



MEDIA ANALYSIS REPORT FOR THE 2008 HARMONISED ELECTIONS





Pre-elections Analysis

Introduction

The last quarter of the year saw the highly debated 18th amendment to the Zimbabwe Constitution. The Amendment transformed the electoral and political landscape introducing for the first time in Zimbabwe's history harmonized elections. This meant that Presidential, Senatorial, House of Assembly and Council elections were to be held in one day. In addition the amendment shortened the term of office of President and made it run concurrently with that of Parliament. The composition of the Senate and House of Assembly changed with the former to consist of 84 members and the latter to increase from 150 to 210 which meant a restructuring and creation of constituencies.

Women's participation in elections has largely been covered at the level of voting and campaigning for men. Very few women have been able to break the glass ceiling and make it into positions of decision-making. After the 2005 Parliamentary elections, there were only 48 women MPs (i.e. 22%) in the Zimbabwean Parliament, a far cry from the minimum of 50% as set by the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development. Whilst the barriers to women's participation are many and varied, the most fundamental one lie around the media's inability to make women newsworthy.

The media is a chronicler of events, an informer, an educator, a transformative space and a tool to change society. It has the capacity to make a very positive contribution towards social change. Without a means of communication, women are not participating in governance; instead their male counterparts who have the greatest outreach as they are covered and given voices in the media are making the political decision. With this in mind, it is vital for the media to play its role decisively in order to inform, educate and empower the general public which is a civic right as it feeds to the principle of freedom to access of information.

The Scope of Analysis

The pre-elections media monitoring analysis comes about from a collection of election issues covered in both the private and state print media that is newspapers. The analysis focused on articles from daily and weekly newspapers that is; The Herald, The Sunday Mail, the Standard, Financial Gazette and Zimbabwe Independent as from 01 October 2007 to 31 March 2008.

The major objective was to find out if the media was able to play its role, mandate



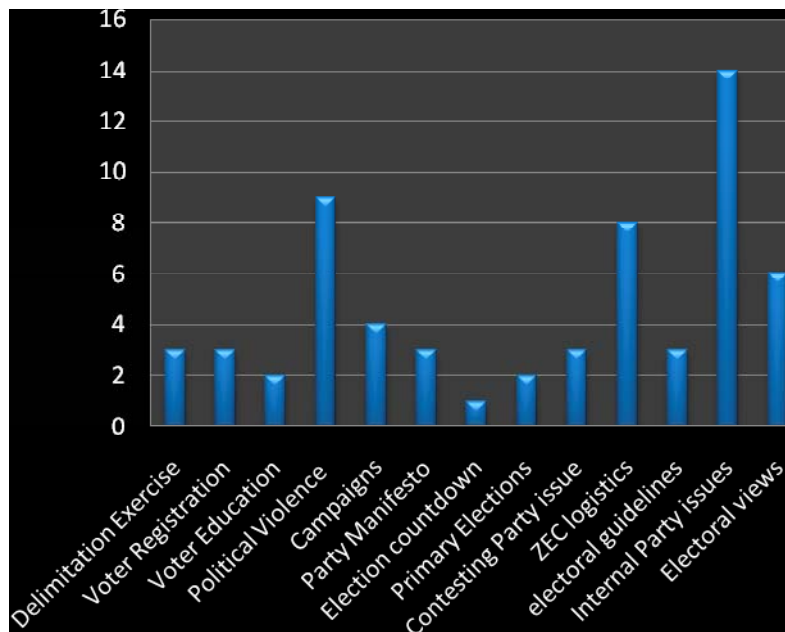
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and obligation to disseminate information to the general public. Great care was taken to rise above the newspapers biasness for example some newspapers are known to only publish pro or anti government. However, the main thrust of the analysis was to find out if the electorate was adequately being informed on electoral issues in order for them to make informed decisions.

In order to conduct a systematic analysis of how women were covered in the media during the pre elections period, taking into consideration the fact that, the ownership and management of the media, wherever you go remains a patriarchal area, WiPSU, initiated an internal data capturing process where a daily monitoring of newspapers would be conducted and any article on women Parliamentarians, Senators and Councilors would be collected

ISSUES COVERED DURING ELECTIONS



- The graph shows that there were 13 different issues covered on elections.
- The issue with the highest coverage is the internal party issues followed by political violence. However election countdown has the list coverage.
- A total of 61 stories were covered on the above election issues.

Total Issues covered by different newspapers



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Issues covered

Herald

Zim Ind

Standard

Fin Gaz

Sunday Mail

Total

Delimitation Exercise

1

2

3

Voter Registration

1

1

1

3

Voter Education

1

1

2

Political Violence

2

1

3

3

9



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Campaigns
3

1
4

Party Manifesto
1

1
1
3

Election countdown

1
1

Primary Elections
1
1

2

Contesting Party Issue
1
2

3

ZEC logistics
6



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2

8

Electoral guidelines

2

1

3

Internal Party Issues

4

6

2

2

14

Electoral Views

2

2

2

6

Total

14

20

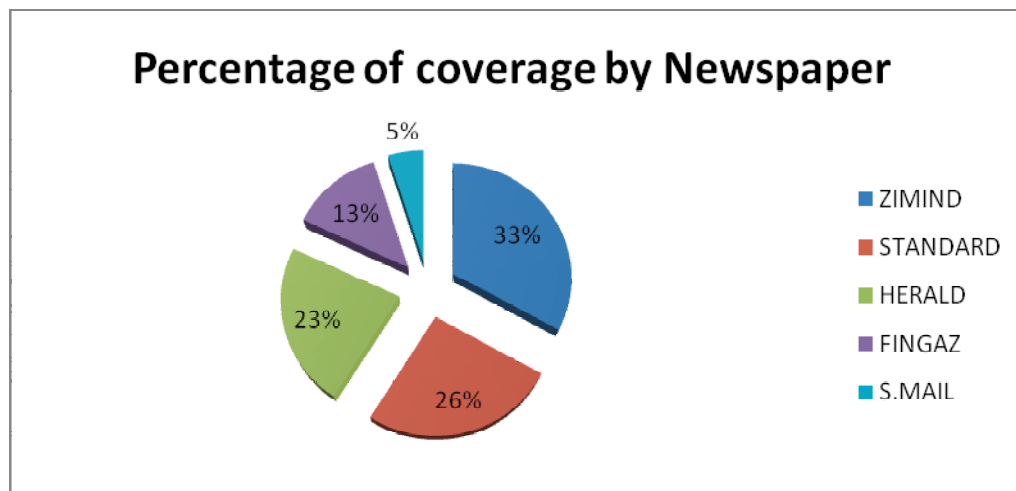
16

8

3

61

- A total of 61 stories were covered by the newspaper.
- The Zimbabwe Independent had the highest coverage of stories on elections followed by the Standards, The Herald, Financial Gazette and Sunday Mail with 20, 16, 14, 8 and 3 respectively.
- However there is need for the Sunday Mail to improve its coverage of women in politics during elections and in general.



General Overview of Coverage

To kick start the pre-election period was the debate around Constitution Amendment 18. Newspapers like the Zimbabwe Independent and The Standard printed critical analysis of the amendment which was very informative. One good example was the article in The Standard titled "Amendment 18 silent on many critical issues." The article highlighted that the amendment was not clear on what powers Parliament had over making any changes to the report and what it is really that parliament could do with the report. The passing of that phase saw a wide coverage of internal political party issues with the Lucia Matibenga saga of the MDC-Tsvangirai faction and the endorsement of the Presidential candidate of ZANU PF at the ZANU PF congress making headlines in all the monitored newspapers. In addition publications were made of the controversial primary elections with allegations of unfair displacement of candidates making headlines especially the issue concerning Irene Zindi. The internal party issues formed the highest covered issues in the period of analysis.

The pre-electoral period was marred with a lot of uncertainties as to whether



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Zimbabwe Electoral Commission as a board was apt to carry out its duties. The Herald and Sunday Mail gave excuse infested articles of why the delimitation exercise was slow, why the voters roll was flawed and other poor ZEC logistics. On the other hand The Zimbabwe Independent was critical and analytical of ZEC operations and electoral preparations. Articles mounted question on electoral reforms, voter education and ZEC's preparedness. Similarly for Financial Gazette and The Standard with the latter featuring articles from Media Monitoring Project Zimbabwe which gave media updates analysis of both print and electoral media.

The Zimbabwe Election Support Network (ZESN) which was monitoring the pre-election period reported numerous cases of politicization of state, public functions and programmes in rural areas. The Standard and the Financial Gazette printed stories of vote buying using maize meal, farm equipment and threats to sway vote in one way or the other ahead of elections. The use of state resources to influence the outcome of the election is corrosion of the legitimacy of the electoral and democratic process and violation of human right as resources take on a partisan distribution.

Issues of politically motivated violence were reported of as early as October and continued to take precedent right up to March. The Herald, the Financial Gazette gave an overview of the political parties' manifestos towards the elections especially after mid March. It is important on this issue to take note of the fact that the political parties manifestos became an issue almost two weeks before the elections which was rather late (not that it's the media to blame) as the electorate needs to brood over all the political party's manifesto and identify themselves with the party that brings out their interest best.

Campaign adverts and posters for various parties came into full swing in March with allegations of Zanu PF presidential candidate getting more coverage than all opposition candidates. Various civil societies took the liberty of doing the elections countdown and voter education of the electorate through the print media.

Number Of Stories Covering Women Parliamentarians

	NAMES OF WOMEN PARLIAMENTARIANS	JAN	FEB	MAR	TOTAL
1	Min Flora Buka	0	0	0	0
2	MP Abigail Damasane	0	0	0	0
3	MP Aqualinah Katsande	0	0	0	0
4	MP Nomalanga Khumalo	0	0	0	0
5	MP Thokozani Khupe	0	1	0	1
6	MP Shuvai Mahofa	0	0	0	0



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7	MP Angelina Masuku	0	0	0	0
8	MP Editor Matamisa	0	0	0	0
9	MP Thikozile Mathuthu	0	0	0	0
10	MP Mabel Mawere	0	0	0	0
11	MP Enita Maziriri	0	0	0	0
12	Min Oppah Muchinguri	0	1	0	1
13	Min Olivia Muchena	0	0	0	0
14	MP Sabina Mugabe	0	0	0	0
15	VP Joice Mujuru	0	0	2	2
16	MP Priscilla Misihairabwi Mushonga	0	0	1	1
17	MP Pauline Mpariwa	0	1	0	1
18	MP Esther Nyauchi	0	0	0	0
19	Min Sithembiso Nyoni	0	0	0	0
20	MP Celine Pote	0	0	0	0
21	MP Satiya Canisia	0	0	0	0
22	MP Gwachiwa Cecilia	0	0	0	0
23	MP Gertrude Stevenson	0	1	1	2
	MP Margaret Zinyemba	0	0	0	0



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2					
4					
2					
5	Sen. Edna Madzongwe	0	0	0	0
2					
6	Sen. Chikava Betty	0	0	0	0
2					
7	Sen. Chimbudzi Alice	0	0	0	0
2					
8	Sen. Chimene Manditawepi	0	0	0	0
2					
9	Sen. Dete Agnes	0	0	0	0
3					
0	Sen. Dube Grace	0	0	0	0
3					
1	Sen. Gava Chiratido	0	0	0	0
3					
2	Sen. Goto Rosemary	0	0	0	0
3					
3	Sen. Gumbura Livai	0	0	0	0
3					
4	Sen. Mahere Sheila	0	0	0	0
3					
5	Sen. Makono Egneti	0	0	0	0
3					
6	Sen. Mohadhi Tambudzani	0	0	0	0
3					
7	Sen. Moyo Eunice	0	0	0	0
3					
8	Sen. Moyo Josephine	0	0	0	0
3					
9	Sen. Muchengeti Clarissa	0	0	0	0



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4 0	Sen. Muchenje Viginia	0	0	0	0
4 1	Sen. Mukusha Stefan	0	0	0	0
4 2	Sen. Mutinhiri Tracy	0	0	1	1
4 3	Sen. Muzenda Tsitsi	0	0	0	0
4 4	Sen. Mwashita Vivian	0	0	0	0
4 5	Sen. Ndhlovu Rittah	0	0	0	0
4 6	Sen. Rungani Anna	0	0	0	0
4 7	Sen. Thembani Sabina	0	0	0	0
	Total	0	4	5	9

The table above shows that:

- No articles about women candidates who were in the previous Parliament were given coverage in January 2008.
- Only 4 articles in February covered 4 women each with a total of one story and these women were not even covered as candidates campaigning in their constituencies.
- A total of 5 stories covered 4 women in March 2008. The Vice President Joice Mujuru was the only one who got a maximum of two stories in the month because of her title.
- A total of 9 Articles covered women candidates in the 3 months of the 2008 harmonized elections

Number of Stories Covered For Other Women In Politics

OTHERS	JAN	FEB	MAR	TOTAL
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Joachim Rosa	0	0	1	1
Mercy Chari	0	0	1	1
Viola Nyika	0	0	1	1
Christine Chiuringwe	0	0	1	1
Evelyn Shambare	0	0	1	1
Sekai Holland	0	0	1	1
Grace Kwinje	0	1	0	1
Irene Zindi	0	2	0	2
Margaret Dongo	0	1	0	1
TOTAL	0	4	6	10

- The above table shows that; no articles covered other women candidates who did not have seats in the dissolved 2005 parliament in January
- 4 articles were recorded in February. Two women got a coverage of one article each and the other woman got a maximum of two stories
- 6 articles covered six women candidates the whole month of March 2008
- A total number of 10 stories covered other women in politics and women candidate in the pre-election period of 3 months

Number of Stories Covering Women Councilors

Councilor	JAN	FEB	MARCH	TOTAL
Sekesai Makwavarara	0	0	0	0
Viola Chasi	0	0	0	0
Alice Nkomo	0	0	0	0
Faina Machakaire	0	0	0	0
Theresa Mutandadzi	0	0	0	0
Bessie Nhandara	0	0	0	0
Juliet Machiba	0	0	0	0
Stars Mathe	0	0	0	0
Bybit Tsomondo	0	0	0	0
Marah Dongo	0	0	0	0
Sarina Ncube	0	0	0	0
Dep. Mayor Charity Govera	0	0	0	0
Mildred Binha Ckikwekwete	0	0	0	0
Total	0	0	0	0



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The table above shows that no women candidates for the local government elections were given coverage at all, which shows that the media does not view either women's participation at local government level or the does not respect the local government as an important decision making body.

Number of Stories Covered By the Newspapers per Month

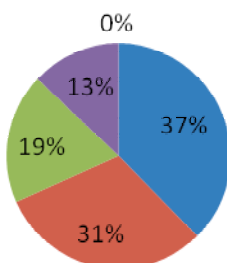
<u>NAME OF PAPER</u>	<u>JANUARY</u>	<u>FEBRUARY</u>	<u>MARCH</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
HERALD	0	3	3	6
ZIMBABWE INDEPENDENT	0	3	2	5
FINANCIAL GAZETTE	1	0	2	3
STANDARD	0	2	0	2
SUNDAY MAIL	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	1	8	7	16

The table shows that the Herald and the Zimbabwe Independent covered a total of 6 and 5 stories respectively between January and March. The Financial Gazette covered three stories that is one in January and another two in March. The Standard has one story covered in February. However the Sunday Mail does not have any coverage at all. A total of 16 stories were covered by the 5 newspapers mentioned above.

All the newspapers cited above published reports on the women politicians except for the Sunday Mail which did not cover any story at all. The breakdown of the reports according to the papers is as follows,

Distribution by Paper

■ Herald ■ Zim Ind ■ Fin Gaz ■ Standard ■ S.Mail



There is a great challenge for the papers to report more on women and for those who have not, to question their own internal policies, integrity and their views on women and their political participation. Even for the Sunday papers, The Financial Gazette and The Sunday Mail the percentage of **(19% and out of 0%)** articles are not impressive because it shows that the papers hardly published articles on women candidates in and others in politics and decision-making in the three months under review. Women's participation still has a long way to go before they are realized to be of national importance.

Campaign Adverts by Political Parties

POLITICAL PARTY	HERALD	S.MAIL	STANDARD	ZIMIND	FIN GAZ	TOTAL
ZANU PF	28	4	1	0	0	33
MDC T	29	7	16	7	4	63
Makoni	10	4	12	7	5	38
Langton	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	67	15	29	14	9	134

N.B There were no adverts of candidates running for other offices other than the presidential office except one in Herald of the ZPPDP and one in the Standard of MDC and there not included in the above table.

NEWSPAPER	JAN	FEB	MAR	Total
Herald	0	1	66	67
Sunday Mail	0	0	15	15
Standard	0	4	25	29
Zim Independent	0	2	12	14
Fin Gazette	0	0	9	9
Total	0	7	127	134



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Voter Education Adverts by NGOs

NGOs	JAN	FEB	MAR	TOTAL
ZEC	1	6	25	32
ZESN	0	2	6	8
Women's Trust	0	2	15	17
WIPSU	4	4	7	15
Christian Alliance	0	2	9	11
YIDEZ	0	4	22	26
ZCTU	0	5	5	10
Crisis Coalition	1	5	8	14
Bulawayo Agenda	0	1	6	7
ZINASU	0	0	6	6
Save Zim Campaign	0	0	4	4
Generation X	0	3	0	3
NCA	0	0	2	2
ZWLA	0	1	1	2
CHRA	0	0	9	9
Youth Forum	0	0	4	4
Nango	0	0	2	2
Zim Human Rights	0	1	2	3
Total	6	36	123	123



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The table above shows that the civic organizations worked very hard to disseminate information to the people. The NGOs were basing on the media on voter education as they were not allowed to do voter education. However ZEC did quite well in advertising as it was the only organization which was given mandate by the government to educate the public on the election processes. The table shows that ZEC is the one leading with a total of 32 adverts.

Recommendations

The analysis of the media reports show that there is need for a lot of work to be done for women politicians to be reported on more often and in a positive manner that will bring out the fact that they are able and effective leaders.

- ❖ The challenge lies with the media to begin to recognize women politicians, their voices, their contributions in decision-making, their highlighting of women's issues and the work and the campaigns they were doing in their capacities as representatives of communities.
- ❖ There is need to highlight the women's participation in Local Government as candidates or as elected councilors or Mayoresses and the nature of women's political participation, which is greater and relevant at local government level.
- ❖ The women are challenging media houses to stop the current polarization in our society to divide women and begin to report accurately on women politicians and women's issues. It is a great challenge to the media houses in this country.
- ❖ A lot of work really needs to be done by media. There is need to cover more women in politics especially the rural female candidates running as Senators and Councilors, who remain unknown because they are not given enough coverage and space in the media.



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- ❖ There is need also for the print media to expand its geographical scope by including rural areas and women in politics in those areas in their coverage.
- ❖ Finally, the media should recognize and celebrate women politicians and the gains made in the emancipation of women.