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APPENDIX 1: Zimbabwean Diaspora speaks out

In this Appendix, views expressed by Zimbabweans in the Diaspora with regards to their contributions towards democracy in Zimbabwe are shown.

Cover letter I

August 02, 2010

Dear participant,

I am a registered research student at the University of Hull. I am writing to invite you to participate in an interview series as part of my research degree. I am targeting Zimbabweans living in the UK since my thesis will evaluate the role that these immigrants have played in safeguarding democracy in their country of birth through the use of digital technologies. In addition, I also intend to interview Zimbabweans living in Zimbabwe with the view of comparing results from these two separate research activities. The-face-to-face interviews, which will take between 30 minutes and 1 hour, will follow the strict University of Hull ethical code for researchers as outlined below

http://www2.hull.ac.uk/administration/researchfundingoffice/usefulinformation/ethicspolicy.aspx

I will conduct the interviews in person. Considering the fact that you may be working during the week, interviews could take place during any weekend of your choice between SEPTEMBER and DECEMBER 2010. Once you have indicated your intention to participate, I will send you a follow-up briefing with more details concerning the time and eventual location of the interview.

Many thanks for your time

Bruce Mutsvairo

Responses

Total Number of respondents: 25

How long have you lived in the UK?

All respondents stated they had lived in the UK for a period between 3 to 10 years.

Do you see the Internet as a major factor in improving democratic participation in Zimbabwe?

Mixed results emerged from this question. Thirteen respondents were quite clear the Internet has no major role to play in supporting the Zimbabwean democratic process. They all gave their different reasons for their standpoints but one thing that was clear was that they seemed to agree that not everyone was as interested in politics as the media was. Their assumption was that the Internet in Zimbabwe is used for various other purposes, such as making financial transfers, rather than for political reasons. Politicians, especially those from ZANU PF, were so traditionally minded that they doubted if half the cabinet had an email address. They said people used Facebook for example to discuss issues related to their social issues. Zimbabweans, the claimed, were too tired of politics to be discussing it every day on the Internet. The Internet, they added made it easier for people to communicate but it "could not decide what has to be discussed" as one of them said. Four respondents gave the Internet a thumbs up, however. They said dictators would not withhold information as they had, in their view, historically done. The other respondents gave answers that both doubted the Internet's ability in contributing to enhancing democratic participation but also made it clear it was difficult to predict.

Do you think the Internet has been used to unfairly target Mugabe?

Twenty-two respondents did not shy away from making it clear Mugabe was a victim of Western media bias. Only three were adamant that Mugabe's "propaganda machine" *The Herald* peddled lies against other nations and the president's rivals so as far as they were concerned, there was nothing wrong with other media doing the same against Mugabe.

Do you think Mugabe has overstayed?

All but four agreed that Mugabe should hand over power to a younger, capable leader. However, in another sign Mugabe's policies are not as unpopular as the private media normally claims, five of them said whoever takes over from him should continue with his pan-African ideas. One respondent said Mugabe was giving back the land and mines stolen by colonialists so there was nothing wrong with him staying in power. A staggering 21 respondents said they were afraid that whoever takes over from him would be too pro-West with one disclosing his fears for a leader that would "give back the country to the foreigners". While supporting Mugabe, they said his less diplomatic, hard-hitting stance was not always the solution.

Do you think Zimbabweans should be left to sort their own problems?

Mixed results came from this question. At least slightly more than half of those interviewed said Zimbabwe did not have the capacity to solve its problems. One of them even went as far as suggesting that since we are living in a globalised world, no country could solve its problems alone. Much of their reasoning was based on the fact leaving Zimbabwe to sort its problems would enable Mugabe to extend his perceived illegitimacy. Interestingly, some of the respondents, who had said Mugabe should stay in power, also admitted they doubted his legitimacy. "Give me an example of a legitimate leader in Africa. None", one of them declared. Eleven respondents said only African countries should be left to deal with Zimbabwean problems while a paltry two suggested all means possible including military action should be used to get rid of Mugabe.

Do you trust the media, be it Zimbabwean or foreign?

All respondents apart from one were quite clear they didn't trust Zimbabwean or foreign media. They said all media outlets always have their own agendas. "Media is business. It's like selling tomatoes. Do you go around telling people I am selling rotten tomatoes even when you know your tomatoes are rotten", one respondent said. Some of them however also admitted that even though they didn't fully trust the media, they were left with few options in terms of where to get information. They said while reliability was a major issue among media organisations reporting on Zimbabwe, they needed news

organisations to supply them with information. One respondent said she had never been let down by the British Broadcasting Corporation so she trusted it.

So you rather have citizen journalists as the main source of your news?

Only seven respondents recognised citizen journalism as an alternative to traditional media. Despite their dislike of traditional media, respondents said citizen journalism was too new to be trusted. Some of them didn't understand the concept. Some said everyone writes what they want about Zimbabwe to such an extent it didn't really matter which platform was used. Professionalism was emphasised here by at least 6 respondents. Even though trusting them was a big concern, at least traditional journalists were professional. Unlike citizen journalists, they had a duty to serve. The most underlining issue here was trust. Zimbabweans do not trust the media and this is perhaps a result of ZANU PF's protracted domination of the local media scene. Interestingly, respondents also categorically stated that they didn't trust the Western media. "I don't even trust myself, why should I trust someone", a respondent declared.

Why do you not trust news reports on Zimbabwe?

Respondents pointed to the fact that politics was at play in Zimbabwe. Responses given by 20 respondents shared the similar argument that it was difficult to trust the media due to constant political meddling. In Zimbabwe, they said politicians would use the local media to defend their political stances while the Western media was used as platform to support the anti-Mugabe notion. Other respondents said their source of news was talking to their relatives and friends at home. Again trust emerged as a major issue here.

What's the alternative?

Respondents said that left with without much of an option, they opted to use websites run by Zimbabweans when it came to the Zimbabwean story. NewZimbabwe.com's dominance was confirmed as every respondent made reference to it. Some respondents accused the website of tribalism. Supporters of both sides of the political divide accused it of being either pro- or anti-Mugabe. I concluded the website must be doing a good job then.

Did you supply news to relatives and friends back home ahead of the 2008 elections?

All respondents said they had supplied information about what was going on in Zimbabwe but only five of them said they had unconditionally demanded a no-Mugabe vote from their parents. They said they still didn't know if their parents went on to vote against Mugabe because as you know "a vote is a secret. Not even your father will tell you which candidate they voted". Other respondents said they were not sure if relaying information back home had an impact because they couldn't force relatives on who to vote for. Their relaying of information was not structured. When they talked about what was happening in the country they didn't make it clear it was time for Mugabe to go even though some of them confirmed their dislike of Mugabe ahead of the elections.

Is Mugabe right when he takes land from Whites to Blacks?

While some of the respondents said they didn't agree with Mugabe's methods, 17 of them said the land belonged to Zimbabwe regardless of colour or creed. The land, in their eyes, should therefore be given to landless citizens of Zimbabwe.

APPENDIX 2: Face to face with victims of Zimbabwean tyranny

Zimbabweans from the nation's all provinces shared their views of Mugabe's alleged tyranny. The interview method was a vox-pop methodology where people from all walks of life were asked to answer a few questions without prior formal interview requests.

Total Number of respondents: 19 plus 1 (non-Zimbabwean)

You have relatives and friends abroad: (Yes – All)

They influenced your decision on who to vote for during the 2008 elections?

Six respondents said they had planned to vote for Tsvangirai regardless. Other respondents said there was some influence in the sense that they heard about things that they were not aware of but ultimately it was their decision to choose who to vote for. At least five respondents said their friends and relatives abroad tried to influence them to vote against Mugabe but they couldn't buy such "misguided" as one of them said, advice. They had always voted for Mugabe and they were quite sure they would continue to vote for him.

Did you vote for Tsvangirai?

Three respondents said "Yes", Five respondents said "No", the rest didn't want to disclose.

You have access to Internet at home?

Only seven had uninterrupted access to Internet via their mobile phones. Three said they had Internet access through their workplace. One respondent had no idea what Internet was. The rest knew what it was and had email addresses but did not have regular access.

What is your major source of news?

Interestingly, all but seven had access to CNN, BBC and major television stations via satellite. Seven respondents said *ZBC* and *The Herald* were their major source of news. Five respondents said they read online newspapers via the Internet.

Are you concerned about world news at all or you only care about Zimbabwe?

Seventeen respondents said they cared a lot about what was happening in the world. They insisted that worldview was very important insofar as developments in Zimbabwe were concerned. The remaining eight respondents said what was interesting to them was what only was happening in Zimbabwe. They only heard about international news through their relatives and friends living abroad

Have you ever heard of SW Africa Radio?

All respondents said they knew the foreign-funded station. Eight respondents accused the radio of peddling lies about Zimbabwe. They said since it was foreign funded, they found it hard to trust it. Other respondents said they listened to it because it told a story "you will never hear on ZBC", as one of them declared.

Do you consider yourself a citizen journalist?

Fifteen respondents said they didn't think they were citizen journalists because they had little to do with the Internet. Some of them wanted me to first explain what exactly citizen journalism was. Two respondents, who had previously worked as journalists insisted that they were citizen journalists. Two other former journalists working for Western institutions including a non-Zimbabwean said they were citizen journalists pointing to their weekly blogs that are posted on their employers' official websites. One other respondent, who had no formal journalism background, said she considered herself a citizen blogger. One other respondent claimed everyone who has a cell phone, including his 71-year old mother is a citizen journalist. Five respondents didn't know whether to classify themselves as citizen journalists or not.

Do you feel you are empowered with information that helps you make political decision?

All respondent said they had enough information about what was going on politically. Seventeen respondents including those who supported Mugabe said they would not even try to participate in demonstration to topple Mugabe because they were too afraid to do so. They said they would be beaten. Eight of them said they would not participate in demonstrations because they believed in peaceful means.

APPENDIX 3: Zimbabwean communities identify source of their dilemmas

Dear participant

May I draw your attention to this attached questionnaire which is targeting Zimbabweans living in the UK. I am a registered student currently conducting research at the University of Hull. My thesis seeks to explore the significance of new media technologies in railroading democratic changes in Zimbabwe. Your participation is confidential.

I look forward to receiving your response.

Best regards,
Bruce Mutsvairo

Responses (with results in parentheses)
Total number of respondents: 20

1) You consider yourself as a Zimbabwean?
   (20 out 20 Answered Yes)
2) You live in the Diaspora?
   (20 out of 20 Answered Yes)
3) You consider yourself anti-Mugabe?
   (6 Yes vs. 14 No)
4) Do you want to see political change in Zimbabwe?
   (5 Yes vs. 15 No)
5) Would you mind if a ZANU-PF official takes over from Mugabe?
   (5 Yes vs. 15 No)
6) The Internet can bring political change in Zimbabwe
   (6 yes, vs. 10 Don't know vs. 4 No)
7) I urged relatives to vote for Tsvangirai during the 2008 election
   (4 Yes vs. 16 No)
8) I shared information with relatives and friends at home during the 2008 elections
   (18 Yes vs. 2 No)
9) My primary source of news has always been online news sites such as newzimbabwe.com
   (20 out of 20 answered Yes)
10) Morgan Tsvangirai is unfairly represented in local news
    (5 Don't care vs. 10 Agree vs. 5 Disagree)
11) I would go back to a new democratic Zimbabwean
    (18 Yes vs. 2 No Zimbabwe is a democracy)
12) Western Press misrepresent the Zimbabwean story
    (10 Yes vs. 10 No)
13) If I had the means I would become a blogger and participate in actively removing Mugabe
    (10 Don't know vs. 5 Yes vs. 3 No vs. 2 Unanswered)
14) Zimbabwean crisis needs no foreign intervention
    (9 Yes vs. 11 No)
15) I have access to the Internet and I consider myself an activist
    (7 No vs. 7 Yes vs. 6 Don't know)
16) Mugabe is right when it comes to land reform
    (16 Yes, 4 No)

APPENDIX 4: Africa's citizen journalists share thoughts

Thank you for taking part in our survey.

1. First, please give us some information about your role as a media actor. For each point, please select the correct answer.

I currently make
a living working
for the media.

Do you have a
blog, or write for
a group blog?

Do you have a
Twitter account?

I primarily work
for online media.

I think of myself
as a citizen
journalist.

I self-identify as
a journalist.

2. Which country do you primarily work in?   Country:

In the next section, we will ask you some questions about the role of traditional journalists and citizen journalists in society. Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements by selecting the respective number on the scale.

	Very Much Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Very Much Disagree
Press freedom should not be subordinated to any law.					
Unconstrained social media endanger public safety.					
An article in a newspaper may cover only one point of view.					
As a blogger, it is important to always present multiple perspectives.					
Some self-censorship from					

	Very Much Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Very Much Disagree
journalists is necessary to preserve national security.					
Criticising the authorities is not permissible. As a blogger, your articles should first and foremost inform the audience.					
The government should not be scrutinized by the media. A journalist must always name his sources.					
The government should censor online media if national security is endangered.					
The freedom of the press must be weighed against other concerns, such as security.					
For a blogger, it is permissible not to disclose the source of his information.					
The government should have a tight control over online media.					
Online media should always provide links					

	Very Much Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Very Much Disagree
to their sources.					
Whether a story is true is more important than who it serves.					
Bloggers should be careful in what they publish, so as to not endanger national security.					
A journalist should not report a story that could endanger national security, even if it is true.					
It is permissible to publish unconfirmed information on the Internet.					
As a journalist, your first duty is to serve the public.					

In this part, we will ask you to elaborate on some of the topics covered in the questions above. Please write down what you think about the following issues.

4. As a journalist or citizen journalist, what is your primary motivation to report a story?

5. Do you think journalists and citizen journalists need to be objective in their articles?

6. Do you think that for citizen journalists, a different set of ethics counts than for traditional journalists?

APPENDIX 5: Journalists views on Citizen Journalism

Twelve journalists from Zimbabwean newspapers *The Herald (3), The Standard (4) The Independent* (1) and four freelancers were interviewed in December 2011 during one of the five trips I made as field research for this PhD. Since I had done my first journalism internship at the Standard newspaper, I contacted a friend and journalist, who was working there. Using his network, he set me up with other journalists, who agreed to be interviewed, airing their views on the impact of citizen journalism in Zimbabwe. Face-to-face interviews were conducted in Harare, Zimbabwe. The purpose of the interview was to seek professional views on citizen journalism in the country.

Do you consider citizen Journalism, journalism?

All journalists were keen to make a distinction between "real" journalism and citizen journalism. They seemed to agree on one point, which is the fact that citizen journalist do not get any formal train therefore they don't make ethical considerations when they publish their stories

What role can citizen journalism play in Zimbabwe?

All journalists were reluctant to offer their thumps-up for citizen journalism. Journalists including those from the pro-government Herald newspaper said they the level playing field was not fair enough to allow citizen journalists to operate freely. One journalist from The Independent said repressive media laws meant citizen journalists would be afraid to operate as they feared arrests.

Who are the citizen journalists in Zimbabwe?

Varied responses came from the 12 journalists. Some said citizen journalists were mostly trained journalists who had failed to secure jobs and were now contributing stories to online newspapers writing stories about Zimbabwe. Some considered citizen journalists to be anyone who owns a computer. Some journalists said in a politically polarized environment such as Zimbabwe most writers prefer to use pseudo by-lines.

Would you consider working as a citizen journalist should you lose your job or should the situation forces you to?

None of the 12 journalists was willing to work as citizen journalist under what circumstances.

What challenges do citizen journalists face in Zimbabwe?

Two of the 12 journalists saw citizen journalism as an opportunity for journalists   facing repressive media laws. Others felt that the problem was that some of the citizen journalists were working as journalists without realizing their impact. It therefore was a new phenomenon, one that had plenty of opportunities but many people did not know what it was. The availability of new media would changes these dynamics, they all reckoned.

What stories are covered by citizen journalists? What stories should they cover?

The journalists conceded that since very little information was available about the workings of citizen journalists, it was very difficult to know what stories they covered. One of the journalists conceded that while he knew that citizen journalists were present in the country, he had never met one. All journalists said that citizen journalists should be free to write and cover stories as they wished.