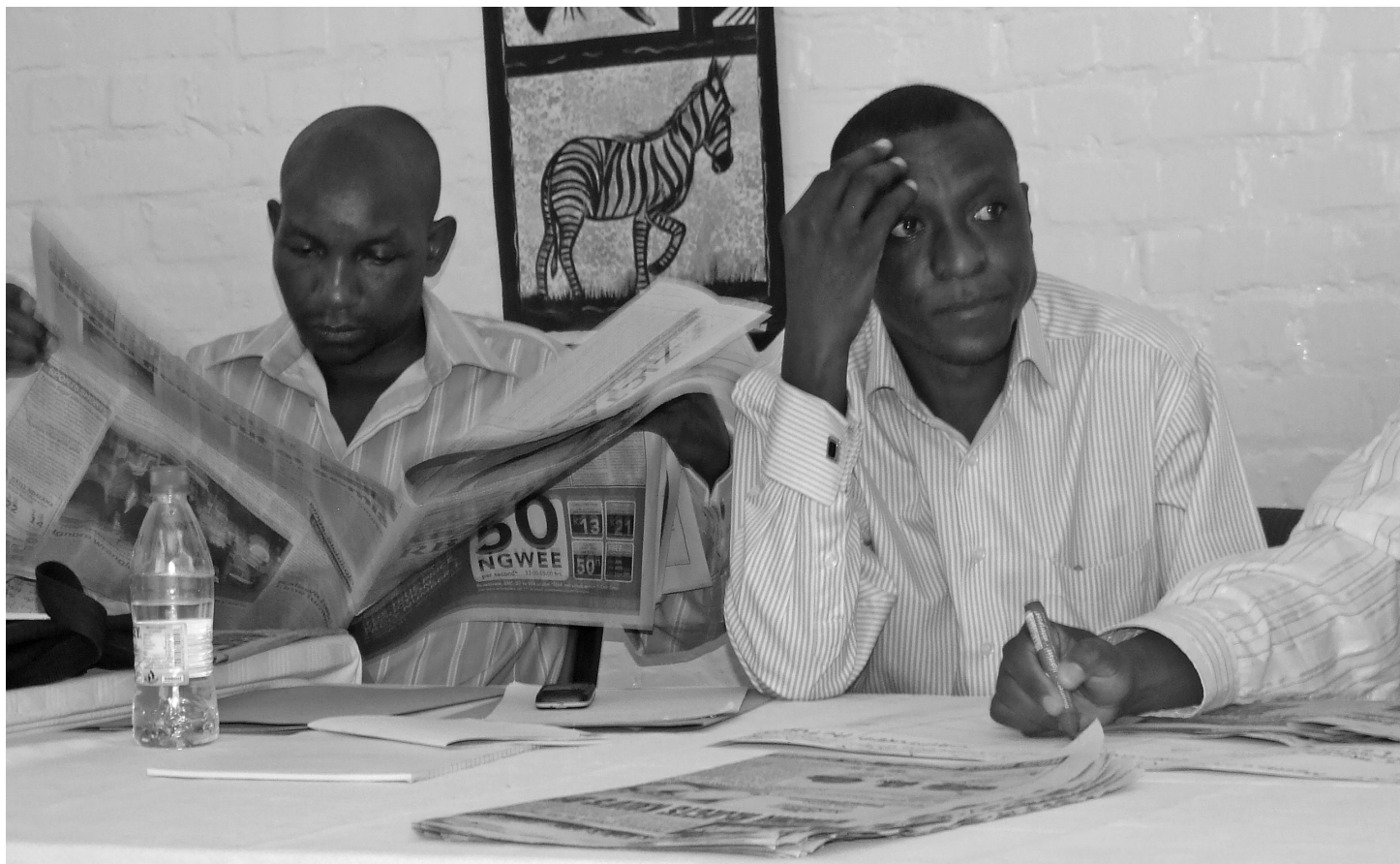

Zimbabwe's restrictive media environment has left citizens unable to express their opinions freely about the course of transitional events unfolding in their country. Even Internet café patrons are subject to surveillance by the watchful authorities.



ZIMBABWE

Regrettably, Zimbabwe's restricted media landscape has remained virtually unchanged since the 2008 MSI study. February 2009 saw the formation of a very fragile coalition government, and some initially encouraging signs of the government's intention to reform the media according to the Global Political Agreement between the country's three main parties, but the outlook for the media has improved little. On the one hand, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) faction of the government wants to see the media reformed, but on the other hand, hardliners from the old guard, who still control the levers of real power within the most influential arms of government, block and undermine democratic reforms in general—and are deeply resistant to the prospect of change in the media landscape.

The dominant state-controlled public media continue to present distorted and biased news. For example, the state newspaper group and the national broadcaster, Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation, suppress news of the activities and important announcements of the prime minister's office. They also present biased and superficial coverage of political developments, and continue to put forth a false picture of the reasons for the power-sharing government. Zimbabwe's public media continue to be used as messengers of hate language—particularly against the former political opposition, despite their supposed equal partnership in the coalition government.

No independent daily papers or alternative domestic radio and television broadcasters have yet emerged to counter state-controlled voices. In fact, George Charamba, Zimbabwe African Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) presidential spokesperson and permanent secretary in the Ministry of Media, Information, and Publicity, issued a warning to publishers planning to launch new daily newspapers—which would bring an end to the Zimpapers' monopoly of the daily newspaper market. He said that the publishers would be breaking the law if they started production without a license.

At the time that the MSI was prepared, the president was continuing to delay the establishment of an independent media commission, prolonging the vacuum of an agency responsible for licensing new publications and accrediting journalists. As a result of Zimbabwe's lack of plurality, ordinary citizens continue to be excluded from understanding the work of the coalition government. Zimbabwe's restrictive media environment has left citizens unable to express their opinions freely about the course of transitional events unfolding in their country. Even Internet café patrons are subject to surveillance by the watchful authorities. Meanwhile, journalists face harassment, arrest, and prosecution under the repressive media laws that remain on the books to keep them in check.

Whether the power-sharing era will lead to an opening of media space remains to be seen. For now, the repressive laws continue to be applied with full force, despite clarion calls for extensive and meaningful media law reforms.

ZIMBABWE AT A GLANCE

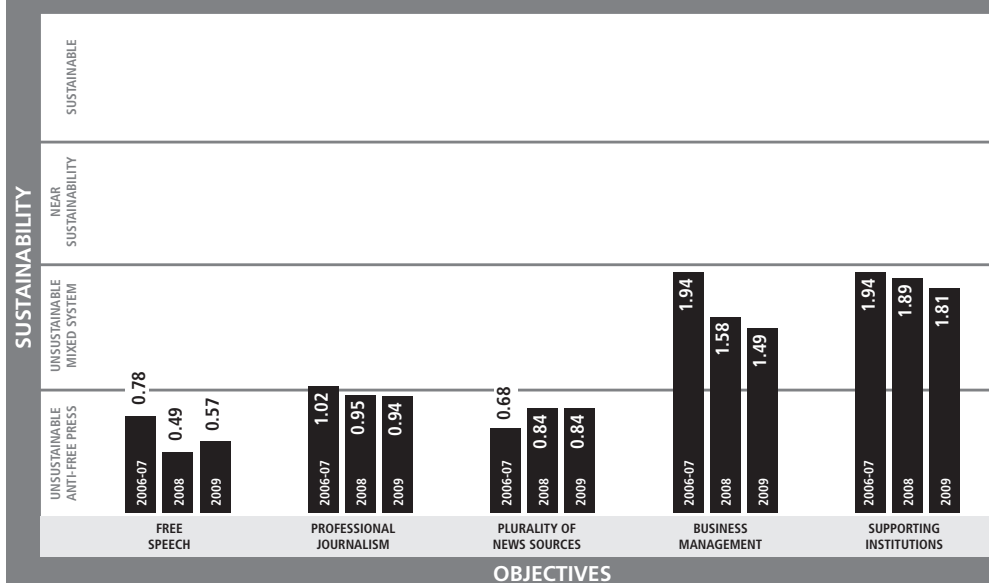
GENERAL

- > **Population:** 11,651,858 (July 2010 est., *CIA World Factbook*)
- > **Capital city:** Harare
- > **Ethnic groups (% of population):** Shona 82%, Ndebele 14%, other 4% (*CIA World Factbook*)
- > **Religions (% of population):** syncretic (part Christian, part indigenous beliefs) 50%, Christian 25%, indigenous beliefs 24%, Muslim and other 1% (*CIA World Factbook*)
- > **Languages (% of population):** English (official), Shona, Sindebele, numerous but minor tribal dialects (*CIA World Factbook*)
- > **GNI (2007-Atlas):** \$4.466 billion (World Bank Development Indicators, updated figures N/A)
- > **GNI per capita (2007-PPP):** \$340 (World Bank Development Indicators, updated figures N/A)
- > **Literacy rate:** 90.7% (male 94.2%, female 87.2%) (2003 est., *CIA World Factbook*)
- > **President or top authority:** Executive President Robert Gabriel Mugabe (since December 31, 1987)

MEDIA-SPECIFIC

- > **Number of active print outlets, radio stations, television stations:**
Print: 15 total, mostly in Harare and Bulawayo; Radio: 4 main stations, with several other local ones that broadcast for a few hours a day; Television Stations: 1 (state-owned)
- > **Newspaper circulation statistics:** Top two by circulation: *The Herald* (state-owned), *The Chronicle* (state-owned)
- > **Broadcast ratings:** N/A
- > **News agencies:** New Ziana (state-owned)
- > **Annual advertising revenue in media sector:** N/A
- > **Internet usage:** 1,421,000 (2008 est., *CIA World Factbook*)

MEDIA SUSTAINABILITY INDEX: ZIMBABWE



Unsustainable, Anti-Free Press (0-1):

Country does not meet or only minimally meets objectives. Government and laws actively hinder free media development, professionalism is low, and media-industry activity is minimal.

Unsustainable Mixed System (1-2):

Country minimally meets objectives, with segments of the legal system and government opposed to a free media system. Evident progress in free-press advocacy, increased professionalism, and new media businesses may be too recent to judge sustainability.

Near Sustainability (2-3):

Country has progressed in meeting multiple objectives, with legal norms, professionalism, and the business environment supportive of independent media. Advances have survived changes in government and have been codified in law and practice. However, more time may be needed to ensure that change is enduring and that increased professionalism and the media business environment are sustainable.

Sustainable (3-4):

Country has media that are considered generally professional, free, and sustainable, or to be approaching these objectives. Systems supporting independent media have survived multiple governments, economic fluctuations, and changes in public opinion or social conventions.

OBJECTIVE 1: FREEDOM OF SPEECH

Zimbabwe Objective Score: 0.57

In this lowest-scoring objective, most of the indicators scored below Zimbabwe's overall average. Indicator 2 (broadcast licensing) drew the lowest score not only for this objective, but for the entire study, with a score near zero. Only indicator 8 (media outlets have unrestricted access to international news and news sources) scored noticeably higher than the other indicators, with a score one point higher than the objective average. Although the panelists registered cautious optimism and welcomed the new political coalition, their scores reflect the continuing laws and social norms that prohibit the protection and promotion of free speech and access to public information.

The panelists said that Zimbabwe's constitution guarantees free speech, but media laws and other regulations inhibit exercise of those freedoms. Those laws include the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA), the Broadcasting Services Act, the Criminal Law (Codification and Reform) Act, and the Public Order and Security Act. Irene Petras, the director of Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights, noted that despite the formation of the coalition government in February 2009, laws continue to repress journalists, and the government applies the laws selectively against media practitioners from the private sector. She went on to state that "the judiciary has, in the past year, ruled in favor of freedom of expression rights, but this was not due to its

LEGAL AND SOCIAL NORMS PROTECT AND PROMOTE FREE SPEECH AND ACCESS TO PUBLIC INFORMATION.

FREE-SPEECH INDICATORS:

- > Legal and social protections of free speech exist and are enforced.
- > Licensing of broadcast media is fair, competitive, and apolitical.
- > Market entry and tax structure for media are fair and comparable to other industries.
- > Crimes against journalists or media outlets are prosecuted vigorously, but occurrences of such crimes are rare.
- > State or public media do not receive preferential legal treatment, and law guarantees editorial independence.
- > Libel is a civil law issue; public officials are held to higher standards, and offended parties must prove falsity and malice.
- > Public information is easily accessible; right of access to information is equally enforced for all media and journalists.
- > Media outlets have unrestricted access to information; this is equally enforced for all media and journalists.
- > Entry into the journalism profession is free, and government imposes no licensing, restrictions, or special rights for journalists.

Most of the panelists agreed that licensing procedures are unfair. They said that the state has not granted any licenses to private players, and that partisan political interests remain in control of the domestic broadcasting sector.

independence—rather because no evidence was available to sustain the cases, and the executive, quite often, in any event, disobeyed court orders."

Most of the panelists agreed that licensing procedures are unfair. They said that the state has not granted any licenses to private players, and that partisan political interests remain in control of the domestic broadcasting sector. Nunurai Jena, a freelance journalist in Chinhoyi, said that Zimbabwean authorities are unwilling to free the airwaves or allow multiple voices in the country.

The panelists generally agreed that the market entry process for media houses is very difficult, and the tax structure is unfair. Matthew Takaona, the immediate past president of the Zimbabwe Union of Journalists (ZUJ), supported this observation, stating that AIPPA stipulates that licenses be renewed every five years, with an ever-looming possibility that a license may be revoked. He went on to state that license applications demand unnecessary and intrusive information, including funding sources and the details of senior employees—particularly editors. No foreign funding is allowed, he said, and in some cases, licenses are granted at the discretion of the minister of information.

On a more positive note, one of the panelists applauded the new minister of finance's removal of the importation tax for foreign publications.

According to the panelists, journalists still suffer from harassment, unlawful arrests and detention, selective and malicious prosecution, abductions, and long delays in the finalization of court cases against them. The panelists pointed to the example of freelance journalist Andriison Manyere, whom state agents unlawfully detained and tortured in 2008. The panelists concluded that journalism in Zimbabwe remains a high-risk profession, and noted that most journalists resort to self-censorship to avoid prosecution.

The panelists also noted that the information ministry interferes with the work of the public media, rendering editorial independence non-existent. One panelist said that partisan political interference is still a daily reality,

On a more positive note, one of the panelists applauded the new minister of finance's removal of the importation tax for foreign publications.

and has not abated in spite of the formation of the coalition government.

As reported in last year's MSI, the government does not restrict access to international news, and although state media controls release of foreign news, journalists may access such information on the Internet and reprint or rebroadcast reports.

OBJECTIVE 2: PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISM

Zimbabwe Objective Score: 0.94

The score for this objective remained nearly identical to last year's score, and only indicator 5 (pay levels for journalists) barely improved. All of the indicators scored similarly poorly; all were within a third of a point of the objective score.

The panelists said that in general, Zimbabwean journalists, especially those with the public media, lack professionalism due to political interference, polarization, and many other factors. The panelists agreed that the public media in particular neither check facts nor do they cite credible sources in their news articles. Rutendo Maware, a journalist from the *Standard* (a private weekly paper in Zimbabwe), provided an example to support this view. She said that the public

JOURNALISM MEETS PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS OF QUALITY.

PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISM INDICATORS:

- > Reporting is fair, objective, and well sourced.
- > Journalists follow recognized and accepted ethical standards.
- > Journalists and editors do not practice self-censorship.
- > Journalists cover key events and issues.
- > Pay levels for journalists and other media professionals are sufficiently high to discourage corruption.
- > Entertainment programming does not eclipse news and information programming.
- > Technical facilities and equipment for gathering, producing, and distributing news are modern and efficient.
- > Quality niche reporting and programming exists (investigative, economics/business, local, political).

media have distorted reports of continued farm invasions, claiming falsely that they are staged events meant to portray Zimbabwe in a bad light.

Kudzai Kwangwari, director of Radio Dialogue, said that public and private media are both guilty of partisan reporting. "Some journalists from state-controlled stables protect and promote the former government or ZANU-PF with their news, which affects the fairness and balance of the news items—and opponents [MDC] are hardly given an opportunity to share their side of the story. The same scenario is seen with private media, which promote and protect opposition political parties at the expense of fair and balanced reporting."

Regarding journalism ethics, Maware shared her view that the country has no uniform binding ethical standards. The other panelists indicated that Zimbabwean media organizations such as the Media Institute of Southern Africa, Media Monitoring Project Zimbabwe, and ZUJ have developed ethical standards, but the public media do not adhere to the standards. The standards are not binding for all media houses, and the onus is on the media house or the journalist to conform. However, the panelists agreed that private media outlets attempt to adhere to the standards set by these organizations, while public media outlets continue to publish hate messages without remorse or consideration. Takaona noted that journalists tend to report ethically on non-political issues, but then discard ethical considerations when reporting on political issues.

The panelists confirmed that public media reporters and editors engage in self-censorship. While this practice is not rampant in the private media, Petras did note that even journalists from the private media sometimes resort to self-censorship out of fear of arrest and prosecution, political interference, intimidation, or shutdowns of their outlets. As an example, Maware said, "Due to political insecurity since the March 2008 elections, and the lack of protection for media practitioners, some journalists and editors practiced self-censorship after MDC disengaged from ZANU-PF in October 2009. There were reports that Zimbabwe Broadcasting Holdings bosses had instructed reporters not to cover MDC ministers on Zimbabwe's national television station, and in the only radio stations in the country—all of which are state media."

Most of the panelists agreed that pay levels for journalists are insufficient, and claimed that most journalists earn salaries that place them below the poverty line. The low pay drives many journalists to seek better opportunities outside the country. According to Takaona, some media houses suffer a 90 percent staff turnover each year. Journalists are the worst paid professionals in the country, according to the panelists;

Jena said that the problem is compounded by the lack of an effective union to negotiate on behalf of journalists. Kwangwari added that the overall economic strain of the past two years has made it especially difficult for journalists to survive on their meager salaries. He noted that one effect is that more journalists are resorting to “checkbook journalism”—inventing stories that they can sell.

The panel participants all seemed to agree that entertainment programming does not eclipse news and information programming. Petras said, “There is a reasonable balance between news and entertainment, particularly in the print and electronic media.” She noted, however, that access to news is limited for those without Internet access or satellite television.

Zimbabwean media outlets, especially state media, do not have advanced facilities or equipment. Petras commented, “In the public media, equipment is outdated and insufficient to produce, gather, and distribute news. The private sector is much better equipped, but more resources should be channeled into production and dissemination of news products locally.”

Lack of capacity has hampered niche journalism in particular, according to Jena. “The major constraints to developing quality niche reporting in Zimbabwe are that journalists are not well versed with some of the key issues, and the lack of technical facilities and equipment also demoralizes journalists,” he said. He went on to state that journalists need more training. Petras added, “Local investigative reporting needs to be improved, as does reporting at the local or community level on minority and vulnerable group issues.”

OBJECTIVE 3: PLURALITY OF NEWS

Zimbabwe Objective Score: 0.84

The average score for this objective remained identical to last year’s MSI, again failing to move into the unsustainable, mixed system category. Indicator 2 (citizens’ access to domestic or international media is not restricted) increased somewhat last year’s report, and drew the highest score for this objective yet only a half point higher than the objective score. Otherwise, all indicators scored with a half point of the objective score.

It cannot be said that Zimbabwe offers a diversity of public and private news sources, given its single state-controlled television station and absence of private daily newspapers. Petras commented that the private print media are more likely to cover national issues than local stories, particularly as they are weeklies. The government has not licensed

The government has not licensed any community broadcasters, leaving communities in dire need of information.

any community broadcasters, leaving communities in dire need of information. Panelists also noted that the available news sources are not reliably providing objective news to Zimbabweans, largely because of heavy political interference.

In addition to the basic problem of limited options, cost is a prohibitive factor. According to one of the panelists, “The cost of newspapers is out of reach for a majority of the population. The people in the rural areas are not able to afford private papers, because they cost \$2.00, which is considered highly expensive. However, people living in the urban areas can access the private papers much more easily than those in the rural areas.”

According to Kwangwari, the government still actively ensures that citizens are not afforded multiple news sources by gagging foreign news, such as radio stations Voice of America and Voice of the People. Mawere noted that while the government does not block Internet news sources, low incomes and persistent, widespread power cuts prevent most Zimbabweans from accessing Internet news.

The panelists confirmed that international news agencies exist in Zimbabwe, and that local and international reporters rely upon agencies for news. According to the panelists, normally private print media and some online papers attribute the stories correctly, but often the public media do not.

MULTIPLE NEWS SOURCES PROVIDE CITIZENS WITH RELIABLE AND OBJECTIVE NEWS.

PLURALITY OF NEWS SOURCES INDICATORS:

- > A plurality of affordable public and private news sources (e.g., print, broadcast, Internet) exists.
- > Citizens’ access to domestic or international media is not restricted.
- > State or public media reflect the views of the entire political spectrum, are nonpartisan, and serve the public interest.
- > Independent news agencies gather and distribute news for print and broadcast media.
- > Independent broadcast media produce their own news programs.
- > Transparency of media ownership allows consumers to judge objectivity of news; media ownership is not concentrated in a few conglomerates.
- > A broad spectrum of social interests are reflected and represented in the media, including minority-language information sources.

Mawere noted that while the government does not block Internet news sources, low incomes and persistent, widespread power cuts prevent most Zimbabweans from accessing Internet news.

One political party, ZANU-PF, continues to control the public broadcaster even since the formation of a coalition government. Petras confirmed this, stating, "The public broadcaster is still partisan and hate-mongering, and regularly issues false, unethical reports. There remains a dire lack of diversity of voices and opinions, and even the education and cultural programming leaves a lot to be desired. The broadcaster needs a complete overhaul, and immediate removal from political control. The public media continues to suppress news of activities and important announcements of the prime minister's office. They also provide biased and superficial coverage of political developments."

The panelists agreed that Zimbabwe has no licensed independent broadcasters. However, Petras described some of the independent programming available. "A few documentaries are produced by private individuals or NGOs, and dissemination remains limited and urban-based or directed towards the international arena. The material produced by private [producers] is completely different from that of the state-controlled broadcaster." She acknowledged some opening up to BBC and CNN, although they have not shown a great deal of activity on the ground (except BBC radio). Al-Jazeera continues to cover issues with some regularity.

The panelists said they do not believe that media ownership in Zimbabwe is very transparent, in particular regarding community newspapers. According to John Masuku, the executive director of Radio Voice of The People, sometimes it is very difficult to ascertain the true owners of the media. He pointed to the *Financial Gazette* as an example, and a number of other newspapers that are now being sold on street corners, including one coming from the prime minister's office. Petras commented, "People remain generally unaware that the state-controlled media is publicly owned through a listed company. In the private sector, there is a growing monopoly by one player who owns two weeklies and one foreign publication, and plans to launch a daily as well." The panelists raised concerns about the editorial independence of all three private weeklies, as well as the community newspapers.

Regarding minority language coverage, the panelists agreed that they only rarely see the mainstream media using minority languages. Kwangwari said, "In the few cases where minorities are covered, it is usually the Tonga community in

Binga—mainly because there has been significant advocacy work to recognize the Tonga language and culture in Zimbabwe. Other minority languages, such as Kalanga, are not given any significant coverage. However, one national state-controlled radio station occasionally allocates airtime to both foreign minor and local minor languages, such as Nambiya and Nyanja."

OBJECTIVE 4: BUSINESS MANAGEMENT

Zimbabwe Objective Score: 1.49

The score for this objective changed little compared to last year. Generally, most indicators for this objective scored near the objective score, but still in the middle of the unsustainable, mixed system category. Only indicator 5 (government subsidy of private media) scored slightly more than half a point higher, while indicator 6 (market research) scored slightly more than half a point lower.

Although the panelists did not have many comments on media business professionalism and efficiency, Petras noted that the media lack transparency and accountability regarding the use of resources and adherence to business plans.

In response to indicator 2, the panelists agreed that the private media obtain revenue from a multitude of sources, including a large portion from advertising. The panelists went on to note that public media receive revenue from the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe, as well as advertising, but often incur losses when some government departments fail to pay for advertising space. The panelists noted the lack transparency with regard to public media financing.

INDEPENDENT MEDIA ARE WELL-MANAGED BUSINESSES, ALLOWING EDITORIAL INDEPENDENCE.

BUSINESS MANAGEMENT INDICATORS:

- > Media outlets and supporting firms operate as efficient, professional, and profit-generating businesses.
- > Media receive revenue from a multitude of sources.
- > Advertising agencies and related industries support an advertising market.
- > Advertising revenue as a percentage of total revenue is in line with accepted standards at commercial outlets.
- > Independent media do not receive government subsidies.
- > Market research is used to formulate strategic plans, enhance advertising revenue, and tailor products to the needs and interests of audiences.
- > Broadcast ratings and circulation figures are reliably and independently produced.

As for the private media, Petras said, “The overreliance on supplements in the private print media continues to affect content negatively, and has contributed to a lackadaisical approach to news reporting and opinion—as the media houses prefer to rely on filling space with (often meaningless) supplements, rather than allowing or encouraging journalists to increase their productivity.”

One panelist noted that the advertising quality and distribution in Zimbabwe is poor, unimaginative, and confined to a small number of companies and inserts sponsored by international aid agencies. The panelists noted that the use of billboards is increasing, and could be a positive development, but the potential effect on media advertising remains unclear; a small group of companies dominates this type of advertising. Furthermore, the advertising presence dries up outside the main cities and towns. The panelists added that Internet advertising exists, but generally is of poor quality.

According to the panelists, 67 percent of revenue from advertising is the accepted norm in Zimbabwe. Political interference has suffocated broadcast advertising, given that partisan authorities place all state media advertising. However, Jena suggested that if managed properly, advertising in Zimbabwe could generate sufficient revenue.

The panelists agreed that the government does not subsidize independent media, but opinions were mixed on whether or not the lack of subsidies is positive or negative. According to Petras, subsidies might assist positively in the sustainability and growth of the media industry during the difficult economic times that the country continues to face.

As reported in last year’s MSI, market research continues to be lacking in Zimbabwe. Some market research has been conducted in the past, but no studies are impartial enough to allow the media community to confidently establish audience needs and interests. The Zimbabwe All Media Product Survey samples urban populations, but some panelists expressed concerns that its findings lack detail and analysis.

OBJECTIVE 5: SUPPORTING INSTITUTIONS

Zimbabwe Objective Score: 1.81

Of all the objectives studied, Objective 5 scored the highest but still about the same as last year. Indicators 2 (journalism associations) and 3 (supporting NGOs) scored more than a half-point higher, while indicators 1 (trade associations) and 6 (control of printing resources) lagged by the same magnitude.

Trade associations only marginally represent the interests of media owners and managers, according to the panelists. Petras said she is only aware of trade associations that

While most of the NGOs serve as watchdogs and react to violations of media rights, their interventions can only go so far in achieving their goals, given the closed environment in Zimbabwe.

represent community broadcasters, and they are fairly active. She went on to note that advocacy for all, except the community broadcasters, has been low to non-existent—or at least their activities do not make it into the public domain.

According to the panelists, Zimbabwe has professional associations that work to protect the rights of journalists. Some panelists said the associations are very vibrant and contribute greatly to media protection and promotion. According to one panelist, “Membership numbers of these associations appear to be stable and even increasing. In relation to some, such as the editors’ associations, there are competing organizations: one comprises solely private and community media, and the other incorporates public state media and some community media representatives. They struggle to find common ground.” Rutendo Mawere argued that, while many professional associations are working to protect the rights of journalists, they face many challenges because of the legal framework.

NGOs that work to support free speech include the Media Institute of Southern Africa, Media Monitoring Project Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe National Editors Forum, Voluntary Media Council of Zimbabwe, Federation of African Media Women Zimbabwe, and ZUJ. Some are primarily human rights organizations that advocate for free speech and media

SUPPORTING INSTITUTIONS FUNCTION IN THE PROFESSIONAL INTERESTS OF INDEPENDENT MEDIA.

SUPPORTING INSTITUTIONS INDICATORS:

- > Trade associations represent the interests of private media owners and provide member services.
- > Professional associations work to protect journalists’ rights.
- > NGOs support free speech and independent media.
- > Quality journalism degree programs that provide substantial practical experience exist.
- > Short-term training and in-service training programs allow journalists to upgrade skills or acquire new skills.
- > Sources of newsprint and printing facilities are in private hands, apolitical, and unrestricted.
- > Channels of media distribution (kiosks, transmitters, Internet) are private, apolitical, and unrestricted.

In Zimbabwe, Internet service providers and Internet cafés are in private or corporate hands. However, the panelists noted that Internet services are subject to government interference, especially via the Interception of Communications Act or through surveillance of activity at Internet cafés.

freedoms as a cornerstone for any democracy. According to the panelists, these organizations advocate for the repeal of legislation that represses media freedoms. In addition, the country has NGOs that provide journalists with legal support, such as Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights. While most of the NGOs serve as watchdogs and react to violations of media rights, their interventions can only go so far in achieving their goals, given the closed environment in Zimbabwe.

According to Mawere, most Zimbabwean educational institutions offer quality journalism programs, and there are opportunities to study abroad—however, finding resources can be a challenge. She went on to note that the crackdown on the media has resulted in media outlets failing to absorb graduates, with many graduates unable to secure work.

In Zimbabwe, Internet service providers and Internet cafés are in private or corporate hands. However, the panelists noted that Internet services are subject to government interference, especially via the Interception of Communications Act or through surveillance of activity at Internet cafés.

List of Panel Participants

Henry Muradzikwa, former CEO, Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation, Harare

Angela Makamure, national director, Federation of Africa Media Women Zimbabwe, Harare

Jestina Mukoko, national director, Zimbabwe Peace Project, Harare

Irene Petras, director, Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights, Harare

Rutendo Mawere, journalist, *Standard*, Gweru

Vincent Kahiya, editor, *Zimbabwe Independent*, Harare

Jan Raath, correspondent, *The UK Times*, Harare

John Masuku, director, Voice of the People, Harare

Nunurai Jena, freelance journalist, Chinhoyi

John Gambanga, director, Voluntary Media Council of Zimbabwe, Harare

Matthew Takaona, journalist, Zimbabwe Union of Journalists, Harare

Chris Mhike, lawyer, Harare

Kudzai Kwangwari, national coordinator, Radio Dialogue, Bulawayo

Moderator and Author

Dzikamai Machingura, advocacy coordinator, Media Monitoring Project Zimbabwe, Harare

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Andrew Moyse, project coordinator, Media Monitoring Project Zimbabwe, Harare

The Zimbabwe study was coordinated by, and conducted in partnership with, Media Monitoring Project Zimbabwe, Harare.