

By Arthur Fidelis Chikerema and Tomy Ncube

Abstract

Social media in Zimbabwe has brought in a modified political genealogy with a hybrid of political participation. Having had successive years of post-independence characterized by media repression and premeditated media dishes that had the same ultra-patriotism and no sense of variety, the ushering in of social media diluted the repression. From a comparative perspective of reporting based on (AIPPA) Access to Information and Protection Act, (POSA) Public and Order Security Act and (BSA) Broadcasting Services Act, social media stands uncircumcised of any of legal statutes to govern and manipulate its traction. Born out a case study approach the research was largely exploratory, seeking to investigate the impact of social media in Zimbabwe on a political note with a sample size of 3 500. The paper established that social media was strongly engrained with a sense of messianic political touch as expressed by the political freedom, digital democracy and political participation that it has brought in within the political milieu as per the respondents. Collection of data was done through conducting focus group discussions and establishing questionnaires with a response rate of 91%.

Key Terms: Political messaging, Social Media, Political Participation, Political Apathy, Political Culture, Political Blast Furnace, Political Conditioning.

Introduction

Shifting from the limitations posed by printed media that would determine what is known and favour what should be known, the pace of social media (Twitter, WhatsApp and Facebook) has seen a change in Zimbabwe's political messaging. Freedom of the media has been redefined, with citizens having access to quite a more open and relatable level of information consumption. What remains unknown is whether such media freedom has impacted political appreciation negatively or positively in relation to shaping the political culture of the people in Zimbabwe. Witnessing the Baba Jukwa Era which saw the exposing of the ruling party secrets, some thought change was around the corner and amazingly 2013 elections tabled a different political reality with scholars and researchers labelling MDC as a complacent and weak competitor which cries of political bullying every time. On a recent note, Evan Mawarire made the headlines with his "Zimbabwe Shutdown #This Flag (Mureza Uyu, Ifulegi Leyi) which sent through political shock waves to the long serving party that the people are tired and ready to see a change in the state house. Despite the magical efforts that social media has performed, it seems Zimbabweans remain in "apathy" than ever, with some saying that social media is a political bait to turn people's attention from the real socio-political and economic issues affecting the nation. The million dollar question remains, is social media the political prayer to bring political breakthrough and present a new political message and Zimbabwe's Messiah? This paper is an investigation of the impact of social media in moulding the political culture of Zimbabweans. It serves to figure out how social media has influenced the perceptions surrounding Zimbabwe's political situation. Appreciating research as a broad and interconnected effort by scholars and researchers to understand social phenomenon, this paper was directed by a set of questions which were meant to drive the nail down. Summarily the major concerns were 1. What are the impacts of social media on political participation and political culture in Zimbabwe? 2. How effective is

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social media as a political messaging tool? 3. What developments has social media presented in Zimbabwe's political plateau (such as openness, transparency, digital democracy)?

(i) An Overview of social media in Zimbabwe

Some social trends are not well recorded in the history books of humankind and its cultures, not to mention the diffusion, change and modifications that such cultures go through. Social media in Zimbabwe is one such social phenomenon that has not been well archived as a social trend. Social media in Zimbabwe took the centre stage around mid-year 2008 with the introduction of Mxit as the platform for interactions amongst young people. Mxit got the attention due to the cross border frequency and trends that dominated/dominate Zimbabwe-South social cultures thus the concept of "cultural diffusion/transfer." In the next coming years, Mxit lost the ground in Zimbabwe, thus losing the relevance to Facebook which has been the foundation for the appreciation of social media and its link with political participation and culture. The period prior to the 2013 elections presented Zimbabwe with the story of its life, Zimbabwe's own Edward Snowden who masqueraded as the renowned Baba Jukwa who allegedly exposed government secrets, corruption plots, assassinations and vote rigging. The disclosure of such information was seen as traction to direct the 2013 elections in Zimbabwe to the favour of the opposition.

The citizens have adopted the general use of Facebook as a communication tool and at some point as a marketing tool to create a pool for businesses to make themselves known with common pages such as Harare and Bulawayo bidding wars. Deviant from such has been the fact that Facebook has become a warzone to all political debacles, with it functioning as the productive space to launch political missiles against opposite sides, Zimbabweans have been served political meals through social tantrums between Wellence Mujuru, who is son to the former VP Joice Mujuru and Robert Junior son to the former President Of Zimbabwe.

The tale of social media in Zimbabwe seems to be tilted on the political side with Twitter being home to the former Minister of Higher and Tertiary Education Science and Technology development who uses it as a political messaging tool. WhatsApp on the other side trends as the main communication tool for family, business and religious issues with the general populace using it to interact and share concerns. Notwithstanding is that WhatsApp has not been immunised of political infections, as such the much spoken of #Zimbabwe shutdown was a baby born out of the intercourse of political frustrations and the fertility of WhatsApp as a social media platform. Despite such roles played by social media in Zimbabwe, less has been written to capture the spectacle.

(ii) Context

The study focuses on the influence of social media on political perceptions of the people in Zimbabwe; it seeks to draw a comparison on how political messaging has changed based on the assimilation of technology as a socio-political advancement. The paper seeks to inquire on the impact of social media, its contributions to social development and political trajectories of the nation of Zimbabwe. In the same line, the paper also seeks to inquire on the expedient and self-serving move to setup a Ministry of Cyber security, Threat Detection and Mitigation. The research is born out of the belief that social media in Zimbabwe signals the birth of a new wind of media freedom which resonates with a messianic spirit to untangle and save people from the yokes of indoctrination and restricted access to information.

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(iii) Conceptualizing media freedom and political participation

In efforts to conceptualize media freedom, it is impossible for one to overlook the synergy that exists between political participation, political culture and media freedom. Media freedom which can be interchangeably referred to as the freedom of the press is defined by Molnar (2014) as the principle that communication and expression through various mediums which may include printed and electronic media, especially published materials must be considered a right to be exercised freely with such freedom indicating the absence of interfering from an overreaching state. Freedom of the media is preserved through constitutional or and other legal protections. It is important to note that where communication and expression is limited or interfered with, there is prone to be transference of bias or inadequate information. Drawing the relationship between media freedom and political participation Yang and DeHart (2016) note that where there is media freedom people can participate through politically engaging a politician online, making contributions through newspaper columns, writing a letter to the editor of an online newspaper, this shows that where there is freedom of the media people are open minded towards participation. In a study conducted in Cambodia by Richardson and Nash (2017) there was a positive correlation between freedom of the media and political participation since respondents opined that they do not support the government's effort of monitoring and controlling the internet because it suppresses freedom of expression online.

Methodology

This study adopted a case study approach; the target group for case study was picked from the city of Bulawayo due to the convenience for the researchers. Susan (1997) views a case study research as a method which is based on the empirical inquiry which seeks to investigate a contemporary issue within its real-life context. In this case the contemporary issue under investigation was the impact of social media on political participation and political culture in Zimbabwe. The researchers were not blind to the fact that the case study will at a greater length not necessarily reflect the perceptions and attitudes of the whole Zimbabwe due to issues of culture, regional attitudes and personal sentiments of respondents from Bulawayo. 3 500 respondents were chosen through random sampling from tertiary institutions in Bulawayo, the list of respondents was collected from students records offices of each institution.

The focus of the study was on respondents aged between 18-45, the notion behind choosing this age range was to understand the essence of social media, the assumption was that from the age 18-30 the group was characterized by millennials who had a choice in terms of media consumption whereas 31-45 was an group that used to consume of ZBC as the broadcaster of choice. Taking advantage of the age variability the study would also answer to the difference in culture through appreciating youth culture. 528 (15%) respondents came from the 31-45 age range whereas 2 972 (85%) came from the 18-30 age group.

(iv) Literature Review

Discussions around media in Zimbabwe have only bordered in the circles of mass media with the interest being in line with understanding the nature of the operation of the media and the conditionality that exists. Laws have been reviewed in a bid to understand the tale of the media situation in Zimbabwe, documenting the challenges and efforts to stabilize the milieu to favour impartial and objective media. To some point, social media has not taken centre stage in researches hence much has not been written to shed light on the cradle, development and use of social media. Most of the documentations on media have concentrated on printed

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media (newspapers) and mass media (radio and television). Media has had a role in shaping cultures and directing political participation and behaviour in communities, in Zimbabwe the correlation between social media and political culture remains unknown and unresearched.

However mass media has been discussed in a very large array in Zimbabwe. Melber (2004) notes that media in Zimbabwe has been stifled by the government of the day to control and manage the direction at which information is disseminated all done under the undertones of inciting violence and raising feelings of fear through intimidation. Melber substantiates the culture of fear that has been preached through marking media as a 'no go area' by using Chilambwe (2004) who quoted a minister's partisan utterances as follows:

The financial sector is our major enemy but the enemy is media who use the pen to lie about this country. Such reporters are terrorists and the position on how to deal with terrorists is to subject them to the laws of Zimbabwe.

The sentiments above reveal the atmosphere in which media operates from in Zimbabwe. Amuphadi (2004) documents the findings made on the Southern Africa media survey which sought to evaluate media freedoms in the region. Zimbabwe recorded 188 violations against freedoms of expression in 2003 among the ten monitored countries and the level at which the media sphere was being manned was deemed intolerable in line with professional ethics and norms. Historically the post-independence scenario in Zimbabwe has been characterized by a skewed media setup, while these guidelines state the Corporation's commitment to impartial. Coverage, in practice, the coverage has always been heavily skewed in favour of the ruling party. Darnolf (1997) is of the view that the ruling party has not only violated the requirements of equal access to broadcasting services but has violated also ethical standards of advertising by running intimidating radio and television adverts that likened voting for the opposition to choosing death with one of the ads which featured a coffin being lowered into a grave, which was attached with an intimidating caption: "Aids kills. So does ZUM. Vote Zanu PF".

Legal frameworks and media freedom in Zimbabwe

Media Institute of Southern Africa - Zimbabwe concluded in a position paper that Zimbabwe's broadcasting industry was not only severely underdeveloped due to the existence of one broadcaster in both fields of television and radio which presented a scenario which was not in tandem with the principles of promotion of freedom of expression hence presenting a subtle environment that could not promote freedom of expression and press. Such an unstable environment ensured that access to information in the country be governed through government interference hence tilting the broadcasting playground in Zimbabwe. The same position paper outlines that media freedom is stunted by the Broadcasting Services Act which promulgates that government should be given a mandatory hour per week for its own messages. The BSA Chapter [12:06] of 2003 has been criticized for its overemphasis on the power granted on the minister and the President who are also political figures. Saki in Ncube (2016) claims that the ZANU PF led government has, in countable times used the broadcasting services for political gain and gives an account of the 2002 elections where the political contestations were made cumbersome, unfair and undemocratic since the ZANU PF government used POSA and AIPPA which limited liberties on association and media broadcast.

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Broadcasting Services Act: An analysis

Broadcasting can be in general sense be referred to as the way of distributing and sharing video or audio information to communities. Attached to broadcasting has been the growing demand of fairness and the democratic promotion of choice on what people deem as relevant and irrelevant to themselves. On analysing the aforementioned legal document that stands as a force of law to manage the media space, the Media Institute of Southern Africa (2004) labels the BSA as a felonious piece of legislation which goes against the grain of international norms of broadcasting regulation which also curtails the Constitution of Zimbabwe. Chikerema (2014) has criticized the “Minister Shall” concept that dominates the statute and outlines that the minister shall concept feeds into the bigger picture of “*political patronage and clientelism*”, at this end the BSA has been a scapegoat for the monopolization on broadcasting of the media space through the impracticable provisions and requirements which are stated on the BSA.

Access to information

Observing the media setup in Zimbabwe, Ncube (2016) noted that access to information in Zimbabwe was based on social realities which disadvantaged the rural folk. Ncube (2016) concluded that the Zimbabwean government has many a times used state media to indoctrinate the rural folk who mostly have access to television and radio and could not access any other sort of media which is critical and objective and independent to the point of being capable of appraising the government. This concept of media access and freedom has been cited by (Makumbe 2002, Media Monitoring Project of Zimbabwe 2005, and Nkomo 2012) who assert that the state controlled ZBC has a tilted approach to political advertising hence perverting the formation/moulding of a decisive political culture built on individual political faculties.

An outlook on media in Zimbabwe: AIPPA and POSA

The history of Media in Zimbabwe has been so dreary that telling the story about media brings back memories of oppression, abduction and propagandist approaches to reporting of events. Freedom House report of 2016 concluded that freedom of the press in Zimbabwe remained restricted despite the adoption of a new constitution that sought to democratize the media space, thus the observations led to the conclusion that media was restricted as characterized by violations which included but were not limited to arbitrarily denial of licenses to community radio stations by the authorities, the harassment and threats of journalists and arbitrary arrests of journalists.

The existence of AIPPA (*Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act*) and POSA (*Public Order and Security Act*) testify of a titled broadcasting environment that is based on the abuse of law and empowerment of the government. Zenda (2017) notes that AIPPA as a piece of legislation is notorious for stifling the growth of a free press and for its “chilling effects” on news media thus capturing suggestions that should be made to disarm the statute of its undemocratic nature through either repealing it or amending it to allow journalists to practise their professional duties freely in Zimbabwe (and) to abolish the criminal offence of “abuse of journalistic privilege” under section 80 of the Act.” This excerpt from Zenda shows the impact at which legislation in Zimbabwe has made media government tool to control masses through monitored consumption of information.

For the Human Rights Bulletin (2011) POSA as a statute hinders freedom of association or and thereby intercepting the notions of democracy, out of POSA, the police force reigns in impunity while curtailing freedoms of the people and the journalists

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themselves. Makumbe (2011) notes that Mugabe regime had drastically weakened democratic space and abridged civil liberties of the people of Zimbabwe. Capturing the political scenery Makumbe notes that the media, opposition political parties, civil society and churches are often harangued, harassed, tortured and intimidated for simply disagreeing with the repressive regime. Such allegations that have been levelled against the government in Zimbabwe portray a scenario where mass media has no space to promote equality and freedom of speech and freedom of thought. Social media on the other hand has presented a new scenario where political thoughts are being shared amongst the people on a more free scenario where there is little limitation to manage the rate at which information is spread.

(V) Theoretical framework

Hypodermic Needle Theory

The study got its theoretical fabric from the hypodermic needle theory to understand the impact of media on the audiences. The hypodermic needle model (also known as the hypodermic-syringe model, transmission-belt model, or magic bullet theory) was put forward by Harold Laswell in 1927 in his book titled "*Propaganda Technique in the World War*". The theory is a model of communications that suggests that intended messages are directly received and examined by the reader. In its assumptions, the contention is that mass media has a potential to influence a considerably large group of people by consistently injecting or shooting them with appropriate messages intended to generate and design a desired response.

Exponents of the theory suggest that the images used to express this theory (a bullet and a needle) communicate a powerful and direct flow of information from the sender to the receiver. The bullet theory graphically suggests that the message is a bullet, fired from the "media gun" into the viewer's "head". With similarly emotive imagery the hypodermic needle model suggests that media messages are injected straight into a passive audience which is immediately influenced by the message. One can relate this to 2000s eras of the 3rd Chimurenga which were characterized by what has been labelled as the "Mugabe Jingles". The media sphere in Zimbabwe has been markedly characterized by brainwashing, notable is the *Rambai Makashinga* song which characterized the days of economic hardships. Chitando, Chikowero and Madongonda (2015) note that the message sent by the Mugabe jingle was to encourage the citizens to remain stoic and resilient through the economic turmoil that the nation was going through.

A critical analysis of the time around 2000s will also pick the intensified glorification of ZANU PF as a historic and messianic party through the war time songs by Comrade Chinxo, Tambaoga and Elliot Manyika which sought to even justify the Land reform programme which was undertaken under the tone of displacement and violence. To appreciate the philosophy of Hypodermic Needle, it is believed that people are homogeneously controlled by their biological instincts and would therefore react more or less uniformly to whatever 'stimuli' came along". The "Hypodermic Needle Model" therefore used the same idea of the "shooting" paradigm thus suggesting that media injects its messages straight into the passive audience. This passive audience is immediately affected by these messages. The model suggests that the public is vulnerable to the messages shot at them because of the limited communication tools hence media explores information in such a way that it injects in the mind of audiences as bullets.

The theory exhausts the effects of mass media in Zimbabwe, the 2000s era resulted in a community yoked under the government's dogma of Land to the people and the behaviour of Jambanja was the direct result of ideas that media had moulded and inspired in the minds

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of the people. The intentions to control state media by the ZANU PF led government was to initiate a process of “Demonization propaganda” which is simply the *Demonization* of the enemy which promotes an idea about the enemy being a threatening evil aggressor with only destructive objectives. Analysts of the demonization theory believe that the theory was used to inspire hatred toward the enemy necessarily to hurt them more easily, preserve and mobilize allies and demoralize the enemy. In Zimbabwe’s context, the white minority who were at the receiving end of the 3rd Chimurenga were the evil aggressor as per the aim of the demonization propaganda. According to Ranger (2004) the promotion of ultra-patriotism through the monopolization of the media and grooming of youth militias (whose enlistees are indoctrinated in “patriotic history” by war veterans) produced a highly polarized society which according to the regime’s rhetoric consists of revolutionaries (those who support the regime) and sell out (all the rest). These have been realizable aims and objectives of mass media in Zimbabwe, to manipulate, indoctrinate and fashion the political belief system in Zimbabwe.

Cloonan (2016) is of the view that the regime’s use of indigenous music that are embroiled in Shona culture and the nation’s liberation struggle are a form mediated propaganda which is evidence of exploitation of cultural identity, national pride and this has been a tactic of anti-imperialist, openly racist and isolationist ideology of an authoritarian nationalism determined to consolidate and its power.

Synergy of Hypodermic Needle Theory and Zimbabwe’s media sphere

Savant (2015) notes that indoctrination is based on the 16 principles which border around the following:

1. **Start while they’re young:** National Services and the ZANU PF jingles on Television and radio.
2. **Create the illusion of political freedom:** Your vote is your right, ZEC advertisements.
3. Use simplistic stereotypes to sway public opinion
4. **Mix facts with lies:** Justifications of the Land reform programme, justifying the violence by citing that the whites had resisted and were unwilling to ever give land to the blacks.
5. A big lie is more convincing than a small lie
6. **Give the masses “bread and circuses” to keep them well-fed and distracted:** Donation of food packages, maize seeds to the populace.
7. Simplify complex issues by portraying them as dichotomies. Eliminate nuance
8. **Spread propaganda by all means possible:** Newspapers, Radio and Television were all used as Vehicles to drive the ZANU PF regime selfish interests. Chiefs and traditional leaders were also used as oral mouth pieces for propaganda.
9. **Ostracize dissident voices through ridicule or defamation:** Opposition political parties were labelled as puppets of the west, white people in Zimbabwe were labelled as imperialists.
10. Faith in the correctness of a religion or ideology is more powerful than force.
11. Manipulate history records to support your religion or ideology
12. Control different sides of the same debate and you control the outcome
13. **The masses are less swayed by reason than by stirring their emotions:** Playing songs of the liberation struggle and video of the Rhodesian government polices was meant to sway the people from an emotional point of view.
14. **Drive the opposition in a corner. When they fight back, act like a victim:** The MDC parties always became regulars in courts and the international community crying out due to the injustices they faced and ZANU PF used this as a strategy to say MDC was a regime change agent sent by the West.

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15. Label all non-conformistic behavior as pathological and promote “cures” for them:
All the groups such as Tajamuka, opposition parties

16. Use rituals and mass events to keep people occupied and strengthen their faith: Mzee Bira, The death anthem and repeating video of injustices committed by the settle regime in order to win the hearts of the people.

Basing on the 16 principles of indoctrination and Hypodermic Needle Theory it is evident that Zimbabweans have been under serious indoctrination in the 2000s with the then government in power using all means necessary to keep the media sphere hostage.

Changing views: Social media and the Satellite Dish

The coming in of Social media has ushered in a spirit of changing views. Facebook and WhatsApp have become fertile seedbeds for revolution and uncircumcised political views that are free from any yokes of intimidation and threats. Facebook pages such as Democracy Advocate Initiative, Zimbabwe Yadzoka/iZimbabwe Mayibuye, Tajamuka/Sesjikile Campaign and Baba Jukwa have been trending as tools for political awakening and political messaging. The Tajamuka/Sesjikile Facebook page describes the group as one of the leading social movements that has grown significantly from 2016 while using *social media* to mobilize citizens into action to protest against corruption, police brutality and government failure to deliver on election promises, the page prides itself with a following of 42 000 ardent followers. The Itai Dzamara’s occupy Unity square was supported by a 14,675 followers on Facebook who shared the same vision to address the political injustices and the economic failure of the nation hence giving him the energy and power to challenge the government.

On the other side, Pastor Evan Mawarire had a following of 53,894 followers on Facebook which stands as 4% of the whole Zimbabwean population as of the 2016 census. This thereby means that a considerable chunk of the population is obedient to subscription to a new socio-political genealogy which is based on social media. Reporting on Pastor Evan Mawarire. Noah Manyika one of the presidential candidates in Zimbabwe has taken WhatsApp as a platform to campaign. Using WhatsApp and other social media as platforms for political messaging has taken centre stage in Zimbabwe. Political messaging is crucial in marketing the manifestos of a political organization and sharing the party’s values and policies. For Pathak (2017) the decision-making process of a voter is tied with their desires and perceptions. Analysing the decision making process, Pathak notes that voting for a particular candidate is often not a logical path of judgment, rather it is guided by their impression of the candidate. Naturally, the campaign has to use that to create a candidate profile that appeals to the voter which is done through the use of voter communication material like speeches, literature and mail addressed to the voter. In the case of Noah Manyika, interviews, speeches that have been conducted with him on the spotlight have been circulated to create a brand out of him as a presidential candidate.

Findings

Out of the 3 500 respondents that characterized the sample size for the study, 3 202 respondents managed to respond to questionnaires, thus giving a response rate of 91%. The reasons behind the 9% defaults on answering of questionnaires was among other reasons the fear to make political comments and general political apathy.

Political mobilization

67, 7% of the respondents reflected that social media has increased political participation, engagement and provided a new face towards Zimbabwe’s political scenario. This was noted

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in the essence of mobilization that has been seen through the use of social media. The Zimbabwe Shutdown and the demonstrations that led to the ouster of the former president of the Republic of Zimbabwe, R.G Mugabe are all accredited to the swiftness and level of reliance that social media has brought to the political communication sphere. One respondent commented as follows:

Social media makes political mobilization easy. I remember back in the early 2000s when one had to distribute flyers for a simple rally. I can imagine how herculean a task it was going to be for people to organize Zimbabwe Shutdown.

In this context social media was seen as a messianic era where the citizens have been set free from all political yokes of fear, intimidation with one respondent noting that it was hard to track down someone since people could also create fake accounts for reasons of anonymity on Facebook and related social media platforms.

Political Participation

Looking back at the 1990s, political participation meant attending rallies physically and demonstrating on a physical note if need be, there was no shortcut to political participation except through the traditional route. Zimbabwe's history attests of a limited scope of political participation with a lot of barriers that ranged from legislative measures to the use of brute force against those who would participate in agendas that the government deemed perverse. Social media has created a platform for people to air their views online without much concern on how the government could get hold of those who are participating on politics technologically. 65.2% of the respondents highlighted that use of social media had encouraged them to participate in politics more actively through even sharing their views on platforms like Kubatana.net which is a platform for addressing political concerns in communities. Of 3 202 respondents, 50.6% reflected that they had previously partook in 3 to 5 online surveys and online petitions within a month which were based on policy analysis and government performance (Kobo Tool Box, 2018). This reflects that the political space has widened and more open. Notable was that people living with disabilities have also taken centre stage in actively participating in politics, use of social media as medium for political participation has broken down the barriers of stigma and discrimination against the crippled. 1% of the respondents had disabilities, one of them reflected:

I had challenges participating in politics or even sharing my thoughts, you can imagine the pain of being in a wheelchair, even if there is a meeting for disabled people, it would take you ages to reach the venue, but with WhatsApp and all other forms of social media, it's easy. Your voice can be heard.

The above shows that social media has brought in a chance for participation even for those that have been previously disadvantaged, however such an observation will be a complete bias if we do not note that people from the rural areas still face challenges of that nature due to the challenge of connectivity and devices to access internet.

Democracy and Political messaging

On a general note, democracy has taken a new tone in Zimbabwe with improved political messaging. Getting political ideas through communities and diverse cultures has become a

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doable task, Bus Stop TV has dominated the social media terrain as a comic and satire presentation of political realities dressed with humour, in this line social media has even improved democracy through bringing in a myriad of key players such as Civil societies, pressure groups and churches.

Conclusion

The study discovered that social media has brought in a dilution of the conventional ways of political communication. There is widespread utilization of social media in conveying political messages with political parties setting up Facebook pages to garner political following. In the same line, the researchers observed that there is a positive correlation between the use of social media and political participation in Zimbabwe and the world in general. Digital democracy has been also seen in the capacity at which social media has exorcised the media space of manipulation and monopolization of media from state centralism.

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