addition, Media Monitors noted that in campaign discussions featuring women, they were frequently asked about the challenges they were facing as women politicians. While this mainstreamed women’s interests in the election, it gave them limited time to discuss their campaigns.

4.7 Gender representation in the news agenda

During the electoral period, women politicians were afforded less coverage than men in every news category monitored. Once again, this reflected the dominance of men in the field of politics. Women were relatively more visible in science and health, and social and legal issues where they accounted for 23% and 21% of the coverage respectively. In politics and governance issues, women accounted for 13% of the coverage. This relationship is expressed in the following table.

Fig 5: Gender representation in issues covered by the media



A closer look at the time and space allocated to women political actors in the media's coverage of different issues shows that female political actors were more active in discussions on politics and governance issues. These accounted for 76% of women's visibility followed by stories on social and legal issues (9%). The remaining 15% was split between reports on the economy (4%) science and health (4%) and crime and violence (3%).

Politics and governance matters that featured women were mostly on their campaigns, which appeared to be marred by conflict with Thokozani Khupe's MDC-T formation being embroiled in a legal battle with the MDC Alliance over the use of the original MDC's logo (the open palm). In some instances women were presented as victims of political violence. For example, the NPF's Sarah Mahoka is quoted in the *Daily News*²⁴ saying cases of violence and intimidation were on the rise. It was also reported that members of the MDC Alliance had verbally abused Thokozani Khupe and her party spokesperson Linda Masarira during court proceedings. Women politicians and election administrators were also the target of social media attacks, with ZEC chairperson, Priscilla Chigumba, Thokozani Khupe, Jessie Majome and Joice Mujuru being the worst affected.

Women politicians' participation in economic issues was mostly limited to small-scale projects that were targeted at empowering women, while men were more active at a macro-economic level. This reflects the uneven distribution of resources in the Zimbabwean society. The Fist Lady, Auxillia Mnangagwa partnered with women in Matabeleland in a poultry project that reportedly had the potential to produce 45,000 birds at any given time. The project is meant to 'empower women and vulnerable groups'²⁵. In another case, NPP's Tsitsi Chikonyora, who was vying for the Ward 25 Murewa Rural District Council seat, committed to developing gardening and poultry projects for women.

There were, however, some instances in which women's involvement in big projects was credited to men; Women Affairs minister Sithembiso Nyoni was involved in the official launch of the Women Bank, but she was not the star of the event. The media credited the launch to President Emmerson Mnangagwa.

4.8 Observations

Media Monitors has noted the need for a shift in Zimbabwean society's collective mindset on the role of men and women in society. There is need for the different political parties to ensure gender parity in their structures and to promote women to influential positions so that they are given opportunities to contest in national elections.

From a media standpoint, the differences in the portrayal of men and women, particularly the blanket coverage of women, the narrow focus of issues involving women and the gendered use of language highlight a serious need for gender sensitization in the newsroom. Journalists need to report on issues involving women and men in a gender-sensitive manner. Journalists are supposed to use gender-neutral language to prevent the perpetuation of gender stereotypes that further marginalise women and cast them in the shadow of men.

During elections, the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission should set up monitoring mechanisms that track the fairness and balance in the media's representation and portrayal of men and women. This enables them to identify challenges and take corrective action that prevents further marginalisation on the grounds of gender.

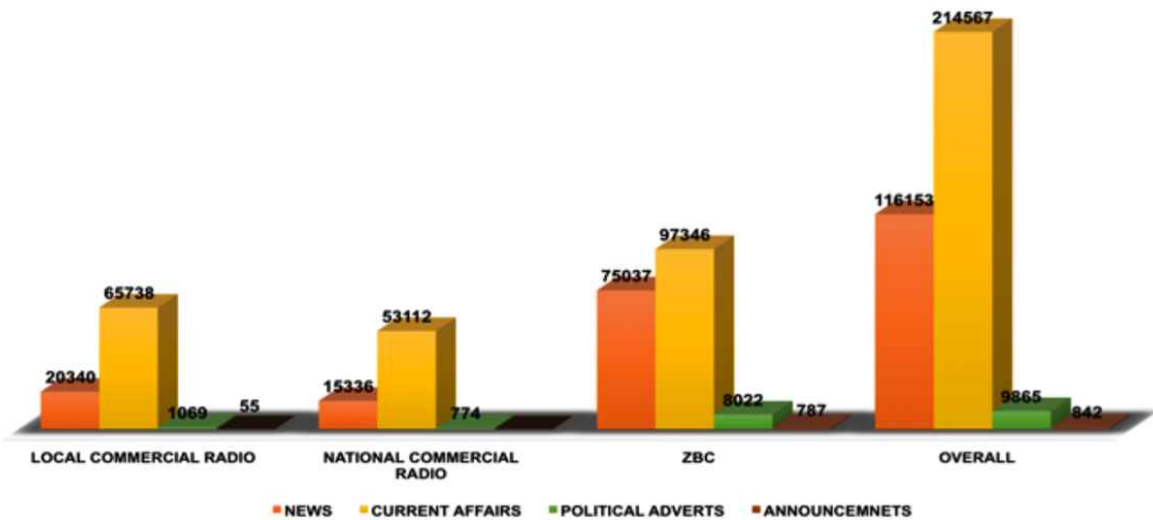
²⁴ Daily News (16/6) Intimidation, violence cases rise; Page 2

²⁵ The Herald (19/6) First lady unveils mega poultry project

5.0 Media conduct in election programming - broadcast media

During the 2018 electoral period, the electronic media made a commendable effort to adhere to the programming variables of election reporting. All the monitored platforms covered the elections in news bulletins and current affairs programmes. They also carried adverts from political actors and civil society organisations and public service announcements from ZEC on the ongoing electoral processes. Overall, current affairs programmes contributed to 61% of the election coverage in the electronic media, followed by news bulletins, which made up 34% of their election programming coverage. Political adverts accounted for 3% of the coverage of political parties, while public service announcements comprised the remaining 2%.

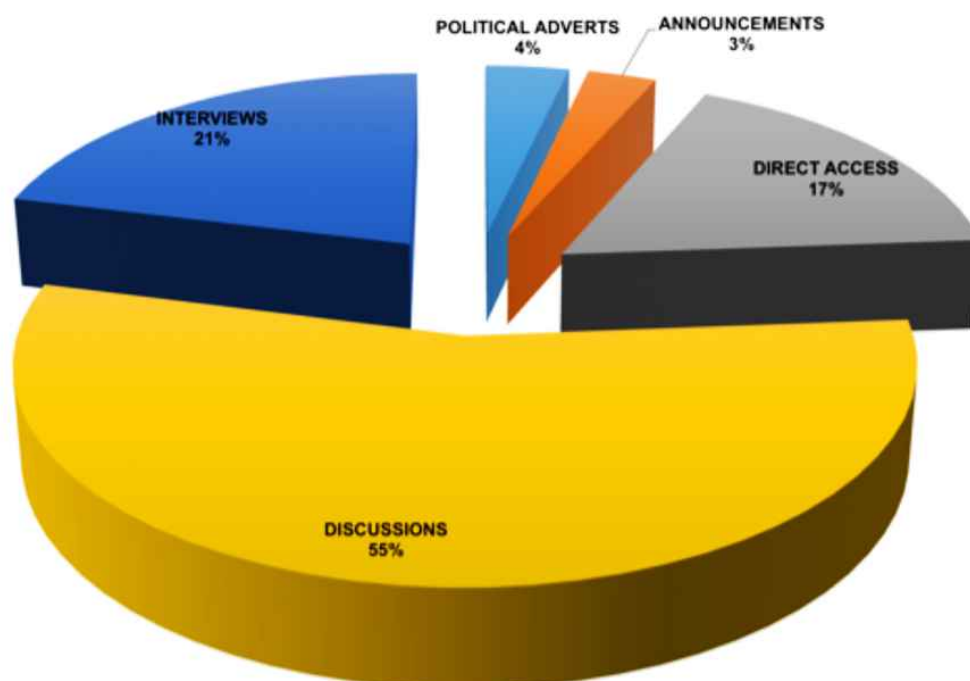
Fig 6: Distribution of election-related coverage in electronic media (in secs)



5.1 Current affairs programming in the broadcast media

In the election-related current affairs programmes recorded, there was a mixture of discussions, interviews and direct access programmes that enabled actors from different political parties to market themselves to the public. Overall, 55% of the election-related programmes were discussions ahead of interviews, which made up 21%, while direct access programmes contributed 17% of the coverage. Political adverts and public service announcements contributed to the remaining 7% of the election coverage.

Fig 7: Nature of election-related coverage in the electronic media



Within the different broadcasters, a similar trend prevailed where discussions were the most common programming type. The different news platforms had their own specialties. National commercial radio stations allocated relatively more time to discussions, whereas local commercial radio stations had the most interviews and direct access programmes. The ZBC stations carried the most political adverts and public service announcements.

Fig 8: Nature of election-related coverage by broadcast platform

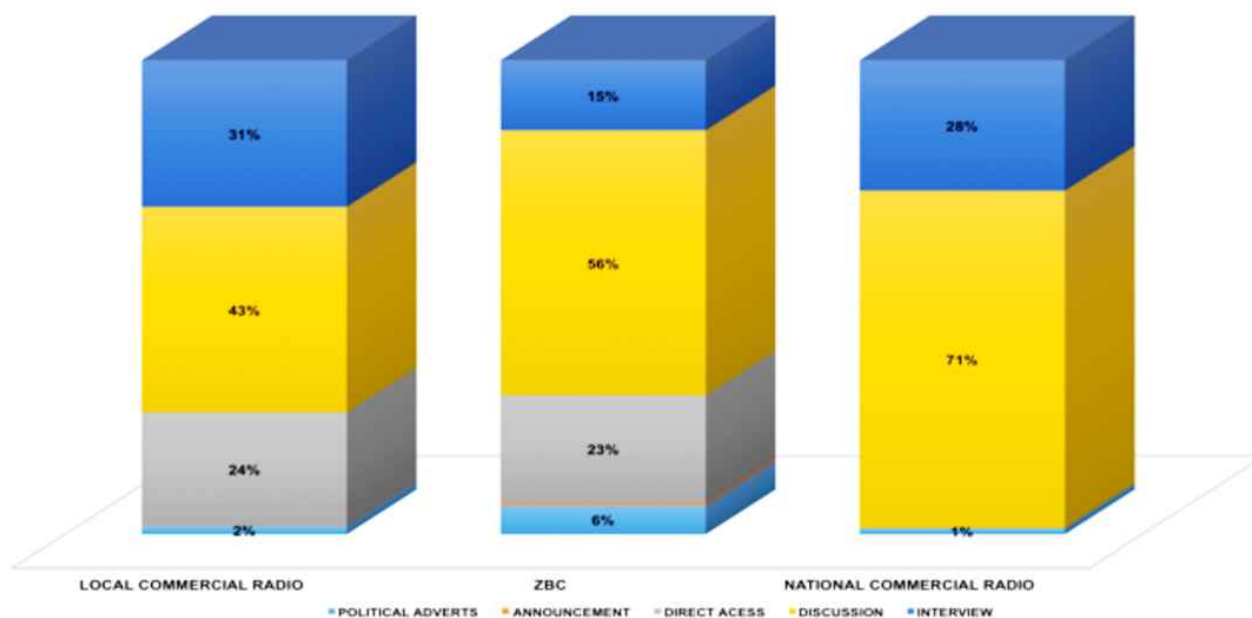


Table 16 : Election-related programmes aired

Type of program	ZBC	National commercial radio	Local commercial radio
Direct Access	The Manifesto		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Capitalk Radio Rally
Discussion Progs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Elections 2018 • ZEC on Thursday • Mudariro • Melting Pot • Liquid soil • Electoral Rights • Daily Dose • Constituency Talk • Musoro Wenyaya 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • My Vote, My Right, My Choice • City Watch • Late Night Politics with George Chisumba • ZimRights Talk Show • The Platform 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 98.4FM Talk • Consumer Rights • Deep Dive • State of Masvingo • State of Midlands • Status Quo • Your Constituency
Interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Candidate • Election Debate 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Election Debate Series 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Election Debate Series • Ruvheneko The Light • The Exchange

5.1.2 Coverage of political parties in current affairs programmes

Overall, political actors from 38 political parties were featured in current affairs programmes. Of these, independent candidates were the most prominently featured. They appeared in 20% of the coverage, ahead of ZANU PF officials who made up 18%, and representatives from the MDC Alliance who received 17% coverage. The distribution of time among the political parties was not equitable. Of the 38 political parties that appeared in election-related programmes, only 20 were given significant airtime, the remaining 18 were only marginally covered.

Table 17: Percentage of time allocated to political parties in election-related programmes

Party	Local commercial radio	National commercial radio	ZBC	Average
Independent	37%	18%	6%	20%
ZANU PF	10%	16%	29%	18%
MDC Alliance	23%	24%	4%	17%
APA	8%	4%	10%	7%
PRC	11%	7%	2%	7%
MDC T (TK)	3%	7%	4%	5%
NCA	0%	3%	10%	4%
Build Zim	4%	5%	2%	3%
Code	3%	2%	4%	3%
UDM	0%	4%	2%	2%
NAPDR	0%	0%	4%	1%
#1980 FMZ	0%	3%	1%	1%
Rebuild Zim	0%	0%	4%	1%
BCP	0%	0%	4%	1%
NEW PF	0%	0%	3%	1%
ZAPU	0%	0%	2%	1%
FREEZIM CONGRESS	0%	0%	2%	1%
PPP	0%	0%	2%	1%
UDF	0%	0%	2%	1%
TAD	0%	2%	0%	1%

5.1.3 Nature of programming

The broadcast media was influential in disseminating election-related information. The electoral commission together with CSOs like the Election Resource Centre (ERC), the Zimbabwe Election Support Network (ZESN) and ZimRights, had programmes that fed the electorate with vital information about the ongoing electoral process. However, there were notable challenges that dented the media’s performance. It was only after nomination that the different news platforms started airing direct access programmes, which gave them very little time to accommodate all the political parties.

Women politicians were not prominently featured in election programmes that aired live during prime-time (between 6pm and 10 pm). There was need for the broadcasters to pre-record their sessions so as not to disadvantage women or any other actors who could not be in the studio during prime-time. In future elections it is imperative for media outlets to make adequate plans to ensure all political parties are adequately represented on their platforms. They should also prepare for the possibility that some of the actors will not be in a position to come into the studio.

5.2 News bulletins

Even though 36 political parties were featured in the electronic media’s news bulletins, there was very little diversity of political voices. The two main parties ZANU PF and the MDC Alliance featured most prominently, taking 87% of the news coverage between them, while the other 34 political parties combined shared the remaining 13%. ZANU PF received overwhelmingly more coverage on ZBC’s stations where it received 78% of the news coverage. MDC Alliance received most of the news coverage on national commercial radio. Only nine political parties were consistently covered on the monitored news platforms, while coverage of the remaining 27 was erratic.

Table 18: Percentage of coverage of political parties in broadcast news

Party	Local commercial radio	National commercial radio	ZBC	Average
ZANU PF	52%	41%	78%	57%
MDC Alliance	30%	50%	10%	30%
Independent	3%	1%	2%	2%
MDC T (TK)	2%	2%	2%	2%
PRC	3%	0%	2%	2%
APA	3%	1%	0%	1%
NPF	1%	1%	0%	1%
ZAPU	1%	0%	1%	1%
ZIPP	1%	0%	0%	1%

5.3 Political Advertising

Political advertising was at its worst during this election. From the adverts observed in the mainstream media it was as though the election was a one-horse race. ZANU PF accounted for 78% of the adverts recorded in the electronic media during prime-time and 91% in the monitored newspapers.

Table 19: Distribution of adverts in the electronic media

Party	ZBC	National Commercial Radio	Local Commercial Radio
ZANU PF	97%	93%	44%
Independent	1%	0%	26%
MDC Alliance	2%	7%	12%
NCA	0%	0%	18%

Table 20: Distribution of adverts in the press

POLITICAL PARTY	PRIVATE PRESS	PUBLIC PRESS
ZANUPF	81%	100%
MDC ALLIANCE	11%	0
Independent	8%	0

ZANU PF's presidential candidate, Emmerson Mnangagwa accounted for 70% of the political adverts recorded in the electronic media during prime-time and 83% in the monitored newspapers. This is an indication of the uneven distribution of resources among the political parties contesting the elections. While the ruling party advertised throughout the electoral period, the only other parties that aired advertising were the MDC Alliance and the NCA, with the MDC Alliance having one of its adverts recalled because it violated ZBC's advertising code. The advert was eventually aired on 27 July. There appears to be a serious need for media outlets to review their advertising rates in order to ensure the average candidate can advertise on their platforms.

6.0 Media's conduct in election reporting

The nature of election reporting observed during the 2018 election period exhibited a quantitative improvement from 2013. There was an increase in the number of news platforms covering the election. However, qualitatively, the challenges that have dogged the country were prevalent in the reporting trends. These challenges included:

- Unbalanced coverage
- Excessively biased opinion and analysis
- Partisan coverage of the main political parties
- One-sided sourcing patterns
- Failure to distinguish between government activities and campaigns

6.1 Unbalanced coverage

Throughout the electoral period the coverage of political parties was grossly unbalanced. Even though 53 of the 55 political parties contesting in the election received at least some media coverage, the distribution of coverage was far from equitable. Of the parties that received media coverage, ZANU PF accounted for more than half the coverage, making up 52% of the space and time recorded. The party was the most featured party on four of the five news platforms monitored. MDC Alliance and independent candidates made up 20% and 7% of the coverage respectively. These three groups combined for 79% of the coverage while the remaining 50 parties shared 21% of the coverage. This trend of coverage was unfair to the lesser known parties as it denied them of the opportunity to assert themselves in the media. The range of coverage between the two main parties and the other parties was widest in the public and private press where the two parties accounted for 93% and 85% of the coverage respectively. It was narrowest in the local and national commercial radio stations where the two parties made up 44% and 51% respectively.

The lack of balance in the media's coverage also manifested itself in the coverage of the presidential candidates. Emmerson Mnangagwa was consistently the most visible candidate throughout the electoral period. The media followed up on his

campaigns and his activities as president of the country. Overall, he commanded a 57% share of the publicity ahead of Nelson Chamisa who was featured in 16% of the coverage. APA's Nkosana Moyo and NCA's Lovemore Madhuku were a distant third, each with 4% of the coverage of the contestants. The remaining 19 candidates shared 19% of the coverage. Seven of the presidential candidates failed to garner a significant percentage of media coverage. Only 10 of the presidential candidates were featured on all of the news platforms monitored.

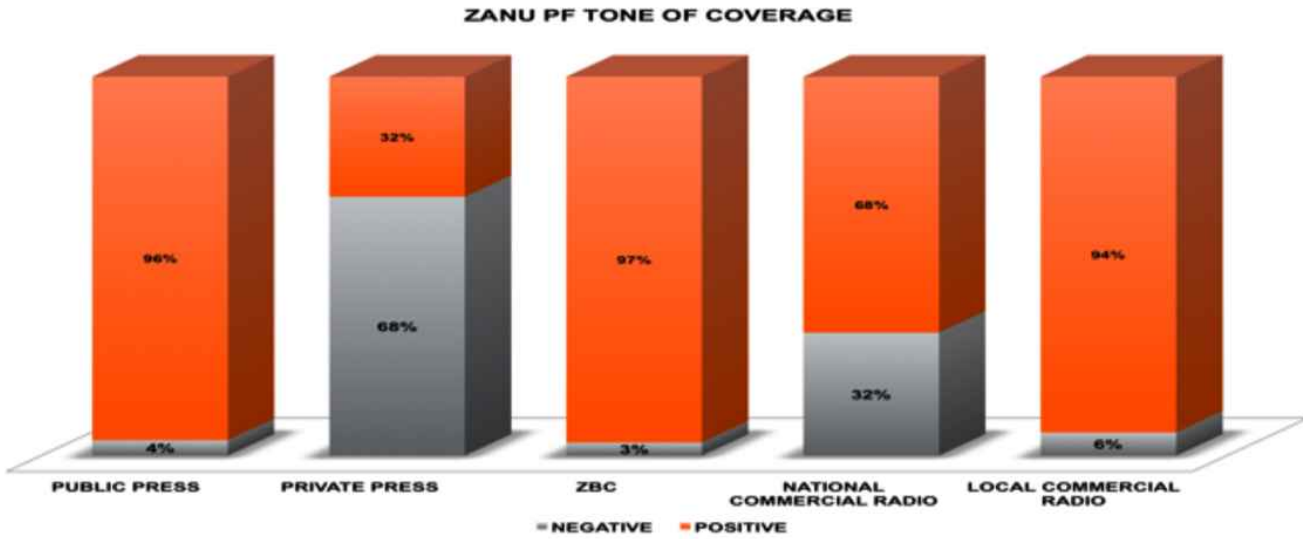
There was a major challenge in the issue of inclusivity during the election period. Women and youths were marginalised, receiving only fringe coverage. Overall, women constituted 9% of the coverage of political actors, while men were featured in 91%. The nature of coverage of the two groups reflected the socio-economic imbalances between men and women politicians. Youths were also erratically covered during the election period; they only comprised 4% of the overall coverage. Older politicians spoke on what they perceived to be issues of interest to youths. There was a need for the media to seek input from youths on the issues they would want aspiring candidates to address if elected into office.

6.2 Partisan coverage of the main political parties

Throughout the electoral period the media was neutral in 76% of the reports that covered political parties. Despite the illusion of neutrality, there was more sentiment directed towards the two main political parties (MDC Alliance and ZANU PF). Overall, the two parties accounted for 88% of the negative sentiment and 84% of the positive sentiment. This is an indication of the media's bias for or against the two parties. This reflects a structural challenge in the political economy of the media in Zimbabwe.

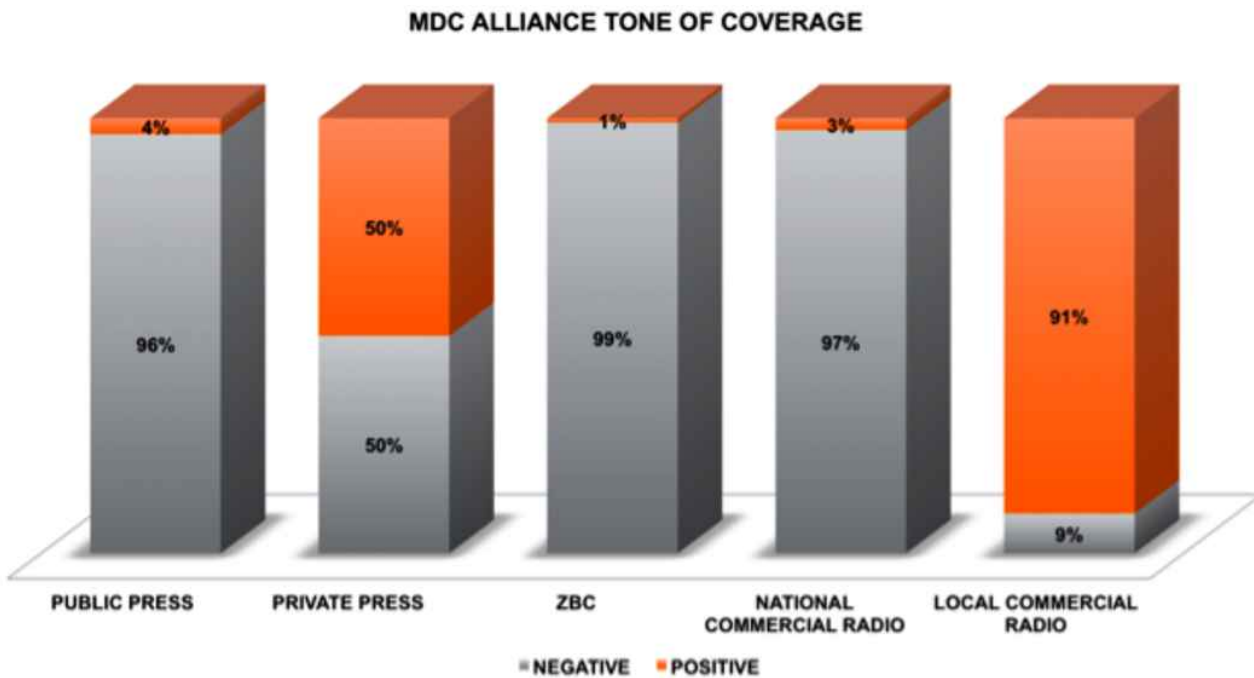
ZANU PF received coverage that was predominantly positive on all of the monitored news platforms save for the privately owned press. The positive coverage was significantly higher on the government-controlled platforms and the local and national commercial radio stations, which are under the direct control of ZANU PF, or are owned by people who are ruling party or government officials.

Fig 9: ZANU PF tone of coverage



The MDC Alliance did not have the same advantage as the ruling party and for that reason the party received predominantly negative coverage from three of the five news platforms that were monitored. Most of its negative coverage appeared in the government-controlled state media (ZBC and Zimpapers). Local commercial radio and the private press were the least critical of the party.

Fig 10: MDC Alliance tone of coverage



The recorded biases appeared to be deliberate and calculated through the use of various tactics that portrayed the two parties in positive or negative light. These included, selective sourcing, denying the right of reply, failure to distinguish fact from opinion, as well as official government business being transformed into political party campaigns.

Even though the privately owned media were more diverse in the issues their columnists addressed, most of them focused on countering the narrative in the government-controlled media. They highlighted challenges in the electoral environment and gave opposition parties, particularly the MDC Alliance, a platform to air its grievances against ZEC and ZANU PF. Leaders of the opposition who included, Harry Peter Wilson and Blessing Kasiyamhuru, had columns in the privately owned press... Selective sourcing provided the electorate with one-sided news and views on the various issues they discussed.

6.4 Right of reply

Election-related disputes were well documented in the media, particularly tensions between MDC Alliance and the MDC-T formation led by Thokozani Khupe over the ownership of the party name and logo, MDC Alliance and ZEC over the availability of the voters' roll, electoral reform and the printing of the ballot paper, amongst other issues. The media was divided in their coverage and analysis of these. The stories in which these cases were reported were usually one-sided with the privately owned media documenting MDC Alliance's claims, whilst ZEC's responses were mostly documented in the government-controlled public media. It was rare for a single story to contain the perspective of ZEC and that of the MDC Alliance at the same time, which would give a fairer picture of where the different groups stood. It was more common for the media to publish a response the next day, seemingly to push their sales or increase their views. Section 160J (e) of the Electoral Act states that the media should ensure "political parties and candidates are afforded a reasonable right of reply to any allegations made in their news media that are claimed by the political parties or candidates concerned to be false".

6.5 Framing of issues by the different news platforms

The media's biases were seen in the manner in which they decided to frame the political actors and the ongoing issues. President Mnangagwa and MDC Alliance leader Nelson Chamisa were the targets of most of the recorded frames. In the government-controlled press, the papers zeroed in on what Nelson Chamisa said and did during his campaign. His gaffes were made headlines in these media outlets in an effort to discredit him and his party. Below is a list of perspectives on the MDC Alliance leader that were projected by the government-controlled press.

1. Nelson Chamisa the 'dreamer'

- *The Sunday Mail (13/5) Chamisa: From BBC to Alice in Wonderland*
- *The Herald (10/7) ZANU PF scoffs at day dreamer Chamisa*
- *The Herald (10/7) Of Chamisa's double speak and delusions of grandeur*
- *Chronicle (26/6) Chamisa' childish fantasy promises unethical*

2. Chamisa the liar

- *The Herald (8/6) Chamisa taking silly season literally*
- *The Herald (31/5) Kagame blasts 'liar' Chamisa*
- *The Herald (31/5) Churches blast 'liar' Chamisa*
- *The Herald (28/8) Chamisa a tin-pot dictator*
- *The Herald (14/7) Chamisa: Hello Mr Proudhorn*
- *The Sunday Mail (6/5) Chamisa spins another yarn*
- *The Herald, (25/8) Chamisa 'a victim of own lies'*
- *Chronicle (22/7) Top 10 lies Chamisa has told voters*
- *Chronicle (1/6) # Chamisa Challenge a hit on Twitter*
- *Chronicle (15/5) Adv Chamisa ideological and policy bankruptcy laid bare*

3. Chamisa has no respect for women

- *The Herald (22/7) EU blasts 'sexist' Chamisa*
- *The Herald (31/5) Chauvinism is Chamisa's greatest undoing*
- *The Herald (18/5) I can impregnate any woman - Chamisa*
- *The Herald (11/7) 'Chamisa paranoid, immature'*
- *The Herald (31/5) Reasons to vote for President Mnangagwa*
- *The Sunday Mail (29/7) July 30th Cometh what happens to Chamisa's 18-year-old sister*

4. Tying Chamisa with the Mugabes

- *Chronicle (3/7) Chamisa 'meets' Mugabe, Grace in Dubai*
- *Chronicle (1/8) Chamisa drank from Mugabe's poisoned Chalice*
- *Chronicle (30/7) Vote for Mugabe via Chamisa says ED*
- *The Herald (1/8) How Chamisa was poisoned by Mugabe*
- *The Herald (30/7) Chamisa in pickle over Mugabe ties*

While the government-controlled press was invariably critical of Chamisa, the privately owned press also put Mnangagwa under the spotlight. He was criticized for his links to the army, his allegedly violent past as President Mugabe's right-hand man, and his capacity to revive the country's economy based on his stint as President following the military coup that forced Mugabe's resignation.

1. Role of the army in Zimbabwe's governance

- *NewsDay (16/7) Mnangagwa rewards soldiers, police*
- *NewsDay (16/7) Mnangagwa's army salary increase ploy to buy votes*
- *NewsDay (7/7) Mnangagwa 'justifies' ZANU PF Chiefs link*
- *Daily News (5/7) We will salute Chamisa army*
- *Daily News (6/7) Army in fix over elections*

2. Mnangagwa called to own up to violent past

- *NewsDay (6/7) Mnangagwa must answer to past 'transgressions' first*
- *NewsDay (13/6) Mnangagwa cannot claim to be a Paul without acknowledging past deeds*
- *NewsDay (9/6) Let's break from the past: Mnangagwa*

3. Mnangagwa's capacity to deliver as President questioned

- *NewsDay (5/7) Beyond the rhetoric what does Mnangagwa offer?*
- *NewsDay (9/7) Mnangagwa's anti-corruption rhetoric must end*
- *NewsDay (25/6) I would not recommend coup conspirator Mnangagwa*
- *NewsDay (4/6) Mnangagwa all talk no action: US*

6. 6 Follow-up on issues raised

While the media played a critical role in highlighting the different issues that were raised during the electoral period, there was a challenge in following up on the issues or further investigating them to inform the electorate about the progress. This was evident in both the private and public media particularly in reporting court cases, instances of human rights violations and the commissioning of projects by President Mnangagwa. Most of these issues were covered as events; there was very little independent investigation by the monitored media to discuss why court cases were dismissed, or to follow up on the commissioning of a new or revived mine. The feasibility of promises made by political actors to the electorate was rarely

questioned. When ZANU PF and the MDC Alliance were subjected to such scrutiny by the media, it was not to critique their policies impartially, but to de-campaign or promote the two parties, depending on the news platform reporting on an issue.

6.7 Failure to distinguish between government activities and political campaigns

One of the major challenges observed in the state media's coverage was the blurring of lines between government activities and ZANU PF campaigns. There were instances where government activities were covered from a campaign angle by the government-controlled media. This gave the misleading impression that the party - and not government - was responsible for particular developments.

Media Monitors noted that ZANU PF gained mileage from, launches, tours or official openings by government officials in government during the monitoring period. These events tilted the playing field in favour of ZANU PF as they usually coincided with the party's campaign activities in a particular location or were presided over by a government official who was running for election. From the manner in which these reports were covered it was difficult to distinguish whether the government officials were acting in their official capacity or were campaigning for ZANU PF.

During the monitoring period, stories on investment opportunities in the country and efforts for industrial re-capitalization comprised 17% of the monitored stories. Even though these were not campaign activities, they were congruent with Emmerson Mnangagwa's "Zimbabwe is open for business" mantra. Throughout the electoral period, these activities coincided with the party's campaigns and seemed as though ZANU PF was parading the country's industrial sector for foreign investors. If the campaigns and government activities had been separated, the electorate would not have been misled into crediting ZANU PF with the sudden spurt of investment opportunities and employment opportunities that were being touted by government officials who were also candidates in the election. On the July 9, 2018, *The Herald* carried three stories on its front page. One report highlighted the beginning of the Presidential Input Scheme, which started 'suspiciously earlier than usual'. The paper noted that, "while addressing ZANU PF supporters at a rally at Chipadze stadium, President Mnangagwa attributed the early distribution of inputs to hard work by government". The paper quoted Mnangagwa saying, "we are in July and you usually receive inputs between October and November. Early distribution of presidential inputs is due to hard work from my team". In the main story on the page, President Mnangagwa tells ZANU PF supporters that, the \$4,5 billion Batoka Gorge hydro-electricity project would create 6,000 jobs. In both cases government projects were clearly being used as campaign material.

#Zw2018

21 DAYS TO GO

Vote

\$4,5bn Batoka deal to create 6 000 jobs

Presidential inputs distribution begins

Norman Machingwe in BUNDBURA

GOVERNMENT has started distributing inputs under the Presidential Input Scheme, four months before the start of the summer cropping season, to ensure they reach the beneficiaries on time.

Farmer started receiving the inputs last month. Addressing 2 000 at an assembly at Chipinge Stadium here on Saturday, President Mnangagwa welcomed the early distribution of inputs to hard work by the government.

"We have already started distributing inputs under the Presidential Input Scheme. What kind of Government can you mean here?"

"We are in July and you usually receive inputs between October and November. Early distribution of Presidential inputs is due to hard work from my team."

"If you do not perform, then we can never work together," said President Mnangagwa.

He said inputs under the Continued Agricultural Programme will also be released soon.

"There is also Continued Agriculture, the inputs will also be coming soon. There are those who supervise that area."

President Mnangagwa said because of Continued Agriculture, Zimbabwe

would never suffer from hunger again.

"We have our Continued Agriculture, the first model was for maize and it was a resounding success and because of that model Zimbabwe will reorganise itself from food deficiency."

"There might be some regions which may receive below normal rainfall, but we make sure that we have produced enough grain throughout every season."

"I have made sure that we have produced enough grain throughout every season."

"I have made sure that we have produced enough grain throughout every season."

"I have made sure that we have produced enough grain throughout every season."

"I have made sure that we have produced enough grain throughout every season."

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"I have made sure that we have produced enough grain throughout every season."

"I have made sure that we have produced enough grain throughout every season."



Vice President Constantino Chiwenga addresses 2000 supporters during a rally in Kwekwe, Harare, yesterday. — (Picture by Memory Mungambe)

Devolution: Zim remains unitary State

Tendai Mugaribira

ZIMBABWE will remain a unitary state, while the devolution being implemented by Government seeks to achieve fair and balanced development spearheaded by provincial councils which must initiate economic programmes for their respective provinces, Vice President Constantino Chiwenga has said.

This is in line with Section 107 of the country's Constitution under which central Government should allow provincial councils to set local development priorities.

The move is also in line with the new republic envisaged by President Mnangagwa, which puts the economy ahead of politics.

Addressing 2000 supporters at a rally in Kwekwe, Harare, yesterday, VP Chiwenga said provinces should continue to contribute to the national GDP.

"When we drafted the Constitution, people spoke about devolution (saying) we want provinces to be independent," he said.

"We say no, Zimbabwe is a unitary state. From Victoria Falls to Chipinge, from Dande to Sango Border Post, from Beitbridge to Mutema, from Beitbridge to Nyamapanda, from Harare to Mutema we are all one Zimbabwe. Respect for our unity. We may have different cultures, but we are one country," VP Chiwenga said.

"What we mean by giving power to the people is the issue of provincial councils. These are elected in provinces, and in big cities like Harare and Bulawayo they will be led by provincial councillors. They are no longer ministers for development, but they should champion economic development & food, pandemic responding, rebalancing infra," he said.

"The job now is to see what is needed here in Harare. What factors should be there in Harare? Central Government will oversee economic programmes of such provinces, but here in Harare we are saying it is for high tech and technology. Bulawayo will be the industrial hub and Midlands will focus on iron and steel."

"Part of the money generated by the provinces will be used to address local challenges in the city, but if it is taken to central Government, that is the devolution of power to the country we are talking about. Each province will be competing to contribute to the Gross Domestic Product of the central Government while developing their provinces," VP Chiwenga said the devolution could not be implemented through skimming, but would be done through what he termed "social policy" that will be determined.

He said President Mnangagwa's advice

Level Machingwe recently in BUNDBURA

ZIMBABWE and Zambia have agreed on principles for the \$4.5 billion Batoka Limpopo Hydro-Electricity project located by the winding way for a technical meeting this week between experts from the two countries, President Mnangagwa has said.

Zimbabwe recently received an expression of interest from General Electric Africa to undertake the 1 000 megawatt power project along the Zambezi River, co-owned with Zambia.

The project is expected to create 6 000 jobs. It will also ease power shortages in Zimbabwe and Zambia, with huge potential to supply other regional countries.

Addressing a banquet crowd at Chipinge Stadium on Saturday, President Mnangagwa said the project had Vice Mnangagwa and former of his Zimbabwean counterpart President Edgar Lungu.

"We have the Batoka Limpopo project along the Zambezi River, the feasibility studies have been completed," said President Mnangagwa.

There are three companies that are competing to build the project and we are assessing their capability.

"It is a \$4.5 billion project and we are doing it in partnership with the Zambian Government. I want to say Zambian counterpart President Edgar Lungu and he responded favourably to what we had agreed."

"So next week, I would be sending my experts on the project and President Lungu will also be sending his team of experts that they will continue work on the intricate details of the project."

"But at our level as Presidents, that is agreed and (President) Lungu, we have agreed that the project must go ahead."

The development comes as Zimbabwe has set to receive a number of electricity generation projects that are envisaged to see the country produce surplus power in the next five years.

President Mnangagwa, a fortnight ago, launched the \$4.5 billion Hwange Power Station Unit 7 and 8 construction project which is set to add 200 megawatts to the national grid.

The project comes after the successful completion of the Kariba South expansion contract, that has an output of 900 megawatts.

Zimbabwe has also secured an agreement for a coal bed methane gas project in Matabeleland North Province.

The country is currently producing about 1 500 megawatts of electricity against a demand of 1 600 megawatts during peak period.

The Batoka Limpopo project engineering and legal documents were carried out in 2016, but there were delays in the implementation.

Early this year, General Electric Africa approached Parliament of Zimbabwe requesting interest to invest in the newly formed dollar

• To Page 2

The Herald (9/7) Page 1

Below is a list of investment and industrial re-capitalization stories featured in the state-owned media.

- The Herald (7/6) ED vows to re-open closed companies
- The Herald (5/7) We want to transform Hwange, says Chiwenga
- The Herald (16/6) Investor beefs up GSC revival: President
- The Herald (16/6) ... Govt comes to Shabanie Mine's rescue
- Chronicle (27/6) ED launches \$1,5 billion project for Hwange Thermal Power Station

- The Sunday Mail (17/6) Government avails millions for youths
- The Sunday Mail (17/6) Lithium can power economic growth
- Chronicle (19/7) ED to officiate a hospital refurbishment launch
- Chronicle (16/7) Govt working on ways to fund rural electrification
- ZTV (5/7) President opens Empower Bank

Care should have been taken by the media to ensure there was a clear distinction between government functions and party campaign activities as there is clear potential for abuse of national resources to prop up a party's campaign activities. This gives a party - exclusively the ruling ZANU PF party in these cases - an unfair advantage over its competition.

7.0 Conclusion and recommendations

Adherence to election regulations

There is an urgent need for the electoral commission to proactively ensure the media fully adhere to the country's election reporting regulations so that election coverage is fair, balanced and equitable. In this election, 55 political parties and 23 presidential candidates were contesting in the election, there was need for ZEC's Media Monitoring Committee and media stakeholders to deliberate on the best strategy to ensure the coverage of political parties and candidates was equitable.

Impartiality in the representation of political actors was another challenge as the monitored news platforms expressed bias in their coverage. The state-owned media flouted their constitutional mandate to be "impartial" and afford opportunities for "divergent views". Even though the tone of coverage was mostly neutral, there was a lot of positive and negative sentiment around the main political parties, particularly ZANU PF and MDC Alliance. ZANU PF was exclusively portrayed in a favourable light by the government-controlled public media. Their tone of coverage was mostly positive as Zimpapers publications and ZBC stations passively reported on the party's campaign activities and neglected to question the feasibility of their promises. For the opposition, the government-controlled media was a hostile public sphere as their manifestos and activities were subjected to gratuitous criticism.

Impact of media ownership on election-related coverage

The biases exhibited by the media in their coverage of political parties seem to be deeply rooted in the political economy of the local mainstream media. Lack of diversity in the ownership of the local media was also reflected in the reporting patterns observed. Since many of the news platforms fall under the direct or indirect control of the ruling party through government or people with links to the ruling party, ZANU PF enjoyed an unfair advantage over the opposition. For the media to contribute meaningfully to Zimbabwe's elections, there is a need for the functions of state-owned media enterprises to comply with constitutional regulations. In their current form Zimpapers and ZBC do not have the editorial independence to report objectively on election-related issues. These organisations urgently need root and branch media reform to restore and protect their national public service mandates.

The media's role as the Fourth Estate

The media have an ethical obligation to monitor the transparency of electoral processes and to hold the election management authorities and politicians accountable for their actions. This obligation should be enough to compel them to make efforts to effectively play their role as guardians of democracy and defenders of the public interest (Fourth Estate). Although the media was able to extensively cover election-related developments, they were unable to clearly articulate and follow up on the impact of the electoral irregularities and malpractices that were recorded. The media's efforts were partly hampered by the lack of access to information on the electoral processes. It seemed ZEC was reluctant to share information about contentious issues with the media, which forced them to rely on hearsay and speculation. More transparency from the commission would have improved the standard of election reporting.

Inclusivity in election reporting

Vulnerable groups like women and youths were not actively visible in the media. In addition, their issues and concerns were not adequately articulated. Even though women candidates made up 17% of the candidates, they were featured in just 9% of the media's coverage. The women who were visible in the media constituted 11% of the 1,423 female candidates who were running for election. The prevailing trends mirrored the male dominated nature of Zimbabwe's political arena - and indeed, Zimbabwean society in general. There is a need for more initiatives that encourage women to take part in politics. Political parties should also ensure gender parity in their structures and facilitate opportunities for women to assume positions of leadership. Some of the few women who participated in the 2018 elections were on the receiving end of hate language and stereotypical coverage. There is need for more gender sensitization in newsrooms so as to ensure both men and women are covered in a gender-sensitive and neutral manner.

It is critical for the media to understand the gender and demographic dynamics in the country so as to report on issues from a more representative perspective. In the run-up to the 2018 elections, ZEC reported that the 18-40 age group constituted more than 60% of the voting population. It was a glaring oversight that the media did not seek the voices of this age group and give them the opportunity to air their concerns and opinions, especially relating to issues that affected them. The media could then have confronted the political elders to challenge them on how they intended to cater for the needs of this age group. But this did not happen and the voices of youths only comprised 4% of the election coverage. Even though there were numerous youth-related issues covered by the media, their voices were barely heard as older people spoke on their behalf.

Annex 1

Human Rights Violations reported in the mainstream media

Date & Publication	Headline	Type of violation	Perpetrator	Target
Daily News 31/5 NewsDay 5/6	Intra-party violence rocks Chamisa's MDC-T	Political Violence	MDC-T Activists	Prosper Mutseyami, Lynette Karenyi
NewsDay 31/5	ZANU PF activists invade Mutinhiri son's plot	Intimidation	ZANU PF Activists	Tafara Mutinhiri
NewsDay 1/6	Mt Pleasant Heights residents cry foul over constituency shift	Unlawful Voter Registration	ZEC	Residents
ZBC 4/6 ZIFM 6/6	MDC prepares for protest but is accused by ZANU PF youths of wanting to cause mayhem	Intimidation	ZANU PF Youth league	MDC Alliance
Daily News 5/6	Epworth hotbed for Violence	Political Violence	Zanu PF Supporters	Zalerah Makari
NewsDay (9/6)	Mugabe wanted to kill me over Grace: Makamba	Political violence	Robert Mugabe	James Makamba
NewsDay 19/6	They wanted to kill me: Mutseyami	Political violence	MDC Activists	Prosper Mutseyami
NewsDay 19/6	ZANU PF activist accused of assaulting fellow party members	Political Violence	Edinah Sameke	Misheck Magombedze
The Herald 20/6	Harvest House violence spills into court	Political Violence	Cosmas Njanji (MDC A)	MDC party member
Daily News 21/6	Mashayamombe in court over political violence	Political Violence	Shadreck Mashayamombe	Zanu PF supporters
NewsDay 22/6	Re-emergence of ZANU PF green bombers worrisome	Intimidation	Zanu PF Green Bombers	Public
Daily News 26/6	Bulawayo bombing exposes security deficiencies	Political Violence	Unknown	Emmerson Mnangagwa
Diamond FM 26/6	White city bomb kills 2	Political Violence	Unknown	Emmerson Mnangagwa
ZBC (28/6)	Terror attack a failed assassination	Political violence	Unknown	Emmerson Mnangagwa
Daily News 4/7	Duo in soup for defacing Mnangagwa posters	Defacing of Poster	Peter Bizzare and Tatenda Kamutungude	Emmerson Mnangagwa
NewsDay 7/7	ZIPP member attacks colleague in dispute	Political Violence	Kudzai Wambe	Mthulisi Ndlovu
NewsDay 7/7	5 youths in court for assault	Political Violence	Suspected opposition youths	Zanu PF activists
NewsDay 09/7	Chamisa in court for assaulting Khupe ally	Political Violence	Asifa Matsinga (MDC Alliance)	MDC-T Supporter
NewsDay 11/7	Suspected ZANU PF supporters torch NPF official's home	Intimidation	Zanu PF supporters	Sapren Kudakumombe
NewsDay 11/7	6 ZANU PF activists nabbed for violence	Political Violence	Zanu PF activists	MDC Alliance Supporters
DailyNews 12/7	MDC supporters jailed for violence	Political Violence	Robert and Itai Kavunza	Jairos Nyamaruru
DailyNews 12/7 ZiFM 14/07	Hackers download voters personal information	Invasion of Privacy	Unknown	Registered voters
The Herald 12/7	Chamisa threatens anarchy	Intimidation	Nelson Chamisa	ZEC and Zanu PF
Daily News 14/7 Daily News 21/6	VERITAS on political abuse of school children	Freedom of Association	Zanu PF	School Children

<i>The Chronicle 14/7 The Herald 14/7</i>	<i>ZEC reports MDC Alliance violence threats to police</i>	Intimidation	MDC Alliance	ZEC
<i>The Sunday Mail 15/7</i>	<i>ZEC commissioner receives death threat</i>	Intimidation	Twitter Users	Netsai Mushonga
<i>The Standard 15/7</i>	<i>ZANU PF supporters in fierce clashes</i>	Political Violence	Zanu PF supporters	Zalera Makari's Camp
<i>NewsDay 16/7 Daily News 16/7</i>	<i>Chief Charumbira drops another bombshell</i>	Vote Buying	Chief Charumbira	Citizens
<i>Daily News 16/7</i>	<i>8 ZANU PF youths in court over political violence</i>	Political violence	ZANU PF youths	ZANU PF supporters
<i>Daily News 16/7</i>	<i>MDC T Trio arrested for protesting postal voting at a police camp freed</i>	Freedom of assembly	Police	MDC Alliance officials
<i>ZTV 16/7 Chronicle 16/7</i>	<i>ZBC camera damaged at Chamisa rally</i>	Free Expression	MDC Supporters	ZBC
<i>DailyNews 17/7</i>	<i>Gun toting ZANU PF youth arrested</i>	Intimidation	Zanu PF youths	Public
<i>Daily News 25/7 The Herald 25/7</i>	<i>Police ban MDC Demo</i>	Freedom of Assembly	Police	MDC Alliance
<i>NewsDay 25/7</i>	<i>We'll arrest Chamisa:ED</i>	Intimidation	Emmerson Mnangagwa	Nelson Chamisa
<i>Daily News 18/7 The Herald 28/7 NewsDay 18/8</i>	<i>Tamborinyoka charged again for defacing posters</i>	Defacing of Posters	Luke Tamborinyoka	Taurai Nhamburo
<i>NewsDay 31/7</i>	<i>ZEC Bulawayo blacks out media on voting progress,statistics</i>	Access to Informations	ZEC	Journalists
<i>Daily News 1/8</i>	<i>ZEC fails to post presidential results in 7% of polling stations-ZESN</i>	Access to Information	ZEC	Citizens
<i>ZTV 1/8 Classic 263 1/8 Star FM 1/8 Capitalk 1 /8 DailyNews 2/8 The Herald 2/8</i>	<i>Chaos Rocks Harare... Army Deployed</i>	Freedom of Assembly	Army, Police	Citizens
<i>Classic263 2/8 NewsDay 2/8 The Herald 2/8</i>	<i>6 feared dead</i>	Freedom of Assembly	Army, Police	Citizens
<i>Daily News 2/8</i>	<i>Chiwenga on Biti Assassination Claims</i>	Intimidation	Constantino Chiwenga	Tendai Biti
<i>The Herald 3/8</i>	<i>Harare Riots: 26 suspects Nabbed</i>	Arbitrary Arrests	Police	Citizens
<i>Star FM 3/8 Capitalk 3/8 The Herald 4/8 NewsDay 4/8</i>	<i>ZRP sorry for presser debacle</i>	Media Freedom	Police	Journalists
<i>Daily News 11/8</i>	<i>Tendai Biti arrested</i>	Arbitrary Arrest	Police	Tendai Biti

Annex 2

List of Acronyms

- #1980 Freedom Movement Zimbabwe (#1980 FMZ)
- African People Congress (APC)
- Alliance for National Salvation (ANSA)
- Alliance for People's Agenda (APA)
- Bethel Christian Party (BCP)
- Build Zimbabwe Alliance (BZA)
- Chief's Party (CP)
- Coalition of Democrats (CODE)
- Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa -COMESA
- Common Wealth Observer Mission
- Democratic Alliance - United People's Party(DA UPP)
- Democratic Opposition Party of Zimbabwe (DOP)
- Economic Reform Assembly (ERA)
- European Union Election Observer Mission- EUEOM
- Forces of Liberation Organization of African National Party (FLOANP)
- Freedom Front (FF)
- Freedom Justice Coalition Zimbabwe (FJCZ)
- FreeZim Congress
- Good People's Movement Zimbabwe People's Party(GPM ZPP)
- International Republic Institute and National Democratic Institute - IRI/NDI
- Kambizi Party
- Movement for Democratic Change - Thokozani Khupe (MDC-T)
- Movement for Democratic Change Alliance (MDC Alliance)
- Mthwakazi Republic Party (MRP)
- National Action Party (NAP)
- National Constitutional Assembly (NCA)
- National Patriotic Front (NPF)
- Nationalists Alliance of Patriotic and Democratic Republicans (NAPDR)
- New Patriotic Front (New PF)
- People's Progressive Party Zimbabwe (PPPZ)
- People's Rainbow Coalition (PRC)
- Progressive Democrats of Zimbabwe (PDZ)
- Rebuilding Zimbabwe Party (RZP)
- Republican Party of Zimbabwe (RPZ)
- Southern African Development Community Observer Mission-SEOM
- Suffering Voices of Zimbabwe (SUVOZ)
- The African Democrats (TAD)

- United African National Council (UANC)
- United Christian Alliance (UCA)
- United Crusade for Achieving Democracy Green Party Of Zimbabwe (UCADGPZ)
- United Democracy Movement (UDM)
- United Democratic Alliance (UDA)
- United Democratic Front (UDF)
- United Movement for Democracy (UMD)
- Unity Party Zimbabwe (UPZ)
- Zimbabwe African National Union - Ndonga (ZANU NDONGA)
- Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF)
- Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU)
- Zimbabwe Democratic Union (ZDU)
- Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC)
- Zimbabwe First Party (ZIM FIRST)
- Zimbabwe Labour Party (ZLP)
- Zimbabwe Maat
- Zimbabwe Partnership for Prosperity (ZIPP)
- Zimbabwe Revolutionary Democratic Party (ZRDP)
- Zunde

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