SANCTIONED AND CONTROLLED MESSAGE PROPAGATION IN A RESTRICTIVE
INFORMATION ENVIRONMENT: THE SMALL WORLD OF
CLANDESTINE RADIO BROADCASTING

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This dissertation seeks to identify the elements that inform the model for competing message propagation systems in a restrictive environment. It pays attention to message propagation by sanctioned and clandestine radio stations in pre- and post-independent Zimbabwe. This dissertation uses two models of message propagation in a limiting information environment: Sturges’ information model of national liberation struggle and Chatman’s small world information model. All the message propagation elements in the Sturges and Chatman’s models are present in the broadcast texts analyzed. However, the findings of this dissertation indicate that communication in a restrictive information environment is designed such that its participants make sense of their situation, and come up with ways to solve the challenges of their small world. Also, a restrictive information environment is situational, and message propagators operating in it are subject to tactical changes at different times, accordingly altering their cognitive maps. The two models fail to address these concerns.

This dissertation focused on message propagation in Zimbabwe because there is military belligerence involved in the information warfare. It therefore provides an extreme situation, which can help our understanding of more everyday instances of communication and interference of communication. Findings of this dissertation recommend the need to emphasize that information input, output and suppression are components dependent on each other; not discrete and independent categories of information activities.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

When Claude Shannon developed his model of information, he was concerned with noise in telephone systems and how to reduce it or change the message structure to insure its reception. Human information systems have noise, too. Often, this is not evident, so we may benefit from examining an extreme case: message propagation in a restrictive information environment. We will examine two models of message propagation – Sturges’ (2004, Sturges et al. 2005) national liberation struggle information model and Alfreda Chatman’s (1986, 1991, 2000, 2001) Small Worlds information theory – and then look at the Janusian case of Robert Mugabe to understand and add to these two foundational models.¹

To avoid any confusion with other various notions of information, which fail to recognize that one can receive information without being informed, we will use a specific definitional model by noting the difference between the message and meaning in the definition of information. This definition critiques Paisley’s (1980) notion of information, which refers to any stimulus that changes the information recipient’s cognitive structure (see also, Hayes, 1991).

Since the term information may require particular focus on the information seeker or recipient – which is beyond the concern of this study – the term message propagation is used. In his definition of information, Hayes (1991) emphasizes the need to differentiate among facts, data, information, communication, and understanding. Information, according to Hayes involves data processing. We will assume that the processing of data is similar to message propagation, a process that is external to the information recipient. Once the information is communicated, the

¹ Janus was a Roman god who guarded the doors – both the entry and the exit – of Forum Romanum, the idyllic center for the Roman People. Janus was therefore portrayed as double-faced, looking back and forward, the beginning and the end. In this dissertation, Robert Mugabe assumes a Janusian figure by being on both sides of the communication battle in a political setting – as first the rebel clandestine broadcaster, and then as the sanctioned oppressor of communication.
recipient derives the meaning from the message. This process of message propagation is dependent on various factors such as context and the cognitive ability to decode the data. Information does not therefore necessarily incorporate the element of meaning.

Since the process of crafting the message is not similar to the process of extracting meanings, we will use the term message propagation to refer to what is ordinarily defined as information. We will therefore examine the process of propagating the message and not the meaning in a restrictive information environment. Although Hayes (1993) has used this approach in his examination of the relationship among terms that informs information complexity, he demarcates terms as either internal or external to the recipient. This dissertation advances that argument by presenting how message propagation requires an understanding of factors external and internal of the recipient. Figure 1.1 shows both external and internal terms. Since we are not examining the use of information by the recipient because that would mean focusing on the audience, we will only focus on the terms that are external to the recipient.

Figure 1.1. Schematic of the relationship among terms (Hayes, 1993, p. 2).

Distinguishing between message propagation and meaning will enable a closer examination of the elements of clandestine media. This dissertation posits that models that do not make such a distinction are insufficient when evaluating information in unsanctioned and restrictive communication circumstances.
When the communication environment becomes restrictive, information and message propagating mechanics are accordingly adjusted with the aim of achieving effective communication. Adjusting information channels with the aim of accommodating restrictive information situations generates the need to craft information content - to propagate messages - in order to communicate desired messages.

When the message propagation process is disrupted, alternative, and sometime unsanctioned, means of information and communication emerge. Within the political realm, such unsanctioned information and communication systems often lead the established regime to use the available technology to erect communication barriers.

One such unsanctioned communication strategy is the use of unlicensed radio broadcasting by nationalist movements during the African struggle for independence. After independence, unlicensed radio stations continued to operate, providing an alternative and often critical voice to regimes in power.

Nowhere is the phenomenon of restrictive message propagation better illustrated than in Zimbabwe, where clandestine radio was extensively used by the nationalists when fighting for majority rule. Then after the attainment of majority rule by the one-time rebels, other clandestine radio stations challenging the new status quo emerged. It is against this background that we will seek to examine message propagation in pre- and post-independent Zimbabwe.

It must be stated at the outset that this study does not attempt to establish whether use of clandestine radio broadcasting in a restrictive information environment works or not; it is an understanding of the mechanics that inform such an environment that is sought. Zimbabwe provides a rich example because Mugabe is the agent on both sides of the sanctioning systems.
As a rebel, he operated outside the sanctioned government, now he attempts to quash those operating outside the sanctions of his government.

This dissertation covers different historical phases of Zimbabwe’s political liberation and the struggle for the expansion of the democratic space. It explores information under unsanctioned circumstances, and how established or regimes considered to be legitimate craft information to counter what is coming from the unsanctioned and unlicensed sources. Although there were various ways in which messages were propagated and continue to be propagated in Zimbabwe, this dissertation only uses radio messages as its data to examine the mechanics informing this information warfare. This dissertation presents complementary elements for analysis with the research models.

The complexities of the information activities examined are woven into a larger historical landscape that this dissertation does not have sufficient time and space to examine. This complexity is intensified by the fact that we are examining competing information systems; two “small worlds.” It is therefore, necessary to spend some time on the historical circumstances that determine message propagation in such restrictive environments. As Wilson (1983, p. 3) states “We make points, take lines, occupy positions; we view, we see other’s point, but from our own angle.”

The subtleties of information activities under discussion can only be effectively discussed by acknowledging that they are subjects of Zimbabwe’s political and cultural pressures and historical realities. There are two phases in the history of Zimbabwe that must be elaborated

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2 The term “established” is used in reference to the resources regimes in power control and the power they wield. From this understanding we can define “clandestine” for not what it is, but for what it is not: It is not the established. I have avoided the term “normative” because murderous regimes negate the meaning of the norm. Hitler’s Nazi, although murderous, was an established regime, for example.
because the concept of message propagation requires specific history. Similarly, any form of discourse analysis also requires such a background (see Schiffrin, 1994).

Pre-independent Zimbabwe (Rhodesia)

One element of this study is the use of the Voice of Zimbabwe, also known as VOZ, which was run by the Zimbabwe African National Union–Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) to communicate revolutionary messages when Zimbabwe was fighting for its liberation from the minority regime of Ian Smith. This dissertation explores message propagation and communication strategies used by this clandestine radio station during the war against the Ian Smith white minority regime.

VOZ was first granted airtime as early as 1958 by the Egyptian government under Gamal Abdel Nasser. By 1963, the station was relaying its programs from Tanzania before shifting its base to Zambia in 1967. It finally relocated to Mozambique in 1976. Programs relayed by VOZ during its time in Mozambique in 1978 form part of the data that has been analyzed for this study. A second element of this study is how Ian Smith used information and communication strategies not only to suppress what was coming from the liberation movement, but also to perpetuate the white minority hegemony.

Post-independent Zimbabwe

Just as Ian Smith’s regime interfered with the information and communication system of ZANU-PF, so did Robert Mugabe interfere with media outlets that criticized his government when he came to power in 1980 (Rønning and Kupe, 2000; Saunders, 1991). The ZANU - PF government under the leadership of Mugabe has been responsible for several cases of harassing, detaining, and imprisoning journalists; forcing hundreds to leave the country (see also Moyo, 2005). Switching from its previous position as a nationalist liberation movement to a ruling
party, ZANU-PF now employs technologies to jam transmissions of radio programs, to which it has denied broadcasting licenses (Moyo, 2005, see also www.clandestineradio.com). This has led to the emergence of alternative media critical of the ZANU – PF regime. One such radio station is the Short Wave Radio Africa (SWRA), a clandestine radio station based in London that is run by Gerry Jackson.

Competing Message Propagation Systems

There are two elements examined in this dissertation that inform conflicting message propagation systems: sanctioned and clandestine. Considering two antagonistic information sources and examining information countenance strategies using the same model pose a challenge to this dissertation. Scholars have studied national liberation struggles from various academic perspectives, but there is limited literature that explicates this phenomenon from an information science standpoint.

One of the few scholars who have attempted to examine this information antagonism from an information science viewpoint is Paul Sturges (2004; Sturges et al. 2005). Sturges (2004) constructed a national liberation struggle information model by using published literature, printed archived material and personal interviews, mainly from the liberation struggle of Southern, Central and Eastern Africa. He used these resources to build a model that examined the opposing nature of information and communication activities pitting national liberation movements and against established regimes. Using this model, Sturges examined information activities of liberation movements side by side with the information programs of established regimes.

This dissertation makes use of the Sturges’ model to examine which elements of competing message propagation systems it addresses by paying attention to both sanctioned and
clandestine radio broadcasting in pre- and post-independent Zimbabwe. Sturges (2005) has already tested this model in a study that focuses on information warfare during the liberation of Namibia, but his study did not examine clandestine information after the independence of Namibia.

The focus of this dissertation went a step further by not only examining elements of competing message propagation systems that characterized Zimbabwe’s liberation struggle addressed in the Sturges’ model, but also by examining how those considered to be behind clandestine broadcasting during the national liberation ascended to power and gained dominance, and how they criminalized opposing views, rendering them clandestine. A literature search revealed that no similar study has been conducted.

Before elucidating the problem statement guiding this dissertation, there is a need to expound on two concepts relevant to this dissertation: Restrictive information environment and hegemony. Restrictive information environments may consist of dictatorial regimes that are insensitive to alternative voices, unsanctioned peripheral means of expression such as the use of graffiti, underground groups opposed to a dominant ideological hegemony (e.g. nationalist movements), illegally constituted groups (e.g. gangs), cults, and fundamentalist organizations such as the Al-Qaeda terrorist organization. Information restrictive situations include but are not restricted to war times or repressive governments that do not allow undisrupted message propagation.

The use of clandestine radio broadcasting in pre- and post-independent Zimbabwe is considered a restrictive environment in this dissertation. This dissertation examines how the alternative information sources that are not sanctioned by the established regime are often critical of the dominant hegemony. Consequently, established regimes use the media outlets they
sanction (because they have the sanctioning authority) to perpetuate their hegemony and thus marginalize – “un-sanction” – and criminalize the underground voices (See also Moyo, 2005; Soley and Nichols, 1987; Frederikse, 1982).

Unlike in restrictive information environments, there is an assumption that the target audience is in receipt of disseminated information if the communication process is not disrupted. Even with this assumption, how the message is propagated is complex because of its reliance on the means of communication, its content, and audience interpretation. Hayes (1991) acknowledges this complexity when he argues how information may refer to a state of mind if we were to consider the term “being informed.” It gets more complicated when we introduce the concept of “becoming informed.”

The process of becoming informed is interpreted as that of receiving information, but nothing further is specific about either the process or the content; there is no clear definition of what “information” is or even of what the process of “becoming informed.” (Hayes, 1991, p. 3).

Bates (1999) alludes to this information complexity by identifying three key questions that confront information scientists and communicators. Owing to this complexity, she explicates why information scientists must be preoccupied with the features and the laws governing recorded information, how people seek and use information, and faster ways to effectively access information.

When the normal communication environment becomes restrictive and either the audience or the sources of the information, or both, are under pressure, message propagation becomes even more problematic. This complexity may be punctuated by the use of unsanctioned media to spread information, crafting messages intelligible only to the audience, use of propaganda and lies targeting a particular audience, and even strategic timing of when to disseminate information. Unintended audiences may also be in receipt of information, and this
may lead to a total use of information received. Underlying the process of message propagation is a set of dominant societal ideas, what Antonia Gramsci called hegemony.

The term hegemony refers to “loosely interrelated sets of ruling ideas permeating a society, but in such a way as to make the established order of power and values appear natural, taken-for-granted, and commonsensical” (McQuail, 2000, p. 97). Hegemony is the process through which the dominant ideology is crafted, propagated and spread, “consciousness formed, and social power exercised” (Lull, 2000, p. 287).

Instead of depending on outright manipulation of the masses, hegemony depends on ideology-modeling measures that normalize the status quo in a manner that defies objection. Established regimes achieve their hegemonic power especially through the information systems.

In the case of Zimbabwe, the established regime uses the mass media to enforce its hegemony and portray alternative information sources as social deviants and political dissidents (Saunders, 1991; Moyo, 2005). As McQuail (2000, p. 97) notes, “hegemony tends to define unacceptable opposition to the status quo as dissident and deviant.” We can take deviance to refer to the departure from the normal standard, and in our case socio-political behavior.

This concept of being declared unacceptable or a non-member is a major component of the two fundamental models to this dissertation and will be elaborated under the discussion on the small world theory. The concept of being the “other” is a key factor in the understanding of competing message propagating systems. This competition to propagate a message generates information warfare, which clandestine media is part. The following is a brief examination of clandestine radio broadcasting as a participant in information warfare.
Clandestine Radio Broadcasting

Although information warfare has been in existence for a long time, clandestine radio broadcasting became part of this warfare in the 1930s (Wasburn, 1992; see also Soley and Nichols, 1987). Clandestine radio stations have been described variously as illegal and subversive means of mass communication that use broadcasting with the intention of expressing discontent with the political status quo. These are stations outside the dominant hegemony and are run by revolutionary, political activists and opposition members or underground groups.

Darling (2004), in reference to analyses of newspapers during the French and American revolutions, suggests the need to differentiate between revolutionary and clandestine media in that revolutionary media are more complex and their task more phenomenal and far reaching. The chief purpose of clandestine radio stations is to alter a government, which is portrayed, either explicitly or implicitly, as oppressive, or to alter radically the status quo.

Kushner (1974) has provided an articulate account of some of the clandestine broadcasting stations in Africa during the struggle for independence. He argues that almost all liberation groups in Africa realized the superseding significance of radio broadcasting and its inimitable ability to reach the illiterate:

Nearly all the major movements gained access to radio transmitting facilities, whether through clandestine transmitters or through air time granted by the national stations of countries sympathetic to the cause. The resultant programming serves many functions – general propaganda, information, entertainment, recruitment, conversion of attitudes hostile to the group, moral support, and so forth; but virtually no coordination of broadcast activities occurs between groups. Meanwhile, a limited amount of counterprogramming takes place on the part of the colonial or national administrations, and the liberation broadcasters themselves. (Kushner, 1974, p. 229).

An understanding of the unsanctioned nature of the clandestine media is important in the discussion of competing message propagating systems. With this background, we can now state the problem.
Statement of the Problem

The problematic graphical representation of Shannon’s (1949) work or explicit combat-related and information model of Sturges do not provide a sufficiently robust model to account for the complexities one finds in many modern settings. An overview of the history of Zimbabwe, for example, shows that not all its competing information mechanics and message propagation systems are accommodated in the Sturges’ model.

This dissertation is therefore driven by one principle question: What are the elements of the model for competing message propagation systems? We will examine both Sturges’ and Chatman’s models by focusing on the Zimbabwean information restrictive situation because it provides an illustrative example in Robert Mugabe’s use of clandestine radio when fighting for the liberation of Zimbabwe, and his use of state institutions to criminalize alternative voices in modern Zimbabwe. The findings of this study will shed light on message propagation under such limiting circumstances.

This dissertation acknowledges direct application of Sturges’ model in combination with the work of Chatman and her information science perspective. It sets out to explore the following research questions within the Zimbabwe’s restrictive environment of message propagation:

1. What Voice of Zimbabwe’s (VOZ) message propagation elements are addressed by the Sturges’ and Chatman’s models and what elements are not addressed?
2. What Short Wave Radio Africa’s (SWRA) message propagation elements are addressed by the Sturges’ and Chatman’s models and what elements are not addressed?
3. What Rhodesia Broadcasting Corporation’s (RBC) message propagation elements are addressed by the Sturges’ and Chatman’s models and what elements are not addressed?
4. What Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation’s (ZBC) message propagation elements are addressed by the Sturges’ and Chatman’s models and what elements are not addressed?
5. What message propagation elements are in Ian Smith’s measures of countering information and communication activities of VOZ are addressed by the Sturges’ and Chatman’s models and what elements are not addressed?
6. What message propagation elements are in Robert Mugabe’s measure of countering information and communication activities of SWRA are addressed by the Sturges’ and Chatman’s models and what elements are not?

These research questions could be generalized into one broad question: What message propagation elements used by VOZ, SWRA, RBC, ZBC, Ian Smith’s regime and Robert Mugabe’s regime are addressed by Sturges’ and Chatman’s models? We will be examining from a message propagation perspective what happens when these two small worlds collide.
Primary Research Question
What elements are in the models of competing message propagation systems?

Model
Paul Sturges’ national liberation information flow model and Elfreda Chatman’s Small World information theory models respond to the primary research question, and are examined in the context of the primary research question.

Case Study
Pre-and post-independent Zimbabwe provides a rich example in examining message propagation in restrictive environment with specific analysis of clandestine and sanctioned radio stations.

Figure 1.2. The research path.

Purpose of the Study
This dissertation is a response to the lack of in-depth studies of information and communication flows in extreme circumstances such as wartime from an information science viewpoint. Mass communication scholars have likewise expressed concern for the lack of
research on clandestine media (See Nichols and Soley, 1987). These scholars argue that clandestine media are difficult to study because most of them do not last for a long time. When they are operated during wartime, most such radio stations are unwilling to disclose the true nature of their operation and their physical location.

Most clandestine stations are also reluctant to leave documented accounts. However, recent stations have made use of modern technology such as the Internet, making most of their programs and activities digitally accessible and easy to trace.

This dissertation posits that focusing on an extreme case – broadcasting when on the run and in fear of being captured, or avoiding jamming of transmission frequencies – can also illuminate our understanding of more ordinary instances of communication and disruption of communication. An ordinary example of communication disruption is the use of filters in computers in public libraries that block certain web pages. Most public libraries have blocked pornographic sites, for example. One of the reasons could be that libraries operate on limited budgets and therefore prioritize what is considered important. The other reason could be moralistic – not to morally corrupt the society, especially the youth. While this may be argued to be a good cause, it may result in unintended information disruption. A search term, say the word “breast,” may be associated with pornographic sites and therefore blocked. But there may be researchers conducting studies on breast cancer who may consequently fail to access resourceful sites simply because of such information disruption. While there are remedies to such situations in which one may consult an administrator for the web site to be unblocked, one may be conducting personal research and therefore unwilling to disclose her health issues to strangers, in this case the librarian. This dissertation examines an extreme case that will help to shed light on such ordinary and taken-for-granted information disruption circumstances.
The interdisciplinary approach taken in this study is rooted in the disciplines of information science and mass communication. This approach will allow us to engage mass media and information science theories in examining message propagation through unlicensed media in Zimbabwe.

An interdisciplinary approach will also allow an analysis of the complexity that characterizes message propagation in extreme communication environments, which include restrictive political climates. This dissertation considers the use of clandestine radio broadcasting in Zimbabwe as a restrictive information and communication environment.

The reasons why Zimbabwe’s use of clandestine radio provides a rich example of message propagation in restrictive circumstances are:

1. Information was at the center during the struggle for the majority rule in Zimbabwe.
2. ZANU-PF depended more on message propagation to win the war than it depended on use of violence and guerrilla’s belligerence.
3. ZANU-PF had fewer sophisticated weapons when compared with the weapons Ian Smith’s soldiers used, and therefore depended upon other strategies to win the war; key among them being message propagation.
4. Ian Smith’s punitive information legislation was not amended after the triumph of majority rule.
5. Mugabe’s government has suppressed free message propagation.
6. The suppressed message propagation in Zimbabwe has led to the emergence of SWRA, and other media outlets that are unlicensed, and that are critical of his government (See Moyo, 2005; www.clandestineradio.com).
Two information science theories are particularly appropriate for this study: Elfreda Chatman’s (1986, 1991, 1996, 2001) Small Worlds information theory and Paul Sturges’ (2004) model of information and communication flows in national liberation. These two theories will be discussed in detail in the literature review section of this dissertation. Chatman’s theory is used in understanding “small world” occupied by the white minority rule, operators of VOZ, SWRA, and Mugabe’s regime, and how such membership determines the message propagation process. Information activities in the Sturges’ model will be examined alongside these “small worlds.”

This dissertation attempts to accommodate two conflicting sources of information: One is concerned with the established government, and the other is focused on activities of the clandestine media critiquing the government. This dissertation acknowledges the centrality of information in any form of conflict. As a result, it posits the slippery nature of information both as a weapon and a target in antagonistic and information restrictive circumstances.

This dissertation is founded on the argument that information and communication concerns affecting those involved in any form of liberation or democratic struggle, equally affect those in power – the “other” small world. It is also based on the assumption that radio is the main source of information in almost all developing countries. It is the radio that acts as the “primary means of government to people communication” (Cross, 1964, p. 73., see also Hatchen and Hatchen, 1981). This continues to be true even with the current technological explosion and the emergence of the Internet. According to Fardon and Furniss (2000), the communication revolution witnessed in the world today is more felt in the radio industry in Africa than in other communication sectors.

The communication revolution is normally conceived in terms of the potentially revolutionary effects of digital communication. Digital television, e-mail, the Internet, computers – these are what dominate current discussions. Yet it is radio, and the
technological changes that have taken place, and are taking place within it that are of crucial significance in Africa (p. 3).

The models used in this study analyzed messages relayed by the Voice of Zimbabwe (VOZ) in 1978, and how Ian Smith countered such messages. In addition, other information strategies adopted by Ian Smith to perpetuate the hegemony of the white minority rule are examined. The same models were used to analyze messages being relayed by SWRA, and examined strategies put in place by the Zimbabwean government to counter such alternative and critical voices. In a sense, the model reflects itself.

Significance of the Study

This dissertation examines political liberation as an information-related activity. It is cognizant that military and guerilla warfare was used in the liberation of Zimbabwe. It acknowledges the use of arms and other weaponry, some crude and simple, others complex and sophisticated. Historians such as Mungazi (1992), Rasmussen (1990), Collings (1979) and Blake (1978) have acknowledged human sacrifice in the liberation of Zimbabwe. This dissertation recognizes and acknowledges the historical perspectives taken by these historians. However, its main focus is information warfare as opposed to military operations during the historical phases of Zimbabwe. It examines political liberation - a historical phenomenon - as an information-related activity.

Since unlicensed radio stations are often started under pressure, the examination of how message are propagated in such environments sheds light on the nature of information produced under duress. Using Sturges’ and Chatman’s models demonstrates the utility of an information science lens for examining what would ordinarily be seen as an object for study for political science or communication studies. Applying information science and mass communication theories yield useful insight for analysis.
The findings of this dissertation will provide a better understanding of the information warfare that punctuates Zimbabwe. Importantly, it is not just about Zimbabwe, but part of the significance is because Mugabe provides such a unique lens into the message propagation issue that is the core of this dissertation.

Robert Mugabe, the current president who has ruled the country for 27 years, is link that connects these two phases. In the study of message propagation with specific regard to Zimbabwe, Mugabe is like the double-faced Roman god of gates, the Janus who faces forward and backward. For it is Mugabe who was strongly behind the operations of the proscribed VOZ (Mugabe¹) but who later went on to proscribe other stations that critiqued his regime. Rather than repeal the laws that condemned his station, Mugabe (Mugabe ²) uses these laws to criminalize those who oppose his regime after his ascent to power in 1980. His regime is using the same laws that victimized the radio station he used as a nationalist rebel leader (Moyo, 2005). His regime has continued to use repressive laws to criminalize information sources that are critical of the current regime. An examination of information conflict emanating from Zimbabwe’s experience is a study in a clash between sanctioning authorities from the same figure with two faces (Mugabe¹, Mugabe ²) as the focal point.

This dissertation acknowledges that what applies to those providing unsanctioned information through unlicensed channels, equally applies to those countering the information flows on behalf of the established regimes. This dissertation is therefore a study of conflict as an information activity.

Since clandestine radio broadcasting is not in the mainstream, findings of this research will contribute to the body of knowledge that focuses on message propagation within “small worlds,” which are worlds of encoding and decoding. This study also sheds light on information
and communication strategies used by establishments associated with clandestine radio broadcasting.

Limitations of the Study

Clandestine radio broadcasting is not a widely studied phenomenon. Although scholars such as Soley and Nichols (1987) have provided a historical and political account of clandestine radio broadcasting, they do not examine it from an information science perspective. Another related limitation is the limited number of available academic resources on clandestine radio broadcasting (Downer, 1993). Studying clandestine radio broadcasting is therefore a challenge.

Another drawback is the fact that records of interrogations, TV films, radio tapes, records of personal interviews, military set ups and combatants strategies were consumed in incinerators in 1980 before the majority government was ushered in (Frederikse, 1982). This partly accounts for the limited availability of programs that were aired by VOZ. Expectedly, VOZ did not maintain an archive of its programs. It is worth noting that VOZ variously depended on broadcasting equipment from several countries at different times. It was a station always on the move.

It is difficult but not impossible to obtain audio files containing programs relayed by VOZ. It is equally difficult but not impossible to know or estimate how many of these programs are available. The Foreign Broadcasting Information Service (FBIS), an open source intelligence branch of the CIA’s Directorate of Science and Technology that collects, translates and publishes foreign media reports as well as the World News Connection have archived programs broadcast by various stations from various parts of the world. Some VOZ programs recorded by FBIS are available in microfiche at the University of North Texas library and were used as part of data for this dissertation.
This dissertation, however, acknowledges that the amount of data available for VOZ programs is very limited when compared with that of SWRA, which is still in operation. The technology available for use by SWRA and Mugabe’s regime is far more sophisticated when compared with that available when Mugabe was fighting Ian Smith from his clandestine locations in the bush. Despite the difference in available technology, the historical phases examined in this study are reflective of the restrictive information circumstances in the history of Zimbabwe. It should be stated that this dissertation does not compare the philosophical and political differences or similarities of regimes under Mugabe and Smith; rather it examines the mechanics of message propagation and how they were dictated by the legislative and technological actions taken against the unsanctioned forms of communication.

Summary

This chapter has presented the background, significance and purpose of this dissertation. Various limitations of this study have also been discussed.

The following chapters provide a detailed examination of theoretical models supporting this study, delineate various methods used in gathering and analyzing data, provide an in-depth discussion on research findings and a discussion of the results. Suggestions for future research are also provided.
CHAPTER II
REVIEW OF THE RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter presents a critical review of the literature relevant to the topic of the dissertation: message propagation in extreme circumstances by focusing on clandestine radio broadcasting in pre- and post-independent Zimbabwe. More specifically, it presents two information science theories: Paul Sturges’ (2004) national liberation struggle’s information theory, and Elfreda Chatman’s (1986, 1991) small world information theory. In addition, there is an attempt to contextualize the message propagation in Zimbabwe to the country’s historical and politico-cultural reality.

Information Warfare

Information has always been a core concern in times of conflict. Sun Tzu, (1963), more than 2,000 years ago, meticulously demonstrated the irreplaceable role of information and communication during conflicts. He argued that information endowment is a greater war skill and one of the key assurances of subduing the enemy’s army even before engaging in any form of belligerence. He differentiates between “war” and “battle,” in which war is strategic and involves information management and the battle is more combat-driven.

One of the major challenges of information warfare has been the processes of information management, information handling, organizational structures, and power. Sturges (2004) posits that managing communication and information activities is more significant than engaging in the war itself. Only when information is well managed is one sure to win a war (See also Tzu, 1963).

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3 In his political masterpiece, Sun Tzu argues that those skilled in “war subdue the enemy’s army without battle.”
In his construction of the national liberation struggle information model, Sturges places clandestine broadcasting at the core of information warfare. His main argument is that clandestine radio broadcasting aims at capturing the hearts and minds of the people with information being the end as well as the means.

In their encyclopedic book on revolutionary broadcasting, Soley and Nichols (1987) demonstrate how stifling message propagation nurtures fertile grounds for underground means of communication to thrive. These scholars examine clandestine radio broadcasting from a historico-political and mass communication perspective. Although they recognize clandestine radio stations as alternative voices, they do not explore such stations as forms of information warfare. Soley and Nichols (1987) do not examine clandestine radio broadcasting from an information science standpoint.

One issue these scholars emphasize is the emergence of alternative sources of information once message propagation is restrained. According to them, clandestine radio broadcasting is one such alternative information source. A case in point is when Hitler crushed the socialist and communist opposition in Germany. He unintentionally planted a seed that gave rise to clandestine means of crafting messages in the mid 1930s. One such channel was clandestine radio broadcasting.

Clandestine radio is one of the alternative information gathering and disseminating strategies that continues to be used by revolutionaries, guerrilla fighters, social and political activists, nationalist movements, terrorist organizations, and for a different objective, legislatively-sanctioned intelligence services, such as the CIA. Although there is evidence that clandestine broadcasting existed in the 1930s when radio became widely available as a communication tool, it became most prevalent during the Second World War (Linebarger, 1947,
Soley and Nichols, 1987, Wasburn, 1992). Soley and Nichols (1987) have recorded the extensive use of clandestine radio broadcasting in various parts of the world.

Clandestine radio stations, of course, do not generate the same information as information sources sanctioned by the established regimes. They, for obvious reasons, lack resources to conduct their operations. They are also driven by different objectives and target different audiences while challenging the established regimes’ dominant ideology.

Their limited resources are spent on immediate necessities such as evading frequency interceptions, arrest, and vandalism. Short Wave Radio Africa (SWRA), for instance, is incomparable to the resources Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC) enjoys. Those involved in crafting messages for clandestine radio often even lack professional training and administrative experience.

Message propagation in clandestine radio broadcasting is noteworthy because its content is not only politically motivated, but it is also produced within a particular context, and its consumption is tailored for that specific context. However, in extreme situations such as wars, guerrilla operations, social movements and political revolutions, which may lead to clandestine broadcasting, information content becomes vulnerable to manipulation. The content may be manipulated at three levels and in various ways: by the information source that propagates the message to meet certain goals, key among them being to challenge the dominant hegemony; the target audience, who are militated against the established regime; and the target established regime, which in most cases discredits the messages propagated by the unsanctioned sources. The established regime may propagate its own messages to counter what is propagated by the unsanctioned information sources or it may block or censor such means of communication.
The susceptibility of information manipulation under restrictive environments is conspicuous in the Zimbabwean information landscape. To avoid misinformation from their perceived enemies, guerilla fighters operated in a seemingly protected “small world” of mutual support and aid. The guerrillas were driven by self-protective behaviors. The structures of a combat force solidify and reinforce a small world of which the guerrillas are part. Although being a guerilla is not just a normal life, one has to appear normal thus secrecy and deception may become a necessity even for non-combatants or those sympathetic to the conflict.

Guerilla members acquired what may be considered standard ways of presenting themselves to each other. Although they initially had personal ways to survive in the bush, after some time, they subsumed their views and personal worldview under the socially acceptable view of the revolution by listening to revolutionary messages that were propagated through VOZ.

As Klapper (1960) notes, the impact of information may range from conversion to minor changes to reinforcement of belief or behavior. A more elaborate examination of media effect has been provided by McQuail (2000) who posits that information can cause intended or unintended changes, which can either be minor or otherwise in terms of intensity and form; change or just facilitate change--intended or otherwise--reinforce the status quo, or even prevent any change. A revolutionary song, for example aired through VOZ could incite the villagers against Ian Smith. The same song could send a signal to Ian Smith that VOZ needed to be countered or the messages contained in the signal needed to be discredited. VOZ attempted to provide convincing messages to the guerillas to achieve the intended change, majority rule. That one message could generate different meanings indicate the encoding and decoding nature of the small worlds.
The same can be said about RBC and its subsidiary information avenues such as the Psychological Operations Unit (POU), only that their target was different, to perpetuate the Ian Smith hegemony and counter VOZ messages. If the triumph of ZANU and the rejection of Ian Smith during the 1980 general elections are anything to go by, we can argue that RBC’s information and communication strategies backfired.

VOZ messages were in the form of strongly worded statements from guerrilla leaders, revolutionary songs, and encouraging letters from the villagers that were read during the broadcasts. These messages attempted to re-shape private views of the guerrillas. They helped embody the expectations – the “norms” – of the battalion, specifically for the security and cohesion that any military set up or guerrilla warfare demands.

Information content that is crafted in such restrictive circumstances carries a specific purpose: to systematically change behavior to fit in a particular restrictive environment. It is worth noting that once the guerrillas adjusted to the restrictive circumstances in the bush, these circumstances became “normal.”

To have a better understanding of how VOZ, Ian Smith, SWRA, and Mugabe’s current regime are relevant to the information complexity under discussion, it is important to understand Sturges’ national liberation struggle information model, and Chatman’s mall world’s information model.

**Sturges’ National Liberation Struggle Information Model**

Sturges developed the national liberation struggle information model from material on the liberation struggles in Southern, Central, and Eastern Africa. Sturges posits that existing information and communication models lack the capacity to accommodate the complex nature of information in extreme circumstances such as warfare.
Construction of Sturges’ model is founded on Richard’s (1994) argument on the emergence of alternative communication strategies when message propagation is disrupted in times of war or revolution. Rayward’s (1996) observation reinforces Richard’s (1994) view that wars of colonial liberation can be understood in a different light if studied from an information science perspective. Sturges’ model is built on propositions by both Richard (1994) and Rayward (1996). Sturges further argues that studying message propagation in extreme circumstances is like a “microcosm of a much more turbulent information world than most conventional approaches allow” (2004, p. 429).

Sturges sees message propagation in liberation struggles as a form of information warfare because of the restrictive circumstances within which it operates. In restrictive information contexts such as wartime, information becomes an asset worthy of conquest or destruction, a weapon as well as a target (Schwartau, 1997). How information is molded in such environments is therefore of strategic importance.

It is for this reason that information in extreme environments is vulnerable to manipulation. It becomes subject to the deliberate erection of barriers to its free message propagation – such as jamming radio frequencies – and the use of available technologies as new communication channels. Information conflict leads to inadvertent use of the available technology. Skills of the hacker in accessing unauthorized documents in contemporary information warfare, is a case in point.

Before setting out to construct the model, Sturges delineates four core elements in military warfare that determine how messages are propagated in a restrictive and combative information environment. These are:

- Will
• Force
• Logistics
• Intelligence

These elements, rooted in military history, are relevant to information warfare. Will represents the driving spirit of those involved in the conflict: leaders, the people and the military. Force involves military strategies and tactics. Logistics refers to the maintenance of the structures supporting the conflict. Sturges (2004, p. 430) sees intelligence as a broader concept that covers “scouting at battlefields” and extends to “military cryptography.” Breaking the Enigma code during the Second World War is illustrative of this point. Intelligence directly relates to information warfare and is therefore more relevant to this dissertation than the other three.

The centrality of information during conflicts is evident in various liberation struggles. In the current U.S. War on Terror, for instance, emphasis on fatalities by the media may be to the advantage of the terrorists because the successes of anti-terrorist units hardly headline the news. The audience may be tempted to sympathize with the victim of the bombing – whether from the terrorists or the Coalition Forces – simply because of how information is managed, packaged, propagated and distributed by the media. The Coalition Forces may then be perceived as losing the war even when that portrayal by the media is not deliberate or accurate. Terrorist networks could be taking advantage of this form of information (mis)management.

In the case of Zimbabwe, Eddison Zvobgo, deputy secretary of ZANU and head of publicity and in charge of information, confirmed the key role that information management played in the liberation of his country:

The regime’s forces can survive if they are fed with information from the people. Once that source dries up, it becomes an army of occupation. It can move into an
area, but its soldiers will not be greeted...Once they become an army of occupation, they have lost the war, no matter how much machinery they have. That is what is happening in this country. (Frederikse, 1982, p.73; see also Sturges, 2004).

Frederikse’s key argument is that any conflict must be won by capturing peoples’ hearts and minds. During conflicts, information and communication management as opposed to military operations is a more potent weapon in winning hearts and minds so that people can rally behind a cause. This justifies the significance of examining liberation struggles from a non-military perspective.

Sturges’ (2004) model takes into consideration information and communication activities of liberation movements as well as information programs of established regimes. The model identifies three information domains: the field, the center or the headquarters, and the media as the three major areas within which message propagation can be analyzed in situations of conflict. The field domain in this model allows for information gathering and acquisition by the source. It also allows for suppression of messages coming from the other small world. Although Sturges does not include information output in the field domain, one can argue that discrediting messages as a form of information repression is also a form of information output because once messages are countered; they impact differently on the audience.

The media domain according to the Sturges’ model allows information dissemination (output) and is also the domain where crafted messages are either sanctioned or countered if coming from the other small world. Although Sturges does not incorporate an element of information input in this domain, one may argue for its necessity because how message are disseminated or suppressed is part of the message propagation process.

The centre domain in the Sturges’ model focuses on the information input and output in a clashing information environment. In this domain, Sturges fails to include the information
suppression element. However, it is whether information has been suppressed that determines both the input and the output.

The methods used by the clandestine media operators and the media of sanctioned regimes are similar in how they gather, sanction and package information; the only differences are the techniques they use because of their varying objectives. As Sturges (2004, p. 436) notes, methods used either by the guerillas or those in power to “suppress comments and the spread of information is paralleled by their use to extract desired information from those who might withhold it.”

This model divides information activities into three categories:

1. **Information input**: This involves information acquirement and processing.
2. **Information output**: This involves dissemination of information and crafting of messages.
3. **Information suppression**: This involves activities that repress information and countering what is unsanctioned.

Sturges further divides these information categories into sub-categories depending on the overt or covert nature of the information activity. Aspects such as information seeking and acquirement are considered overt while espionage and surveillance are considered covert. Both fall under the information output category. What this model does not examine is the possibility of gathering irrelevant information that may be detrimental to the information seeker. Since this dissertation is focusing on message propagation, we need to note that the term information seeker has been problematized. The information seeker is ordinarily perceived as the consumer of the information sought. However, if this information seeker gathers information to propagate messages that are further sought by other information seekers, we generate an overlap of terms. The information seeker becomes the information source. It is the information seeker (information
output and suppression) who determines how acquired information is propagated (input and suppression) in order to achieve set objectives.

Sturges also discusses overt and covert information activities. Crafting, disseminating formal propaganda and designing messages for political education purposes are considered overt while disseminating operational messages, misinformation and outright lies are considered covert. Both fall under the output category. Sturges, however, does not address the possibility of propagated messages – be it propaganda or outright lies – boomeranging on the source by triggering unintended effects.

The final category – information suppression – covers such aspects as censorship of documents and speech as overt. Repressing alternative and often critical thoughts, criminalizing ideas and punishing individuals, fall under suppression but as a covert information aspect. In terms of information suppression, Sturges does not address how humans may suppress information for personal reasons such as the unacceptability of the information source and the information itself, unwillingness to seek information because of involved expenses, and for simple reason that one is better off without seeking available information (See also Goffman, 1959; Wilson 1983; Wilson & Allen, 1999). There are instances in which information is accurate but may be coming from an unacceptable source. Such information may be rejected regardless of how it is propagated. But acceptance or rejection of information is not necessarily an indicator of information accuracy.
The components of the Sturges’ model apply to both the established and the clandestine information flows. The model is a mirror reflection of itself.

![Diagram of information activities]

**Figure 2.1.** A mirror image of information activities that inform both the sanctioned information sources and clandestine sources. These activities are in conflict with each other because they are in different “small worlds” and have conflicting sanctioning authorities.

Depending on their relationships, information activities are placed under three information domains. Covert input (e.g. espionage and surveillance) and suppression activities (e.g. censorship of ideas and documents; and silencing of critical voices) are placed under the field domain. Overt and covert output (e.g. dissemination of political education, operational messages, and outright misinformation) together with the suppression activities are placed under the media domain. In the third domain, center or headquarters, is placed overt input (e.g. information gathering and research) and covert output information type (e.g. operational messages and misinformation).
Sturges (2004, p. 432) states that his model was intended to:

1. Structure knowledge of different types of information and communication activity;
2. Indicate gaps and concentrations in activity;
3. Permit audit and assessment;
4. Assist in an understanding of outcomes;
5. Provide perspectives on information warfare in other contexts.
Figure 2.3. An adaptation of Sturges’ (2004) Information model of national liberation struggle.

Figure 2.3 should not be taken as an organization or flow chart. It must be understood that the information activities contain modes of all other components. The lines and location of elements do not represent hierarchical relations. They only represent membership in the group labeled information activities. There is also no particular path on this figure. What is listed is more of taxonomy of the elements between which and by which information might flow, be regulated and message propagated. These elements are like tendrils spreading from the core: the information activity. Technically, one can remove the lines. For any individual activity may include any combination of the surrounding information elements depending on the mechanics.
informing the message propagation process. The lines and positioning of information activities are not meant to indicate directionality or information flows.

The information activities examined by this model, especially its potential of providing “perspectives on information warfare in other contexts” are appropriate for this dissertation. On this model, the information activities indicated on one plane are reflected on the other plane.

Figure 2.4. Information clash. Information activities exhibited by the established sources of information also inform the clandestine sources as well. The difference rests on the goal. This results in a clash of information and information sanctioning authority.

This study also uses Elfreda Chatman’s small world’s information theory. This theory provides an understanding of how membership in a particular small world influences worldview, which in turn informs message propagation.
Elfreda Chatman’s Small World Information Theory

Elfreda Chatman developed her small world information theory from ethnographic studies she conducted when studying the information poor. Most of her studies focused on janitors, imprisoned women, and geophagists (dirt-eaters). She coined the term small world, which she defines as a world with a high predictability of information occurrence, with much of the information that binds this world together being relevant, justifiable, and occupying a sanctioned place in the general scheme of things. Activities such as information seeking and how information content is packaged in these small words are perceived as normative. According to Chatman (1986, 1991, 2000), people belong to particular small worlds because of a number of factors, important among them being shared life experiences and social norms. According to Chatman, sharing of sanctioned social norms makes life in a particular small world predictable.

To have a clear understanding of the small world concept, it is important to note that the small world thrives because it allows its members to “share a similar cultural and intellectual space” (Chatman & Huotari, 2001, p. 353). Among the integral things that hold any small world together include:

a) Common assessment of information worthy of attention

b) Social norms that allow its members to approach or ignore information

c) Behaviors that are deemed by other inhabitants to be appropriate for this world

When developing her small world theory, one of Chatman’s earliest studies examined diffusion of information among women in a Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) program. Chatman noted that most women did not freely exchange information. In her findings, she recommended the inclusion of a time factor in her information diffusion model (Chatman, 1986).
It was after testing her diffusion theory on other populations that Chatman noted the emergence of various information concepts that have come to define her research. A case in point is her study of information diffusion among university janitors. She found out that janitors’ information needs were not sought outside their social group (Chatman, 1991). She concluded that membership in a particular group determines how one seeks information. She also concluded that one acquires membership in a particular group by abiding to certain social norms that are sanctioned by a particular group. She was to later argue that one cannot equate information availability to information accessibility because there are groups that she studied that were unable to meet particular information needs despite the availability of information (see also Wilson, 1983).

Chatman (1996) attributes the failure to satisfy information needs despite information availability to information concepts such as deception, risk-taking, and situational relevance. Deception is closely associated with secrecy, which involves concealing information because of mistrust of others. Concealing information may also be as a result of the risk involved if particular information is revealed or shared. Both deception and risk-taking hinder information flow. They are major contributors of information poverty (Chatman, 1999). Information poverty results from not only the unwillingness to share information, but also from perceived mistrust of information sources. Fortifications that punctuate small worlds allow perceived mutual support and help to the members who are driven by “self-protective” information behavior (Chatman, 1999, p. 207).

Chatman (1996) found out that information that was considered useful by the groups she studied was readily accepted and diffused faster within the group. Her assertion echoes previous findings of Dervin (1977, 1983), who posited that in order to understand human information
behavior one requires an understanding of the situation generating the information need. Chatman called this situational relevance, an information concept originally proposed by Wilson (1973).

Scholars such as Wilson (1983) and Wilson & Allen (1999) have examined human behavior with regard to information. They argue that information may be:

- Available but too costly to seek
- Important and available but people may as well assume that they are better off without it, and
- Coming from an unacceptable social-type

What Wilson & Allen (1999) posit is the fact that information may be available, accessible and accurate, but it may be unacceptable if it is coming from a source that is not sanctioned by a particular small world. Wilson (1983, p. 15) discusses how an information source is considered believable. He perceives this concept as a form of cognitive authority, the ability of a source to “influence one’s thoughts that one would consciously recognize as proper.” He examines various factors that define cognitive authority, that is, believability, trustworthiness, and expertise. People often find their cognitive authorities in the small world they occupy.

Cognitive authority can be contrasted with administrative authority, which involves a recognized right or privilege to command others. Administrative authority, just like cognitive authority, determines how messages are propagated. If the administrative authority is authoritarian, say how the early church dictated the interpretation of the Bible or Mugabe’s criminalization of alternative voices, message propagation becomes restricted and those opposed to such arrangement design ways to contest it.
Even an authoritarian source of information may gain credibility by repeatedly saying things that seem illuminating or convincingly discrediting what is coming from “other” sources. It may even become a cognitive authority. This can be contrasted with sources that embody expertise but may fail to acquire cognitive authority if they are embodiment of intrinsic implausibility.

Personal trust or belief in a person is another way to determine whether a source may be considered a cognitive authority. Such trust has been predominant in the history of revolutions where leaders win the trust of their followers. When leaders win this trust they are considered charismatic. Just as Wilson (1983) notes, a hero, a prophet, a saint may attract personal loyalty that carries with it a willingness to be trusted and admired.

This happened in Zimbabwe where Mugabe won the trust of the people and the guerrillas. He became a source of credible information and his authority was not only cognitive but also charismatic (Frederiske, 1982). However, this has changed with time. Moyo (2005, p. 114) has discussed how Mugabe and his government blocked and disrupted information sources that attempt to break the government’s “monopoly in social and political commentary.” Moyo’s argument is that, like any other cognitive authority, Mugabe and his government have lost authority “if the things he says fail to impress us” (Wilson, 1983, p.25).

Chatman delineates how membership in a particular social world is determined by one’s social norms and how one views the world, consequently constructing reality. She states that a small world enables its members to know what to do, what to expect, and what is expected of them in that small world. When studying female inmates, she noted inmates’ shared worldview, which influenced the way they constructed their messages, and how collective prison opinion redefined individual inmates’ social norms.
In its small worldness, a prison, for many, is not an uncomfortable place to be. The routine of prison life gives a certain degree of security and even protection. Prisoners will shape their own private views in order to embody the norms of prison precisely for the security that this process brings (Chatman, 1999, p. 207).

In an attempt to deal with the breakdown of their lives and striving to appear normal, these female inmates, Chatman notes, expressed secrecy and deception. According to her, members of one small world shield information from “others,” the outsiders.

Chatman’s small world information theory comprises four key elements: social norms, worldview, social types, and human information behavior. Social norms are the core determinants of what is right or wrong in a small world and sanction not only information to be sought, but also information seeking behavior within a small world. The various ways members of a small world understand their world determine the importance of information they seek and the reality they construct. Worldview, therefore, becomes the “collective perception members of a social world hold in common regarding those things which are important” (Chatman, 2000, p. 11).

Social norms allow members to understand how their behavior is accommodated within various contexts as they are defined in that small world. It is the value attached to social norms that a small world crafts its messages, constructs its reality, generates meanings, seeks and develops ways to protect them. Social norms demarcate behavioral boundaries and “show its members acceptable standards and codes of behavior” (Chatman & Huotari, 2001, p. 353).

Social type can be defined as a signature that is attached to members of a small world. Information flow in a particular small world is either rejected or accepted depending upon the source’s social type. How members of a small world relate with the information they obtain is what Chatman calls information behavior, and is dependent on social norms, social type and
members’ worldview. Chatman’s main argument is that to understand how people seek and use information, one must first establish the small worlds to which they belong.

Chatman’s theory is echoed in the work of Wilson (1999) that examines how worldview determines the amount of accessed information. People’s worldview also highly determines information seeking behavior and other message propagation processes.

One can safely place the Zimbabwean experience in Chatman’s model. The Zimbabwean nationalist movement and its communication channels knew the people who could be trusted to spy for them. They also knew who to keep away from (Frederikse, 1982).

There existed a trusted source of information and a systematic ground for information gathering. It was unexpected, for instance, for the white soldiers to gather information about the guerrillas from the trusted mujibas, a word used to describe boys who assisted the guerrillas by spying and providing other surveillance services including acting as messengers when night meetings were planned. Girls who played similar roles as mujibas were called chimbwido (Frederikse, 1982). Besides surveillance services, chimbwido also cooked for the guerrillas. They would befriend the white soldiers to know their plans, which they then communicated to the guerrillas. This was one of the ways the guerrillas gathered information. When a mujiba provided information to the “enemy” he ceased to be one of the “comrades,” and automatically joined the ranks of a “sell out” (see Frederikse, 1982)

The context within which information is gathered is an important factor in determining information needs. As Chatman (1985, 1991) and Savolainen (1993, 1995) have observed, information gathering and dissemination in restrictive environments indicate that context, especially the information user’s specific environment at a point in time, is a better indicator and predictor of information needs and uses of information than socio-economic status. We can think
of an information source being a primary information user before crafting messages from available information.

Chatman (1991) further argues that it is the compartmentalization into small worlds that leads to information inadequacy. Compartmentalization also leads to a huge disparity between information needs of the members of a small world and other available sources of information that are considered the outsiders (Agada, 1999). This variance is often a result of the prevailing preference of the information source to be a member of the small world that the information recipient occupies (Agada, 1999; Chatman, 1996; Dervin & Lane, 1992; Childers, 1975).

From a communication standpoint, a similar argument about worldview and its impact on information interpretation has been posited by Schultz (1967). He found out that any statement is of meaning only to those who have the same understanding of the world as the speaker. Scholars from other disciplines, such as visual art, have also alluded to this notion of the small world.

Wasburn (1992, p. 57) states that the meaning of events and conditions that punctuate the social world is often generated from “human action that organizes, characterizes, and identifies experiences in terms of shared definitions.” Goffman (1959) has shown how human beings make their world comprehensible and logical by designing a “frame” that offers unique explanations of the pertinent part of their social system. The nature of any designed frame is dependent upon the perceived reality of a particular small world. As Frederikse (1982, p. 70) points out in the Zimbabwean case: “What the guerillas understood as trust of the masses, the security forces saw as ‘subversion of the locals.’”

Producers of clandestine radio broadcasting have the feeling of an outsider’s status and a perception that their operations are on a realm that is not sanctioned by the mainstream establishment. This does not mean that there is lack of a sanctioning authority in their small
world. Information seekers in a restrictive environment may judge, find relevance and associate a new information source to their situation. They, therefore, use vocabulary and model their messages strategically and differently from the mainstream operators to achieve their goal, which they perceive different from that of the established “world.” In Zimbabwe, for instance, the word *mukoma* – which means brother in Shona – was used by black Zimbabweans to refer to the guerrillas.\(^4\) This echoes the use of the term “comrade” by revolutionaries in communist struggles. Use of such terms in message propagation generates group solidarity because it is group-specific.

After examining Chatman’s small world theory, one can posit that practitioners of clandestine radio broadcasting occupy a particular small world that informs how they propagate their messages. This particular small world is not part of the established regime. The established regime is also a small world, in contest with the clandestine radio broadcasters’ “small world” in propagating messages. With this background information, let us now examine in detail clandestine radio broadcasting in pre- and post-independent Zimbabwe.

**Clandestine Radio Broadcasting in Pre- and Post-Independent Zimbabwe**

Early 1980, Harare, the capital city of Zimbabwe turned dark with smoke. Harare was called Salisbury and Zimbabwe was called Rhodesia until April 1982. The smoke emanated from incinerators that consumed records of Zimbabwe’s colonial past, and Zimbabwe’s liberation history. These documents were burned before the white minority rule under Ian Smith handed over power to the black majority rule. These flames consumed information on Zimbabwe’s use of media in fighting for independence.\(^5\) Information on how the white minority rule used the

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\(^4\) Shona is the largest ethnic group in Zimbabwe.

\(^5\) Ian Smith unilaterally declared Rhodesian independence from the British colonialism in 1965. However, this declaration was rejected by the British government, and condemned by the United Nations. Apart from the apartheid South Africa, no other country recognized Rhodesia as an independent state under Ian Smith. If colonialism was
media to counter Zimbabwe’s liberation movement was destroyed in this fire as well (Frederiske, 1982).

When Zimbabwe gained independence in April 1980, Robert Mugabe became the first black prime minister. Mugabe’s political reign has been punctuated by economic mismanagement and political repression. Although Mugabe was one of Zimbabwe’s national heroes, and used Voice of Zimbabwe (VOZ), a clandestine radio that shifted its base from Egypt, Zambia, Tanzania and finally Mozambique, when fighting for the liberation of Zimbabwe, his government has continued to suppress free expression and freedom of speech. This has led to the emergence of Short Wave Radio Africa (SWRA), a clandestine radio station based in London.

VOZ and SWRA, like other clandestine radio stations, identify their role as fundamentally geared toward not only political education, but also mobilizing the people with the ultimate goal being to defy and change the socio-political status quo. These stations have as their key objective as questioning the dominant hegemony and providing alternative replacement (Soley and Nichols, 1987; Zaffiro et al., 1994; Darling, 2004).

As Soley and Nichols (1987) and Wasburn (1992) have noted, clandestine radio stations emerge due to political repression; both VOZ and SWRA respectively expressed discontent with the Zimbabwean political landscape. The targets of clandestine radio operators are governments where political opposition is outlawed and avenues of free expression are clogged with restrictive laws and a punitive information environment.

It is the stifled information environment that led to the emergence of the VOZ. During its prime operations (1976-1979), VOZ operated under Radio Mozambique where it was allowed based on subjugation of the majority by a minority, then Smith was a creation of colonialism. If independence can be based on universal suffrage and respect for human rights, issues Nelson Mandela went to jail for in South Africa, then, we cannot argue that South Africa became independent in 1948 when apartheid was declared. We can equally not say that Zimbabwe became independent in 1965. Zimbabwe’s Independence Day is celebrated on April 14, the day when ZANU-PF assumed power in 1980.
only 30 minutes of airtime. According to one of its directors, Grey Tichatonga, VOZ relayed news about the struggle for independence, and included international news on struggle for independence and social justice so that listeners would identify with a struggle for justice that was wider than just Zimbabwe (Zaffiro, Mosia and Riddle, 1994).

The station was established to explain “the plight of and suffering of Zimbabwe masses under the yoke of colonialism and racialism, to mobilize public opinion and support for our cause from friendly countries, organizations and individuals” (Zaffiro, Mosia and Riddle, 1994, p.12). Its main objective was to provoke the masses against the white minority rule, to motivate them to rise against the status quo. VOZ reporters gathered their news from the field and heavily targeted the guerrillas whose morale needed to be constantly raised. Zaffiro, Mosia and Riddle (1994) extensively interviewed VOZ staff members during their study. According to the staff members, VOZ was used to convey “battle objectives and military orders.” The station frequently relayed speeches of guerrilla leaders, with comrade Robert Mugabe prominent among them.

VOZ served as a unique source of information, to which the guerrillas commonly listened. As a source of information, every guerrilla unit was expected to have a radio. The transmissions consisted of news items, commentary, letters, and revolutionary songs. One of VOZ’s most popular programs was the Chimurenga Requests, which aired greetings and songs as requested by listeners who sent letters to the station. According to David Brooks, special air services personnel: Chimurenga Requests program “gave a really rousing, spiritual feeling. It had everyone singing. I’ve come across Africans in the bush, sitting around the radio, singing” (Frederikse, 1982, p.105; see also Sturges, 2004).

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6 Chimurenga is a Shona word for rebel or fighter.
VOZ was also used to propagate messages and convey them to the guerrillas. These messages pertained to military operations and also aimed at countering misinformation and propaganda from Ian Smith. VOZ programs portrayed ZANU as the champion of the liberation struggle and urged listeners to join the movement and the struggle for political independence. VOZ programs targeted the black civilians as much as it did the guerrillas. The people were urged to support the war, join the struggle, and become another link with the fighters.

In one of its programs broadcast June 3, 1978, Zimbabweans were urged to rise up to their historical calling of liberating their country:

Tonight and every night at 8 o’clock, the Patriotic Front brings you a programme of news and comment on our struggle and the world-wide struggle for independence and social justice. People of Zimbabwe, your sacrifice, your courage, your heroic determination, are breaking the chains of slavery. You are the makers of Zimbabwe revolution! The Voice of Zimbabwe is your programme. (Frederikse, 1982, p.100).

It is Eddison Zvobgo, ZANU’s deputy secretary who sums up the role that VOZ played in the struggle:

We recognized the importance of the radio in the liberation struggle, and we therefore negotiated with the frontline countries for free radio time. We had every evening of hour at our disposal, beamed on Zimbabwe, and we used those radio broadcasts to politicize the masses here at home, to show them that this was their war. Our media department maintained a very elaborate field unit of correspondents who accompanied the comrades all over the country, making reports of battles, doing interviews. Then all this material was brought to the rear and we would use it on the radio. Our powerful programmes was broadcast on Radio Mozambique, in Maputo. (Frederikse, 1982, p. 100).

VOZ was criminalized not only by the white minority rule of Ian Smith, but also by apartheid-ruled South Africa. It was condemned as being supported and inspired by the communists. VOZ operators were called terrorists, bandits, and thieves through the counter-programming of the minority rulers. But VOZ got advice from its Mozambican counterparts that liberation radio must be impeccable, and to gain credibility, it must avoid trading words with the
enemy (Frederikse, 1982). For strategic reasons, it was recommended that operators of clandestine radio should avoid exchanging words with the enemy; instead, they should expose the enemy’s weakness.

According to Zvogbo, ZANU information strategy was to have the masses every night crouch in the dark and listen to VOZ. It was also a way of providing the masses with an alternative to the Rhodesia Broadcasting Corporation (RBC), which was accused by the guerrillas as being used by the white minority regime to counter VOZ messages and to perpetuate Ian Smith’s hegemony.

The Ian Smith government subsidized the manufacturing of cheap FM-only radio, which broadcast its propaganda. The government facilitated the distribution of these radio sets in rural areas, especially to chiefs and village heads. Whether the chiefs or village heads were perceived as sell outs or authoritarian by the villagers or not, one may argue that they played the role of administrative authority upon which Ian Smith and his regime had to bank on.

Besides distribution of radio sets, the government realized that the Rhodesian Broadcasting Corporation, designed as a colonial propaganda tool, would heighten its effectiveness in impacting the black majority if a black broadcaster was hired. Ben Musoni, a black broadcaster was hired to play this role. In an interview with Frederikse (1982, p. 98), Musoni mentions how he was instructed to refer to guerrillas as “terrorists – magandanga, in Shona the word for murderers. Everything we broadcast was intended to discredit these chaps.” He confesses broadcasting what he knew was not true because he was instructed to do so as a civil servant.

The Illustrated History of South Africa provides a brief summary of Ian Smith information and communication strategies:
The Rhodesian propaganda war started in the early 1970s. Books, cartoons, jokes, radio and TV programs extolling the invincibility of the white army and deriding the terrorists were part of daily life. Africans were saturated with blood-curdling leaflets and films warning them of the horrors that would be visited on them by “communists, Marxist-Leninists and criminal terrorists.” The Rhodesian Broadcasting Corporation (RBC) broadcast program in English and Shona detailing the barbarisms committed by terrorists, offering rewards for reporting their presence and protection by the Rhodesian army. Ironically, the only people who listened to these broadcasts were whites. The African people listened to Radio Mozambique and the Voice of Zimbabwe — one of the most popular programs was the regular talk show by Mugabe. As a Patriotic Front supporter said after the election: “Every kid had Mugabe fever. Everybody could see that Comrade Mugabe was talking sense.” A well-known black RBC broadcaster, Ben Musoni, later remembered: “….the whole country was behind the freedom fighters.”

The Rhodesian broadcasting corporation station broadcast propaganda, which Musoni says were outright lies. In June 22, 1978, for example, the following was aired:

In an act of barbarism worthy of another age, terrorists this week forced an African man to cook and eat his own ears. Another gang of terrorists also slashed away part of the upper lips of a black woman. These acts of savagery, committed by men whom some call “freedom fighters,” herald the future in store for the people of Rhodesia if terrorists were ever to gain control. Men who commit crimes such as these, and still sleep soundly at night, are in reality animals in human guise.

The Ian Smith regime also set up a Psychological Operations Unit (POU) that propagated messages from a government viewpoint as well as fighting promulgating VOZ messages. POU’s objective was to use psychological tactics to demoralize the guerrillas. Although there was a military branch associated with POU, its establishment was a clear indication that the ongoing conflict was a contest for the minds and hearts of men and women. POU was formed after a realization that at the core of the Zimbabwean conflict laid the centrality of information punctuated by competing message propagating and conflicting systems, small worlds (see also Frederiske, 1982).

POU also made use of newspapers and for the first time advertisements were placed in these newspapers. The main challenge was to craft advertisement messages in such a new market whose essential agenda was to win a political conflict. As a result of the language barrier, low
economic level and a high illiteracy level, many people did not buy newspapers. This is another case where information is available but inaccessible, or simply not worth having it irrespective of its accuracy. POU decided to take the message to the people: Pamphlet campaign had begun. The Rhodesia air force used military airplanes to distribute pamphlets. This form of campaign was followed by printing of booklets such as “The Anatomy of Terror,” that documented atrocities allegedly committed by the guerrillas.

According to Frederikse (1982), Ian Smith established a mobile cinema unit under the Ministry of Information. One film that gained an unsavory reputation for its insensitivity toward the traditional systems of black Zimbabweans was the “Hyena Film.” The film showed scenes of hyenas badly mutilating three bodies of guerrillas, licking their brains, and laughing at the relish. This film failed as a propagandistic strategy because the hyena is rated lowly in African folklore and is extensively considered a scavenger and a harbinger of evil. One viewer who was interviewed by Frederikse (1982, p. 95) confirmed the failure of the film: “We just knew that all those films were propaganda. They wouldn’t move us, not an inch, not even a small child.”

Another strategy used by the white minority regime was to criminalize the mere mention of opposition voices. A 1978 RBC memo listed organizations that the Rhodesian radio and television staff was warned by authorities against mentioning in their programs. These included ZANU and its military wing, Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA), and the Zimbabwe People's Army.

After Ian Smith and his regime succumbed to the activities of the guerrillas and to the pressure from the international community, Robert Mugabe rose to power after garnering majority votes in the Zimbabwe’s first democratic election. But political turbulence informed his

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7 The RBC memo was dated August 28, 1978, and was signed by RBC Director of news T.W. Louw. Other organizations that could not be mentioned in RBC included ZAPU.
leadership as early as 1981. At 82, Mugabe continues to heavy-handedly rule Zimbabwe and has been described as a later day fascist (www.eastandard.net). Mugabe has suppressed the free press, and Zimbabwe is rated as one of the most dangerous parts of the world for journalists (Moyo, 2005). His government is using state resources not only to suppress alternative voices, but also to justify his stay in power. His justification is in his portrayal of alternative and critical voices of his government as being on the payroll of Western nations that are seeking to re-colonize Zimbabwe.

Although Mugabe has muzzled free expression in Zimbabwe, the restrictive nature of information flows especially through the mass media can also be attributed to the inheritance of foreign-controlled media. In Zimbabwe, the major newspaper chain was owned by the Rhodesia Printing and Publishing Company, which was affiliated with the South African Argus printing and Publishing Company (Ronning and Kupe, 2000). Since most media outlets were either owned by restrictive colonial states or by nationalist movements, media ideological disposition is an important axis on which the history of media in Zimbabwe, and by extension other African countries, should revolves.

As Ronning and Kupe (2000, p. 157) have observed, independent Africa witnessed inheritance of media system that was either linked to “an authoritarian colonial state or to a liberation movement with a political agenda that often implied a contradictory attitude to fundamental democratic values.”

This contradiction punctuated the Zimbabwean information landscape so much so that the role that Zimpapers – a transformation of the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Company after independence--was supposed to perform to facilitate the growth of an “independent and

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8 Wole Soyinka, the 1986 winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature, referred to Mugabe as a despot, a ruthless maniac who has played the race card crudely and murderously.
responsible press,” was difficult. Even at independence, reporting in young Zimbabwe was not objective (see also Ronning and Kupe, 2000; Alexander and McGregor, 1999; Saunders, 1991).

One way of orienting the media to the new political phenomenon was through the formation of the Zimbabwe Mass Media Trust in 1981 by the Ministry of Information. The Trust was founded on a platform of non-interference by the government with decolonization and democratization as its chief missions. This was necessary to facilitate a meaningful “transition in the management and operation of the public print media from the white minority control to serving the interests of the broad section of the Zimbabwe society” (Ronning and Kupe, 2000, p. 158). However, this idyllic vision, which Alexander and McGregor (1999) associate with the 1970s and 1980s debate on New World Communication and Information Order, was dogged by the government’s institutional impediments deliberately created to stifle information flow.

Despite the government’s reiteration of its support and promotion of a free and responsible press, it reneged on its commitment citing increasing insecurity as a justification for media control. The Zimbabwean government started scrutinizing foreign journalists and heavily interfered with Zimpapers editorial freedom and professional responsibilities (Ronning and Kupe, 2000).

In the 1990s, independent newspapers critical of the government started to emerge: The Financial Gazette, The Zimbabwe Independent (1996), The Standard (1997), and The Zimbabwean Mirror (1997). These independent newspapers became whistleblowers of embezzlement of public funds by government officials, corruption in high government offices. They also exposed deepening socio-economic crises that were informing Zimbabwe.

Operating media systems outside government control in Zimbabwe has become risky business. Newspaper and magazine vendors are attacked for selling independent titles, people are
too afraid to voice their opinions openly or even allow their photographs to be taken. Government leaders are too frightened to grant interviews, reported Caroline Davies of *The London Daily Telegraph*. (www.dailytelegraph.co.uk). Such circumstances have led to emergence of unlicensed media critical of Mugabe and his regime.

The country’s first privately owned radio station, Capital Radio, was established in 1999 by Gerry Jackson. Jackson had been sacked at the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC) for taking live telephone calls from listeners during food riots in 1997. But, Capital Radio was shut down in 2000 despite a Zimbabwe Supreme Court ruling that declared it unconstitutional for the government to monopolize the airwaves. Still, the government raided Jackson’s home and forced her into hiding. Mugabe used his presidential powers to overturn the Supreme Court decision. Jackson’s station was brought down before a word had been broadcast. The station had only aired music for six days.

The government had learned from its experience with the popular Zimbabwean independent newspaper, *The Daily News*, that an independent broadcast voice would attract listeners away from the official broadcast sources. The *Daily News* did not last for long without interference, and in September 2003 police stormed its offices on a Supreme Court order that the newspaper’s operations were in contravention of the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act, which required media outlets to register with the Media Information Committee.

In the case of Capital Radio, an email message from Jackson elaborates what happened:

The court did not reject a bid by Capital for permission to take to the airwaves within 10 days of the ruling. It did not order the company to wait for government to legally end its monopoly. None of that happened. Before the court made its ruling they asked us to apply to the Minister requesting that he put legislation in place within 60 days and licence us. This was because the courts knew that a ruling in our favour would create a legislative vacuum. Moyo rejected our request; it was therefore not our fault that government was remiss in having no broadcasting regulations. With no regulations there was no need for a
licence. The text of the Supreme Court ruling was: ‘‘The applicant is entitled under the law to operate and provide a broadcast service from within Zimbabwe. The applicant is entitled under the law to import into Zimbabwe all radio and other equipment to operate a commercial radio station and to broadcast within and outside Zimbabwe, subject to payment of all customs dues and import taxes lawfully levied in terms of the law, and to possess and utilize such broadcast equipment’’ (www.africafilmtv.com).

Caroline Davies of London’s Daily Telegraph reported that it took Jackson a year to raise enough money to launch SW Radio Africa, which began broadcasting within three months of her exile to the United Kingdom (www.dailytelegraph.co.uk). Jackson will not reveal her sources of funding nor who sponsors the only independent Zimbabwean radio broadcast available in English to the people for fear of reprisals from Mugabe’s government.

SWRA maintains editorial control. While the station’s main focus is Zimbabwe, the broadcasts cover the majority of the Southern African region. Also, programs stream live through SWRA’s Web site, and programs are archived for two weeks (see http://www.swradioafrica.com/).

Many Zimbabweans have left their country. In 2003, more that 600,000 Zimbabweans were residing in the UK alone (www.observer.guardian.co.uk). Those in exile enjoy access to programming when their country of residence is not in reach of the short-wave signal. Hits on the site have reached the six million mark. Although it is difficult to know exactly how many people listen to SWRA’s programs, feedback indicates that the station is viewed as a lifeline that maintains an international spotlight on the country (Interview with Gerry Jackson).  

It's difficult for people who live under a democratic government, with extensive access to news and information, to imagine what it's like in Zimbabwe. The electronic media is firmly under government control. Independent newspapers are expensive and not available in rural areas. Human rights are non-existent. Beatings, arrests and torture are commonplace. Half the population faces starvation. People are desperate for information and we are able to provide in-depth interviews on all the issues of the day. We also have a group of “informal” journalists who we speak to on a regular basis - such as our

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9 Gerry Jackson, email interview. October 18, 2002.
“travelling salesman.” Regularly moving across the country, he provides detailed reports of what he sees and hears. (Interview with Gerry Jackson).

In addition, listeners have an open platform in the call-back program, and the station uses a mobile phone in Zimbabwe on which listeners may leave their names and telephone numbers to be called back. For an hour each day, listeners may express their views on any issue, from any political perspective (www.dailytelegraph.co.uk).

Although Jackson was denied a license to broadcast in Zimbabwe and now runs an unlicensed broadcasting station in London, she still does not consider her station underground or clandestine. In a recent email message, Jackson stated:

We don’t consider ourselves clandestine so we don’t use any particular kind of language. We are a ‘real’ radio station and broadcast material that you should be hearing in Zimbabwe now – today. We ask the challenging question that need to be asked, and are asked, in any normal democratic society (Gerry Jackson, 2006).

According to Soley and Nichols’ (1987) definition of unlicensed broadcasting, SWRA is essentially a clandestine radio station. According to these scholars, clandestine radio stations operate without a broadcasting license. They are run with no registration with the International Frequency Registration Board, the telecommunication regulatory board of the United Nations. Jackson’s view of her station as “normal” and not clandestine and presence of “informal journalists and traveling salesmen,” is illustrative of Chatman’s small world theory where members of a certain small world will have a unique viewpoint of their world and which can be contrasted with the viewpoint of the “outsiders” – in this case the government that has denied SWRA an operating license.

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10 This interview was conducted via e-mail, September 25, 2006
Just as VOZ stealthily gathered and strategically crafted messages, so does SWRA. VOZ depended on young boys called *mujibas* and young girls called *chimbwido* in gathering, and more importantly in crafting messages before spreading information to the guerrillas. The *mujibas* and *chimbwindos* also scouted and offered surveillance services to the guerrillas. Since they were mostly shabbily dressed, Ian Smith soldiers hardly suspected them as part of the information conveyor belt. In the case of SWRA, Jackson, via email to this researcher, reveals the existence of her station’s “informal correspondents” in Zimbabwe.

The “informal correspondents” use mobile phones. Other sources of information are what Jackson calls “traveling salesmen.” There are also Zimbabwean police who file under false names and who have been instrumental in providing SWRA with the government’s inside stories. These correspondents, according to Jackson, are “as good as trained reporters,” and as "erudite and observant, never irrational or rabid or calling for the overthrow of the government.”

Although SWRA advocates for a new political dispensation, it does not campaign for a military approach. But its inexorable provision of information critical of the status quo places it on the same plane with VOZ.

In an interview with Global Crisis Watch in May 2005, Jackson emphasized the role her station is playing in expanding democratic space in Zimbabwe:

> What we’re trying to say is that there is an alternative and that it doesn’t have to be like this, and to you Zimbabweans, we all have to sit together. We have to push that and make it happen in a non-violent way. You know there are more and more calls from the young saying it’s enough to pick up arms. Of course there are no arms to pick up. It’s not going to happen. But it’s a nation that’s pushed to the brink and young kids particularly feel there is nothing they can do. So we open discussions, we have forums, we have civic society leaders; we have people internationally.

11 Email message from Gerry Jackson
Although Jackson insists that SWRA is neither radical nor incendiary, one of the major challenges she has faced is the jamming of her station. With the help of the Chinese and the Iranian government, Mugabe has constantly jammed SWRA frequencies since 2002. Tampering with transmission frequencies of clandestine radio stations is not unique to the Zimbabwean crisis. It happened frequently during the Second World War. But it is a poor strategy to respond to radio broadcasting, as the Soviet Union’s case exemplifies because alternative, and often clandestine, ways are sought to craft and disseminate information.

According to Wasburn (1992, p. 31), jamming transmission frequencies is a form of censorship that “calls for attention to the existence of banned materials, making them more sought after. It also clarifies public perception of the extent to which the state controls the flows of political, economic, military, and other types of information. Finally, jamming suggests that the state cannot construct definitions and explanation of politically relevant conditions and events that are more compelling than those transmitted by its adversaries.”

Karnell (2003, n.p. p.5) has noted how “international agreements such as the 1948 Genocide Convention provide at least a legal basis for actions by the international community to shut down a station which openly calls for the destruction of human life in the context of genocide or imminent genocide.” There are other organizations that are inflexibly anti-censorship that they counter criminalization of even hate radio stations because it transgresses

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13 According to clandestineradio.com, Chinese and Iranian government supplied Zimbabwe with technical equipments that facilitated jamming of SW Radio frequencies http://www.clandestineradio.com/
14 Clandestineradio.com is an “online portal dedicated to the study of clandestine and subversive radio - a field where politics, diplomacy, espionage and broadcast media collide. Clandestine broadcasting is a highly effective weapon in the arsenal of psychological warfare, which, when analyzed, can assist observers to cut through the fog of war and ascertain the strength and capabilities of opposition groups as well as actual on-the-ground military strategies.”
both the broadcaster’s right of expression and a country’s sovereignty. Article 19, based in
London, is one such anti-censorship organization.

When SWRA was jammed, Jackson’s worry was that most Zimbabweans would be too poor to access her online programs. In fact, most African countries are still trying to get into the information super highway despite the unprecedented technological advancement. Alemneh & Hastings (2006) have noted the increasing concerns on whether the Internet is assisting Africa to realize its development plans or, on the contrary, the Internet is merely intensifying the existing economic disparity between the poor and the rich.

The radio continues to be an unrivalled source of information in Africa and other developing parts of the world (See Fardon and Furniss, 2000). Jackson worked for the Zimbabwean state radio and confirms the power of radio, especially in rural Africa: “I was on state radio there (Zimbabwe) for many years and radio has always been a way to get through to rural people and he (Mugabe) is just not going to allow it.”

The oral nature of African society fundamentally places the radio at the center of power struggles, especially because of its direct connection with the audience in far-flung places (Fardon & Furniss, 2000). It also has the ability to bring forth poignant tactics of spoken rhetoric that is vulnerable to manipulation for propagandistic ends. It is for its effectiveness even among the illiterate that the radio has become a significant source of information in the developing world. The radio has been a powerful tool in information warfare and has been perceived as a crucial instrument of disseminating political messages. In situations where political dispensation is accommodating, resulting in information warfare, political messages take the form of

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15 Jackson in an interview with the World Crisis Watch May 30, 2005
propaganda. The messages crafted by clandestine radio are considered a form of propaganda by the established regime and vice versa.

But the term propaganda, like the definition of clandestine broadcasting, is problematic. Wasburn (1992) sees propaganda as a set of messages that are calculatedly delivered by a source for the purpose of inducing politically relevant effects on the target audience(s). According to Ellul (1965), propaganda is simply biased information. According to O’Donnell & Jowett (1999, p. 42) there are two major ways propagandists use to control information flows: controlling the media as a source of information, and presenting distorted information from what appears to be a credible source. It is not unlikely for information sources to be compromised in restrictive environments for the purposes of spreading misinformation. There are different ways to analyze propaganda messages.

Although this dissertation does not focus on the analysis of propaganda, it is worth noting that propaganda was first analyzed from a classical rhetorical viewpoint with the examination of Hitler’s *Mein Kampf* by Kenneth Burke in 1973. Clandestine radio messages have also been analyzed as a form of propaganda. Institutions such as war and information departments of various countries used a model designed by Linebarger (1947) to analyze clandestine radio messages during the Second World War.

Linebarger (1947) developed the Source-Time-Audience-Subject-Mission (STASM) model, which was extensively used by intelligence agencies, war departments, and psychological warfare analysts, especially during the Second World War. According to Soley and Nichols (1987), this model can be used to analyze any utterance after making two a priori assumptions: that actions precede meaningful utterances and that meaningful utterances are put forth deliberately to achieve an objective.
In this model, “source” represents the starting point of the information. However, not all who claim to be sources are in fact the genuine sources of information, especially in a state of war. Therefore, the source concept in this model examines those who are actually in charge of providing the information and the ostensible sources that not only allege to be the information source, but also use disseminated information as part of their own information needs.

The “time” concept examines when the event(s) being broadcast takes place, when the transmission—not the event being reported—took place. The “audience” component of this model examines the broadcast’s direct target, “the intended indirect audiences (audiences the source pretend not to address but actually does), and the unintended audience (whom the source did not intend to reach but who receive the broadcast anyway and may react to it, sometimes in unexpected ways)” (Soley and Nichols, 1987, p. 12).

The “subject” component of the STASM model refers to the content of the broadcast and the “mission” component refers to the aims, purpose, and intentions of the broadcast. The mission component is dependent upon the power wielded by the radio as a form of communication as it is dependent upon the intentions of the information source.

Although this study’s main focus is on information flows in restrictive environments with a keen focus on the competing message propagation systems in Zimbabwe, it is worth noting that recent studies that have examined the role of the Internet in information conflict. Crilley (2001) has illustrated how the burgeoning technology, especially the Internet, as a form of electronic communication is increasingly used by terrorist organizations and socio-political activists.

Technological dexterity of the hackers and activities of information propagandists continue to play a significant role in both misinforming and misrepresenting ideas of rival or target groups (Crilley, 2001). There have been incidences of unauthorized access of government
electronic systems, just as there have been cases of government-sponsored seizures of communication tools and interceptions of transmission frequencies of media critical of the establishment. Thanks to technology, it is now easier to identify the location of transmitters, frequencies launching programs, and intercepts of them than it was a decade ago.

The Relevance of Sturges’ and Chatman’s Models

Sturges’ national liberation struggle information model provides a framework within which conflicting sources of information can be examined. Its relevance to this dissertation is because it allows an examination of message propagation by two conflicting systems. Chatman’s model examines what is beyond Sturges’ combative situation.

By avoiding the military-historical analysis of the struggle enabled this dissertation to focus on information gathering and management in a restrictive environment. Due to the conflicting nature of information coming from two antagonistic sources, these models allowed an analysis of information suppression in a way that is not conspicuous in other message propagation models. They allowed an examination of how messages were packaged to provide political education. Both Sturges’ and Chatman’s models enabled an extrapolation of information input and output strategies as well as methods used to disrupt free message propagation in information conflicting situations.

Information Input

A major concern for information contestants in any form of information warfare is the challenge of identifying the ideas and information strategies of the “enemy.” The enemy is considered a member of another small world and a contestant in information warfare. Spying or scouting for information is based on the existence of barriers to information access. The necessity and significance attached to spying as a way of information gathering to gain an insight
into the “other” small world is apparent in the amount of resources spent, strategies devised, and the human risks involved.

Information input involves relentless attempts not only to understand the “enemy,” but also to gain access to the enemy’s small world. In this dissertation, ways of “entering” into the “others” small world range from verbal and messages intelligible only to the target audience, as the case was with the mujibas and chimbwidos, to the electronic jamming of broadcast frequencies. It involved bribing gatekeepers of the target small world through masquerades, interception of communications, or by threatening adherents and forcing confessions. Sturges notes the significance of this process:

The guerrillas, who cannot fight except on their own terms, must know enough of their enemy’s plan and movements to avoid being trapped into battle which they cannot win, and enough of the enemy’s weak spots to make their own strikes as safe and effective as possible. Conversely, the military authorities must gain enough information to find their foe and either to destroy or to cut him off from the supplies and information which enable him to fight and live. (2004, p. 439)

While the established small world possesses and controls huge resources as opposed to the underground small world, they both procedurally require information, especially for mobilization purposes. Information input, therefore covers information gathering and, since the goal and more importantly how it is propagated because the goal is to triumph in the information contest.

Due to the antagonistic nature of extreme information environments, not anyone can be trusted in the information gathering and propagating process. One core concern is the trustworthiness of the information gatherers and propagators, their ability to gather information

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16 Established small world may refer to the regime in power irrespective of its governance status. I use the term established because of the resources it controls and the power it wields. From this understanding we can define “clandestine” for not what it is, but for what it is not: It is not the established. I have avoided the term “normative” society because murderous regimes negate the meaning of the norm. Hitler’s Nazi, although murderous, was an established regime, for example.
and craft messages out of it without either leaking it to the enemy or exposing their colleagues and the same time striving to achieve effective impact.

During the nationalist liberation war in Zimbabwe, oral messages by the mujibas and chimbwidos, serves as a good example of “small world- specific” messages that are common and necessary in any information warfare. Sturges (2004) refers to messages transmitted by mujibas and chimbwidos as a form of oral propaganda.

Oral communication has been preferred considerably in certain circumstances as information input because the message can not be easily intercepted unless one kills the messenger. Radio frequencies can be intercepted, but oral messages can only be revealed by their bearers. It is, therefore, the contact person, more than any other source of information, who is instrumental in clandestine communication. However, oral communication has its disadvantages as well. There is always the risk of infiltration by the enemy’s agents, and the snail speed with which it is transmitted. Oral communication also has the limitation of audience reach.

**Information Output**

Sturges (2004) argues that messages crafted by national liberation movement and disseminated through formal media fail to have a huge impact when compared to information that is distributed informally. But it is the communication media that guides the “informal” sources, “informal” message crafting and “informal” information disseminators. One may not expect “formality” in information conflict; if not for any other reason, that is why it is considered restrictive. This “informality” punctuates the Zimbabwe’s situation where guerillas used mujibas and chimbwidos to spread messages about night meetings (pungwe). In an interview with one of the mujibas, Frederiske (1982, p. 69) records how information was gathered by the mujibas, communicated to the guerrillas, and through mujibas once again, back to the villagers:
We met them (guerrillas) at their bases. That is where they would be telling us to go out and look for soldiers, or to go and tell the people to come to the pungwe. That is how we would meet and tell them what we had learned. Sometimes, if we could not meet the comrades, we would just make a sign, with the drum.

Meeting (pungwe) venues were safely away from the villages. This was for strategic reasons because meetings involved the singing of revolutionary songs that helped to communicate the movement’s ideas to the villagers. One may consider this a form of political education. Songs of Thomas Mapfumo were particularly popular. Mapfumo, being sympathetic to the struggle and considered a comrade by the likes of Mugabe, had his songs proscribed by the Ian Smith regime. Ironically, when the people who considered him a “comrade” rose to power after independence, his songs were denied airtime in government-owned media. He became a “dissident.”

Besides proscribing opposition voices in the official stations, Ian Smith sanctioned teaching and reading materials in schools and colleges. ZANU did not employ this strategy to politically educate Zimbabweans. There are other liberation movements that have taken the advantage of concentration camps to spread revolutionary messages through textbooks.

According to Sturges (2004), when the ZANU Department of Education was formed in 1977, it had to provide “Schools, Resources and Methods,” which included offering notes and guidelines to teachers. He explains how this resource-restrictive education system in the camps brought awareness of anti-colonial and anti-apartheid issues through orality and other educational materials. In such a scenario, one may fail to clearly distinguish misinformation from propaganda whether by examining messages from the established or clandestine sources. However, for any information to be considered meaningful, one must invoke two concepts: cognitive authority and situational relevance, i.e. for what reason should one trust the source and what are the circumstances under which one is receiving and making use of the information. That
is to say it is not just having information in hand but having the source being recognized cognitive authority and the situational value of the information.

In a conflicting information environment, how messages are coded is of paramount importance and must be done with the recipients in mind. The propagated messages can only be meaningful if they are conceptualized in a way that they will lead to both an interpretation and action (function) envisioned by the information source – the message propagator. Message propagation is done with cognizance of the ability of the target audience’s ability to decode, and the circumstances under which the decoding expected to take place. We can argue here that messages communicated by a clandestine radio station, for example, would be interpreted differently and would probably lead to a different function if they were communicated through sanctioned means and vice versa.

**Information Suppression**

There is a difference between receiving a message and making use of the received message. During information warfare, information is as relentlessly sought as it is earnestly suppressed. This phenomenon is richly illustrated in the Zimbabwe case.

The white minority regime under Ian Smith used extensively the media in a novel way. The Ministry of Information introduced the Mobile Cinema Unit, which essentially targeted rural villages. Making reference to the impact of this Cinema Unit in a 1973 memo, the Provincial Commissioner of Mashonaland lamented that most of the films being shown were of only entertainment value. He outlined what he wanted the Cinema Unit to focus on:

I notice very little propaganda and what is shown appears to lack a direct message, e.g., Chiefs Tour. To win the minds and the hearts of the people we must utilize this excellent medium to broadcast our own propaganda:

1. Show just how bad communism is
2. Acts of terrorism and what is being done by the terrorists
3. Show life in other countries- and emphasize how well off Rhodesians are
4. Interviews with terrorists – get them to confess just what they intend doing (Frederikse, 1982). 17

Another strategy employed by Ian Smith was to discourage black Zimbabweans from using shortwave radios. Anti shortwave radio campaigns were launched to prevent Zimbabweans from getting information from outside sources. Subsidized FM radios were introduced into the market.

The Psychological Operations Unit (POU) was introduced and served with the responsibility of winning the minds and hearts of the blacks by employing propaganda. The Rhodesia Broadcasting Corporation also intensified its programming and vehemently insisted that life would be better in Rhodesia without the guerrillas.

Despite intensified information activities by the minority rulers, the blacks depended more heavily upon VOZ than on the RBC, although VOZ had been criminalized by the Rhodesian government (Frederiske, 1982). VOZ became vibrant especially after shifting its base to Maputo in 1976. VOZ countered the RBC and POU messages by impressing on the blacks that their land had been taken away. The impact of the films shown by the Cinema Mobile Unit as part of Smith’s propaganda, backfired because most of the films were insensitive to the African tradition (Frederiske, 1982).

The laws that proscribed VOZ were not repealed once ZANU-PF rose to power. After independence RBC became ZBC. But a substantial number of VOZ staff members joined ZBC. Saunders (1991) has examined how political transition in Zimbabwe affected the broadcasting sector in Zimbabwe after independence.

17 The fact that there was no mention of the military force in this memo is an indication of how the information warfare targeted the minds and hearts of the people.
The intolerance of the Mugabe’s government to political opposition makes the history of Zimbabwe’s struggle for self-determination turn full circle. Mugabe’s regime has passed laws that are precludes any form of criticism. By 2006, the harassment of journalists, both local and foreign, was heightened. Opposition politicians were considered allies of the western nations. The alternative press was not allowed to thrive and Zimbabwean journalists were on an unprecedented exodus to other countries to avoid arrest and other forms of harassment. Most journalists have continued to provide an alternative voice even while away from Zimbabwe as is the case with SWRA.

The efforts of SWRA were recognized by the International Press Institute in 2005 when it was awarded the IPI Free Media Pioneer award. During that time, SWRA was also facing economic woes, and while calling upon the international community to fund the station, IPI Director, Johann Fritz, described the station as a “vital information resource of the Zimbabwean people” that should not be allowed to die.18

Summary

This chapter has elaborated on how two factions in Rhodesia/Zimbabwe may be considered clandestine sources of information that tend to mirror one another- one becoming sanctioned with the other becoming clandestine. The chapter has also expounded on two foundational models that are significant in the discussion of message propagation in competing systems. How the data for this dissertation were gathered is discussed in the following methods section.

18 Gerry Jackson received the IPI award on behalf of her station in during the IPI annual conference held in Nairobi, Kenya
CHAPTER III

METHODS SECTION

This chapter details how the data for this dissertation were gathered. It also delineates the methods used to analyze the data. This longitudinal case study used qualitative methods. The data were used to examine conflicting information systems and how these systems propagate messages in an attempt to outdo each other in pre- and post-independent Zimbabwe.

Data Collection

The radio broadcast texts in both pre- and post-independent Zimbabwe were gathered. All texts were in English. Since this researcher was able to gather data from existing recordings, there was no reason to travel to Zimbabwe. The following sources provided the data for this dissertation:

- Audio-recorded materials
- Archived audio files of clandestine radio broadcasting
- Transcripts of broadcast texts preserved in form of micro fiche available at the University of North Texas, Willis Library
- Other published material (e.g. Julie Frederikse (1982) *None But Ourselves: Masses vs. media in Zimbabwe. London*) on broadcasting in Zimbabwe

The gathered broadcast texts are in two categories:

1. Those aired by the established radio stations: Rhodesia Broadcasting Corporation (RBC) and by the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC). RBC was operated by the Ian Smith regime during the minority rule while ZBC is the current state operated broadcasting station.
2. Those aired by clandestine radio stations: Voice of Zimbabwe (VOZ) and Short Wave Radio Africa (SWRA). VOA was operated during the struggle for majority rule while SWRA is one of the operating radio stations critical of the current Mugabe’s regime.

There were fewer VOZ broadcast texts when compared to what was available from other stations. Part of the reason could be the destruction of communication documents about the Zimbabwe’s struggle. As Frederikse (1982, p. iv) has noted: “Records of interrogations, army set-ups and strategies, profiles of people, personal record” went up in flames when Zimbabwe became independent in 1980. She also noted that TV films and radio tapes were destroyed in the same incinerators.

The Foreign Broadcasting Information Service (FBIS) was one of the key archival sources that provided part of the VOZ messages. World News Connection, a site with transcribed information of broadcasting stations in various parts of the world, also provided transcripts of VOZ broadcast messages. The British Broadcasting Corporation archive also provided significant information that was corroborated with the data from other sources. Twenty-five VOZ news programs from these sources were available at the University of North Texas library in the form of microfiche.¹⁹

Archival research yielded other transcripts of the VOZ programs by other researchers and scholars (see Frederiske, 1982; Zaffiro, 1994; Saunders1991). ²⁰ Although some of these transcripts were not recorded in their entirety, the information they provided was useful in presenting a better picture of the broadcast messages in Zimbabwe.

¹⁹ VOZ programs stored in microfiche were printed out for analysis. They are attached at the appendix section of this dissertation
Also gathered was information communicated by the Rhodesian Broadcasting Corporation (RBC), which was sanctioned by Ian Smith to either perpetuate the white minority hegemony or to counter the liberation movement and VOZ messages. Information contained in these memos provided insight on the strategic propagation of messages, misinformation and propaganda that was used by the Ian Smith. Psychological Operations Unit (POU) was a military unit, but it was mainly composed of media and advertising professionals. It was extensively used in the psychological warfare. Information contained in memos distributed by POU was also gathered and helped to provide a better understanding of the context within which RBC propagated its messages. This information, however, was not analyzed together or corroborated with the broadcast messages.

On its part, VOZ not only aired news items, but also broadcast revolutionary messages from listeners who sent letters to the station and requested that revolutionary songs be played. One of the most popular programs that catered for this purpose was called “Chimurenga Requests.” Here is an example of Chimurenga Request program aired by VOZ in June 3, 1978:

And here is a letter from an area around the Zimbabwe Ruins. “Brothers and sisters who are fighting for our freedom - much love. I am one of those who like to listen to the Voice of Zimbabwe. Please play for all fighters on the liberation forces, the song, *Muka! Muka!*” (Arise! Arise!)

War! War has taken x 3
People of Zimbabwe/ Living under oppression/ The World is changing
Arise! Arise!
People of Zimbabwe/ Living under the bondage/ The world is changing
Do not be cowed/The World is changing
Arise! Arise! (Frederikse, 1982, p.104)

Only broadcast items from these stations were analyzed in an attempt to examine whether they exhibit information elements in the Sturges’ model and whether they contain other elements that are not addressed in this model. The second phase of data collection involved streaming
audio files from SWRA’s Web site. This researcher contacted Gerry Jackson of SWRA who facilitated access to her station’s files that had been removed from the archive. SWRA archives its programs for only two weeks. Some of the programs analyzed were, however, transcribed while still on the station’s Web site. The audio files sent to the researcher may be accessed at http://www.swradioafrica.com/pages/david_wachanga.htm.

There are two SWRA talk show programs whose data were gathered and analyzed. One of the programs, Health Beat, discusses health issues affecting Zimbabwe. The other program, Hot Seat, interviews various personalities who discuss current issues facing Zimbabwe, most of them political. These programs were selected because of their potential to provide not only information from the talk show hosts, but also from those being interviewed. Since interviewees in these programs form part of the audience of clandestine radio, their comments provided an even richer and illuminating data set, which would benefit future research on the audience of clandestine radio broadcasting.

Both Hot Seat and Health Beat programs run for approximately 35 minutes each. A total of 50 programs were selected from Hot Seat and Health Beat. Information contained in approximately 29 hours of these programs was analyzed to examine whether it contained elements of message propagation that can be accommodated in the Sturges’ model or otherwise.

The information provided by SWRA is countered by the state owned information outlets such as through the state owned broadcasting corporation, ZBC. This dissertation also explored how ZBC, the state-owned station is crafting messages to push its own agenda and also to counter messages critical of the current regime coming from such sources as SWRA. It was necessary to examined was how the current government is using other state machinery rather than the broadcasting station to suppress alternative voices. This dissertation has as a result
recorded the number of journalists who were arrested and what laws they were accused of breaking in 2002. The year 2002 was chosen because it marks when fiery onslaught against the press started in earnest. Information regarding new criminalizing laws that have been hurriedly enforced and bent for expediency or broken for political convenience was also gathered.

The VOZ and SWRA broadcast programs were sequentially read for a couple of times to derive deeper meanings of their messages. The first reading was to acquit this researcher with the general content of the programs. The second reading involved taking detailed notes on the content. Gavrilos (2002) has emphasized the importance of multiple reading of texts. He mentions the significance of taking descriptive notes regarding the textual content.

The second reading enabled this researcher to apply discourse analysis to the data to:

1. Identify major themes
2. Attempt to understand the intent of the messages disseminated and
3. To provide responses to the posed research questions

The descriptive notes taken in the second reading enabled this researcher to identify initial themes, which allowed a construction of an outline for the third reading. The major themes identified were categorized into two groups, depending on whether they were derived from a radio station that is considered established or clandestine. Themes identified from texts contained in programs aired by the established radio station are 1) hegemony maintenance and 2) opposition criminalization.

Those identified from texts contained in programs aired by the clandestine radio stations are 1) bad governance, 2) alternative government, and 3) revolt/opposition.

The titles given to these themes resulted from a discussion and a compromise between this researcher and a second interpreter who also read some of the broadcast texts used in this
dissertation. There were other proposed theme titles such as “oppression,” “dictatorship,” “limited democratic space” and “political intolerance.”

The third reading was an in-depth appraisal of the texts of the radio programs. It involved the application of critical appraisal techniques to gain a deeper understanding of the messages contained in the radio programs. The third reading involved a deeper examination of the underlying meaning of the recurring themes and how these themes are supported by the broadcast texts. This enabled the construction of a coding schema to categorize which broadcast texts were under which theme. After the third reading, this researcher was able to:

1. Sort out texts from the programs and classify them under the identified themes
2. Identify the mechanics informing the propagation of the messages contained in the broadcast texts
3. and examine their response to the posed research question

Discourse analysis was the core approach during the analysis of the broadcast programs. Discourse analysis considers discourse as data (Potter, 1997). Discourse analysis is fundamentally an approach with an epistemologically constructionist orientation. But to construct is, first and foremost, a reference to the usage of existing linguistic components to produce a discourse. These linguistic components (words and/or phrases), which are descriptive in nature, were selected as part of the discourse analysis process.

Some descriptors fit into more than one theme. However, judgments were made depending upon the context within which these descriptors were used. Zimbabwe, as a restrictive information environment, was the overall context in which judgments were made.
Researchers such as Chadler (2003) have argued that identifying the meaning of descriptors on a denotative level highly depends upon the cultural similarity of the interpreters. Interpretation at a connotative level is largely subjective and arguably infinite.

Interpretations reached in this dissertation, as much as they acknowledge subjectivity, were guided by the themes identified by the researcher against the background of the available historical and information warfare that defines Zimbabwe. It must be noted that the circumstances within which the gathered broadcast texts were crafted required a deeper examination of not what these texts meant but what they were intended to mean by those who propagated them.

The open-ended nature of the data required manual sorting and identification of descriptors and themes rather than applying a software system. The process of sorting, identifying and revealing themes involved an unavoidable subjectivity. It is for this reason that another interpreter was involved in re-examining which programs to use and what texts to consider as descriptors for analysis. Together with this researcher, the text interpreter then examined how various descriptors fit under identified themes.

During the coding process, another coder besides this researcher was involved. The second coder separately identified five broadcast programs from the total sample of programs analyzed in this dissertation following instructions in the codebook. This researcher used the same instructions when identifying the descriptors. The second coder was instructed to classify the descriptors under the already identified five themes. In approaching intercoder reliability, this researcher compared his coding with the second coder’s identification of descriptors and the themes under which descriptors were categorized.
The level of agreement was 78%. This high level of agreement should not be taken as a premise for generalization, especially because of the subjective nature of the interpretation process. Also generalization is based on possibilities of recurrence of similar conclusions. Similar conclusions may, however, be reached when examining message propagation in other information restrictive environments such as among gang members, cult adherents, and even graffiti artists. Future research in these areas is highly recommended.

It was incumbent upon this researcher to provide the second coder with the background information about Zimbabwe. It was challenging for the second coder to understand that those who ran VOZ later held senior positions in ZBC, and how this impacted on the new station’s role and message propagation technique (Saunders, 1991). Transformation of VOZ to ZBC, and that of Mugabe from a criminalized guerrilla (sanctioning administrative and cognitive authority in the small world of clandestine VOZ) to a criminalizing head of state (sanctioning administrative and cognitive authority in the small world of RBC), is like the proverbial hunted becoming the hunter, or the poacher becoming the gatekeeper in the information savannah, a veritable Janus.21

Another challenge faced by the coders was to identify and agree upon not what the descriptors meant, but what they didn’t mean. This researcher held various discussions with the second coder because some of the descriptors easily passed as metaphors and their interpretation could vary from one interpreter to another depending upon various factors, cultural background being at the core. Despite these challenges, the consequential level of agreement - intercoder agreement of 78% - was sufficient to support the findings of this study.

Descriptors identified from the texts of these radio programs were interpreted at their connotative level, and in the context of the discourse they were used. When, for example, Violet

21 O’Connor, Copeland, Kearns (2003) have written a book on human information seeking behavior called Hunting and Gathering on the Information Savannas
Gonda, the hostess of the SWRA’s Hot Seat program uses the descriptor “terrorizes” or “rigs,”
the major theme associated with her descriptors is bad governance. Let us listen to Gonda:

Gonda: Now, what precisely can Zimbabweans do without assistance from the outside world when they have a government that rigs elections, that terrorizes the opposition? (Hot Seat, March 27, 2007).

When these descriptors are contextualized, Gonda, though asking a question, is at the same time deriding countries that neighbor Zimbabwe for not intervening in what SWRA in another Hot Seat program refers to as the “Zimbabwean crisis.” Violet’s selection of words to construct this discourse is determined by her presence in a small world that considers Mugabe’s government, the “other,” the “bad government.” An understanding of the context allowed the approach adopted in this dissertation to probe deeper into the underlying and the intended meaning of the texts. Barthes (1984) has discussed how statements can be defined by their intentional meaning rather than their denotative meaning. His argument is that words, descriptors in our case, can be understood at a literal level as signifiers, a concept that has been used extensively in semiotics. Also, the same words (descriptors) when contextualized; they exhibit a deeper intended meaning, the signified. The selection of linguistic components in discourse construction is powerfully driven by speakers’ intention, which consequently determines message propagation. It is through production of texts that participants in these radio programs construct their discourse and “construct their world.”

Potter (1997) states that discourse analysis is in fact analysis of human interactions and resultant acts. An important feature associated with the analysis of discourse that is relevant to this dissertation is the examination of the functional orientation of discourse, as a form of action, the functional role of a discourse. Since any discourse can be interpreted differently, an
understanding of Austin’s (1962) speech act theory was required. Austin speech act theory identifies three features in any utterance: Locutionary, illocutionary, and perlocutionary forces.

One way to analyze discourse is through conversational examination and evaluation of the organization of speech events (Labov, 1972; Labov & Fanshel, 1977). These scholars consider language as a communication descriptive medium as much as it is a social action, “a way of doing things” (Wood & Kroger, 2000, p. 4).

Discourse analysis lays emphasis on what language realizes: the action-effect of utterances. Potter (1997) mentions how discourse analysis is concerned with rhetorical organization and how a discourse can be put together to respond to alternatives.

Potter (1997, p. 216) also argues that discourse analysis “follows the conversation analysis assumption that any order of details in talk and text is potentially consequential for interaction.” For this reason, understanding concepts associated with conversation analysis was necessary for an in-depth examination of, for instance, how the Hot Seat talk show host crafts her questions, and how these questions lead respondents into “preferred” and “acceptable” responses. Hayes (1993) has alluded to this notion in his dance metaphor concept. Hayes argues that when information sources craft messages, they have their client in mind. The clients have the information source in mind if both are to be involved in a conversation. Hayes’ dance metaphor comes in when the information source messages are dependent on responses from information clients. In such an information dance, one can safely understand the information client by examining the source. For one to take part in this “information dance” one must understand how to analyze statements, a technique that scholars such as Husselbee and Stempel (2002) have effectively used in communication research. According to these scholars, a sentence can contain more than one statement.
Gill (2000, p. 172) has noted that analysis of discourse stems from a realization that the language used in any discourse is not a “neutral means of reflecting or describing the world.” Rather, discourse is at the core of constructing social life.

There is a variety of discourse analysis. The variety adopted for this study falls into the category referred to by Gill (2000, p. 174) as speech-act theory, and conversation analysis. This variety of discourse analysis “rather than looking at how accounts relate to the world,” focuses on “what accounts are designed to accomplish.” It was therefore necessary to understand elements that characterize conversation analysis when examining broadcast texts. Heritage (1997; see also Potter, 1997) has delineated the relationship between conversation analysis and discourse analysis and how both can shed light on message construction.

It is not unlikely for qualitative researchers to come across two different words that are interchangeably used by their respondents or in the data they are analyzing. In this dissertation, for example VOZ used the words “puppets” and “traitors” interchangeably when referring to Zimbabweans who were sympathetic to Ian Smith. Although there is no single interpretation of a text that can be defined as correct, interchangeably-used words generate interpretation challenges for the researcher (Kellner, 2003).

Most researchers interpret their data through frames of analysis that contain their own experiences; opinions and social background (see also Goffman, 1974). The analysis of the data gathered for this dissertation is therefore just one of the attempts to respond to the research questions posed despite the interdisciplinary nature of the adopted approach. The interpretation presented in this dissertation is not necessarily the evaluation other researchers would offer although it provides a solid foundation for analyzing and understanding message propagation in conflicting information systems.
Sample

Messages from a total of 110 programs from SWRA, VOZ (clandestine radio), RBC and ZBC (sanctioned radio stations) were analyzed for this dissertation. Fifty programs from SWRA were used: 25 from the Hot Seat program and 25 from the Health Beat program. Twenty programs were from each other station: VOZ, ZBC and RBC. More SWRA programs were used because of the talk-show nature of both Hot Seat and Health Beat programs. The talk-show nature of these programs gave an insight into how they are perceived by the audience. This dissertation, however, does not delve into discussions of audience responses but it suggests it as a rich area for future research.

Table 3.1

Sampled Radio Stations and Their Analyzed Programs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Radio Station</th>
<th>No. of Programs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SWRA - Hot seat</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SWRA - Health Beat</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOZ</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZBC</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RBC</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The programs analyzed differed in length. While SWRA’s transcripts were the longest, with some having as many as 4,700 words, VOZ’s transcripts were the shortest, with some programs having as few as 150 words. One of the reasons for the brevity of VOZ’s programs may be associated with the circumstances under which the station operated. To transmit its programs, VOZ depended mostly upon Radio Mozambique. In early 1976, VOZ was allowed to
broadcast for only 30 minutes a day. Later on as the struggle continued and information needs increased, the transmission time was increased to one hour (Zaffiro, Mosia & Riddle, 1994).

Some of the VOZ transcripts accessed from the UNT library had in parenthesis phrases such as “indistinct words” indicating missing words or phrases. There are other instances in which suggestions were made to replace missing phrases. In such instances, suggested phrases are accompanied with a question mark. A case in point is Mugabe’s message to the people of Zimbabwe, which was transmitted on January 24, 1978:

It is indeed our right (words indistinct) to wage a relentless armed struggle for freedom and independence in order to attain political, social and economic justice. These are the ideals we are sacrificing our lives, for only (?) their achievement can truly transform us into a society with dignity and respect. It was noted that some VOZ transcripts did not specify, “time, place and occasion” when some recording took place (FBIS, January 24, 1978).

Steps in Data Gathering and Analysis

In gathering the data for this study, the following steps were followed:

1. Programs were identified from two established radio stations - RBC and ZBC- and two clandestine radio stations - SWRA, VOZ, Programs were gathered from:
   i. Archived material of transcribed broadcast texts at the University of North Texas’ Willis library
   ii. Foreign Broadcasting Information Services’ transcripts in microfiche at the University of North Texas Library
   iii. Recorded versions in other scholarly works e.g. in Julie Frederikse’s (1982). *None But Ourselves: Masses vs. Media in the Making of Zimbabwe*. London: Penguin
iv. Streamed audio files from the Internet

2. Streamed audio files were transcribed for analysis

3. Programs were reviewed by the researcher who identified three broad themes from the programs aired by the clandestine radio stations, and two broad themes from programs aired by the established radio stations

4. The researcher identified descriptors from the transcripts that supported or elaborated on the identified themes

5. Descriptors were highlighted and later inserted in a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet. They were broken down by themes and radio stations

6. Descriptors were reviewed and identified; some were discarded because they were considerably too narrow and descriptively weak to fit under identified themes. While other themes could be identified to accommodate these descriptors, they were still too weak to be conclusive.

7. No frequency or percentage of descriptor comparison was conducted because this is not a comparative study. This study only sought to understand the mechanics that punctuate a clash of sanctioned and surreptitiously-crafted messages

Summary

This chapter has discussed how data for this dissertation was gathered. Steps used in data collection have been delineated. The following chapter presents the findings section of this dissertation.
CHAPTER IV
FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

This chapter details the findings and interpretations of the data. Findings of this dissertation are descriptive in nature and qualitatively approached. The nature of interpretations that are qualitatively-made in a study like this one may make the findings rather nebulous.

The antagonistic nature of the message propagation that informs the information systems under analysis is conspicuous when we examine the conflicting use of terms, the meaning of these terms and their intended meaning. It is noted, for instance, that the term “terrorist” was used by RBC to refer to the “guerrillas.” Conversely, those who were sympathetic to the national liberation movement referred to the guerillas as “nationalists.” The guerrillas and other nationalist leaders referred to Ian Smith as a “terrorist.” VOZ also referred to Ian Smith both as a “terrorist” and a “fascist.” This radio station referred to Robert Mugabe as a “nationalist.” ZBC refers to Mugabe as a popularly “elected President” while the operators of SWRA are seen as puppets of the “Western world.” On its part, SWRA refers to Mugabe as a “dictator.” Wole Soyinka, the 1986 winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature, has referred to Mugabe as a “desperate despot - a ruthless maniac, a later day fascist.” He has acquired what Chatman would call a new social-type: a dictator.

The core concern of this dissertation is to examine the complexity of and the elements that inform message propagation in a restrictive information environment and which of these elements are accommodated by the Sturges’ model and which ones are not. The restrictive and conflicting circumstances within which the broadcast texts under analysis were produced, and

22 Wole Soyinka operated a clandestine radio station, Radio Kudirat, in Nigeria. He was fighting for the expansion of democratic space in Nigeria under General Sani Abacha who died in June 1997.
the subjective approach adopted, calls for inventive approach and a wider and more informed room for interpretation maneuvers in the future research.

Analysis

A total of 358 descriptors were identified from 110 programs. Only 318 descriptors, which account for 89 percent of the total number of descriptors, were accommodated by the identified five major themes. The remaining 11 percent of the total number of the descriptors was too weak to warrant a category on its own.

SWRA and VOZ Messages

Both SWRA and VOZ programs generated a total of 217 descriptors that supported the three thematic categories: bad governance, alternative government, and revolt/opposition. The identified themes are tied to these radio stations’ missions. VOZ and SWRA’s mission was the attainment of better governance, a new political dispensation that they consider freer and democratic. It has been argued that most “clandestine” press play the role of political opposition in countries where opposition political parties are weak or subjugated by those in power (see also Ungar, 1996; Ronning, 1998; Hyden & Okigbo; 2002, Moyo, 2005).

Most descriptors fell under the bad governance theme. Such descriptors as “corrupt,” “suppressed,” “mendacious,” and “murderous” were used to portray the government in power (Ian Smith’s and Robert Mugabe’s) as “outposts of tyranny.”

Table 4.1 shows the number of descriptors from SWRA’s Health Beat and Hot Seat, and VOZ’s programs. Table 5 also indicates the number of descriptors and the themes under which they were categorized. A

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23 The phrase “outposts of tyranny” was first used by the U.S. Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice in 2005 in a submission to the U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. In part, her submission read: To be sure in our world, there remain outposts of tyranny, and America stands with the oppressed people on every continent, in Cuba, and Burma (now Myanmar), and North Korea, and Iran, and Belarus, and Zimbabwe.
A graphical representation of descriptors from the broadcast texts aired by SWRA and VOZ is illustrated in Figure 4.1.

Table 4.1

Descriptors from Broadcast Texts Aired by SWRA and VOZ

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Radio Station</th>
<th>Bad *Gvnt</th>
<th>Alternative *Gvnt</th>
<th>Opposition</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VOZ</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hot Seat</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health Beat</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Gvnt – Government

Figure 4.1. Graphical representation of descriptors from broadcast texts aired by SWRA and VOZ.

The Hot Seat program has more “bad governance” descriptors than does the VOZ and the Health Beat program because it constantly follows the political issues in Zimbabwe and most of its interviews are with people who are actively involved with the current issues. VOZ also had a
high number of “bad governance” descriptors given its limited air time, and harsh circumstances it was broadcasting. Due to time limitation, VOZ had no room for verbosity. Also, the need to militate the people of Zimbabwe, even militarily may offer an explanation to why VOZ messages were inciting. The Health Beat program despite its focus on health issues portrayed the degeneration of the health sector as a result of “bad governance.” Some of its programs condemned “bad governance” because of its inability to provide antiretroviral drugs to HIV/AIDS patients. The government failure is attributed to elements of “bad governance” such as corruption and financial embezzlement. Health Beat program metaphorically portrays “bad governance” as poor “health of the nation.”

Whether perceived or real, bad governance may arguably be the major cause of an extreme information environment because it generates, as in the Zimbabwean case, info-political critics who, upon failure to craft uninterrupted alternative messages, design other ways that are unsanctioned by the government in power.

The messages crafted to portray a government as bad are meant to provide a justification for challenging it through media outlets that the “bad government” does not sanction. Still, the “bad government” responds by criminalizing those condemning it. The result is a clash of the authorities sanctioning information from both sides. This clash of information and sanctioning authority is also a form of information suppression, where the clash is in anchored on outdoing and discrediting the other source of information.

Underlying “bad governance” messages, SWRA and VOZ advocate for “alternative governance.” While “bad governance” messages seems to be a justification for critiquing the government in power, acting as the message construction base, other messages sprout from it attempting to justify the need to alter the status quo, “alternative governance.” Descriptors such
as “change,” “representation,” “elections,” “power transfer,” and “reform” show the need and an urge for a new political dispensation that would allow “freedom,” “democracy,” and “peace” to thrive and to usher in national “prosperity.” VOZ February 22, 1978, broadcast is a case in point:

In Zimbabwe, a successful overthrow of the Smith regime and a consequent establishment of a truly people’s government will put to an end the incarceration of civilians into concentration camps, the brutal torture of civilians and the shameless confiscation of the land and property of the oppressed masses. Both VOZ and the Hot Seat program had high “alternative governance” descriptors from their broadcast texts. They unequivocally called for the alteration of the political status quo by portraying it as unjust and insensitive. On its part, the Health Beat program advocates for an alternative government that would provide the country with a better “sanitation and other hygiene” facilities. Statements like “the health sector is already collapsed” calls for revamping and re-construction, and since the collapse is associated with “bad governance,” only an “alternative” political dispensation would facilitate the re-construction.

Since SWRA and VOZ “alternative governance” descriptors advocate for a change, it is not far-fetched to inquire the destiny of clandestine radio stations were that change to be achieved: Would these radio stations simply become irrelevant or would they change their message propagation mechanism? Or do clandestine radio stations have a life cycle like that of a social movement: created, grow, achieve successes or failures and finally, they dissolve and die? Although VOZ is one such radio station--most of it senior operators joined ZBC after independence--its association with political landscape makes its case more marginal and does not allow for generalization (Saunders, 1991). This dissertation highly recommends future research on message propagation dissemination an expanded information environment that was initially restrictive. How would, for example, SWRA propagate its messages were it to be sanctioned by the Mugabe regime?

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The urge for “alternative governance” is hinged on messages that push for “revolt/opposition,” which is the third major theme that texts from the analyzed programs gravitate toward. Both SWRA and VOZ either covertly or overtly push for the rebellion of the status quo to achieve the mission, which is good ‘governance.” Opposing the status quo is in the form of conscientization of the masses or provision of some level of political education or explicit incitement.

VOZ is explicit and direct while SWRA is comparably “diplomatic.” In it February 22, 1978, broadcast, VOZ referred to Ian Smith’s regime as “cancer among the peace-loving people of Zimbabwe…This cancer, which has proved to be very obstinate during the past decade, calls for urgent removal before too many innocent should suffer or are destroyed by it.” In October 3, 1978, the same station reported: “The people of Zimbabwe have taken arms and will not stop until (they have) political and military power.”

The term “democracy” is the most used descriptor in both the Health Beat and Hot Seat programs. It is used 124 times in both programs - 78 times in Hot Seat and 46 in Health Beat. It is used 42 times by the talk show hosts - 27 in Hot Seat and 15 in Health Beat. People featured in these two programs use the word democracy 82 times: 56 in Hot Seat and 36 in Health Beat.

We can use the term democracy to illustrate how some descriptors, which fit in more than one thematic category were contextually examined. As a descriptor in the context of the thematic categories identified in this dissertation, the term democracy fits under bad governance. But the same descriptor gets a different interpretation when the SWRA reports that Zimbabwe needs a “transition” to a “democratic” rule. The term democracy in this context fits under the alternative government thematic category. When SWRA reports that “democracy” has been “raped,” in
Zimbabwe, its message is intended to portray a government that is blind to the rule of law and insensitivity to the people it governs.

According to the analyzed data, the propagated radio messages played a strategic role as mere interpretations of events rather than the events themselves. This reflects the tactical role of message propagation in a restrictive information environment. By interpreting the events, propagated radio messages provide a justification for the change of the status quo (if broadcast by the clandestine radio stations) or its maintenance (if broadcast by the established radio stations). There is a quest sought by VOZ and SWRA, one of achieving something different by demonizing the status quo. Equally, by demonizing the opposition, the RBC and ZBC attempted to maintain the dominant hegemony. Information sanctioning is antagonistic. The approaches adopted are similar but not the same – since they are pulling in different and opposing directions.

According to this dissertation, this “something different” is better governance. In the case of VOZ, and especially when disseminating messages aimed at recruiting fighters, justification for joining the guerrilla is designed as a bridge to “getting something different.” Getting something different in this case is achieving black majority rule. Although SWRA messages do not advocate joining any military camp, its campaign is founded on “bringing” this otherness – democracy. On its part, VOZ pushed for yet another “otherness” – the rule by the majority.

By propagating their messages in a way that was suitable to their mission, SWRA and VOZ clamored for the attainment of a new regime and popular governance. The mission of these stations is, however, multifaceted. It is intertwined in other goals, and differs across the radio stations partly because of the historical circumstances surrounding the operations of each station.
Both SWRA and VOZ promulgate their goals without the details of the mission. It is the differences in their goals as opposed to the similarity of their mission that generate the variety of descriptors identified in the messages they communicated.

SWRA messages are considerably diplomatic when compared with those of VOZ. Under bad governance, SWRA messages refer to Zimbabwe as a country in “shambles” and in “crisis.” Its regime is “mendacious” as it is an “outpost of tyranny.” It is a country that “forcefully” “detains” those criticizing its “corruption” deals. As a government, Zimbabwe has no “respect for human rights” and “brutally” crushes “innocent citizens.”

SWRA messages also reveal how the interviewers propagate messages that set a stage for their interviewees into excoriating the government. The talk show guests berate the government because of two reasons: 1) their membership in an opposing camp - a small world different from that of the government, and 2) to fit within the framework already defined by the interviewer.

Although SWRA messages do not advocate violent overthrow of the government, it plays a conscientization role. It politically educates the Zimbabwean, attempting to make them aware of their situation and insists that the country deserves better leadership. Unless one, however, conducts a random survey of the audience, one can not know that the audience is becoming aware of anything.

Both SWRA and VOZ messages are inflammatory. While SWRA is not blatantly advocating for change through violent means, it is silent on whether violent actions should be adopted to change the status quo. VOZ, on the other hand, is not hesitant in urging Zimbabweans to rise up and take arms.

Unlike VOZ’s newscasters, SWRA talk show hosts do not use language that is explicitly redolent of revolution. But language used by both stations is deliberately manipulated to achieve
pragmatic goals. These goals are considerably pseudo-ideological. The stations use certain frames to turn “non-recognizable happenings or amorphous talk into a discernible event,” which otherwise would have remained “mere happenings of mere talks, incomprehensible sounds” (Tuchman, 1978, p. 192; see also Goffman, 1959).

Both VOZ and SWRA messages were a form of political education with the content geared toward disseminating information about the struggle and the need for change. The language used by VOZ was more inflammatory when compared with the one used by SWRA. Information in both stations is punctuated by concealment of thoughts by the information sources and disseminators. A case in point is the information the mujiba shared with those they considered to be guerrillas, and the information they concealed from those they considered to be enemies of the struggle; the soldiers perpetuating hegemonian. While disseminated information had a utilitarian role, what was concealed played an important role as well. Information concealment was as a result of uncertainty avoidance.

Essentially, human beings share information so that they can know about their world. This knowledge dispels uncertainty. Information can, therefore be analyzed by the uncertainty it dispels. However, in restrictive information circumstances, sharing of information is suppressed if the information is being shared or its source is not sanctioned.

Operators of both SWRA and VOZ are aware of dire consequences from those in authority if they fail to take precaution in their information gathering and message propagation processes. By examining logistical operations and message crafting by SWRA and VOZ, the criminalization of alternative sources of information by the sanctioning authority of the “other world,” which is the government in power, is avoided through creation of unlicensed information
means. By using clandestine means of communication, these stations are essentially avoiding uncertainty.

Besides avoiding uncertainty, these stations are driven by a worthwhile cause given their resource-stricken circumstances. In the case of VOZ, this researcher argues that its objective as a revolutionary instrument can be examined by focusing at the triumph of the nationalist movement and the attainment of majority rule in Zimbabwe. It is different for SWRA, which is still broadcasting. However, if SWRA were not serving any good or having any benefit, it would have had a feedback of its failure as a source of information. The fact that the current Zimbabwean government has invested heavily in efforts to jam SWRA frequencies is an indication of SWRA’s impact in providing an alternative source of information that is critical of and threatens the status quo.

Judging from the frustrations that Gerry Jackson experienced in 2005 when her station’s shortwave frequency was almost crippled by jamming, it is challenging and risky to operate a station such as SWRA. But the sentiments echoed by press organizations such as the International Press Institute (IPI) demonstrates the value of SWRA in the communication landscape by strenuously providing an alternative voice to the people of Zimbabwe. According to IPI, SWRA is a lone voice in Zimbabwe where “local independent media are being decimated by the actions of President Mugabe.”

SWRA, just like VOZ is economically restricted. This denies it sophisticated broadcasting equipment. Limited operating circumstances deny the station professional competence as well. In fact only the absolute minimum production requirements can be met to operate. The lack of all but minimal production abilities in a sense actually contributes to the

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24 This comment was made in 2005 by IPI Director, Johann P. Fritz in Nairobi, Kenya during the Institute annual meeting. Gerry Jackson received the 2005 Free Media Pioneer Award.
credibility. Not being extravagant speaks to the dedication of resources to the actual battle or revolutionary information dissemination. The material difference between Mugabe’s pre-independence radio and the currently government-sanctioned radio station, presents like David and Goliath scenario. Drucker (2007) notes that material difference in the message propagation processes affect their interpretation.

Despite VOZ and SWRA’s ability to operate under restrictive circumstances and to construct discourse suitable for their information objectives, they faced information suppression from regimes in power. Because of differing ways of information gathering used by SWRA and VOZ, the suppression techniques varied as well.

This dissertation considers information suppression to be a deliberate placement of barriers to the free flow of information. Barriers identified in this study can be divided in to three categories: censoring documents and speech and criminalizing both ideas and those possessing them and introducing noise into the system with the view of discrediting messages from the other small world. Clandestine information sources emerge from this information-suppressed environment. To beat the suppression strategies of the other information contestant, clandestine information sources develop their own suppression techniques to counter the established sources.

In 2005, Mugabe’s government jammed the SWRA transmission frequencies (www.clandestineradio.com). At one level, we can consider this as information suppression. Those critical to Mugabe’s regime also come up with ways of “jamming” the information coming from his government. They may not jam the frequencies, but what they do is to introduce noise in the system that is pro Mugabe. Here is, in part, a letter from one of the listeners of SWRA that illustrates this case:

I’m asking for (sic) you (SWRA) to please use your wonderful web site as a vehicle for obtaining contact information for (sic) these people… We’ll have the phone numbers of
every major culprit in Zimbabwe listed on your site and we’ll be bombarding with (sic) calls everytime (sic) they do things we don’t like. It will be OUR way of JAMMING their communications!!!!

For those holding alternative ideas and who may be targeted by the establishment, they may opt for self-censorship or disseminate their information from another “safe” environment, such as in exile. By establishing laws and regulations, the established regime sanctions what is “right” and what is “offensive.”

Bates (1999) has discussed the significance of understanding laws and regulations that govern information flows. She argues that these laws and regulations determine how information is gathered, sought and distributed. Often, restrictive information regulations hinder information flows. Laws and regulations that limit information flows alter the communication model.

Sturge’s model attempts to address situations where communication model have been altered. The findings of this study show that Zimbabwe is one such case. This dissertation identified punitive information laws and regulations that have continued to hinder information flows in Zimbabwe. The power to establish these laws is an illustration of an existing sanctioning authority – in this case the government in power. The sanctioning authority determines not only the nature of information worthy of distribution, but also sanctions the information source. It thus sanctions information credibility and cognitive authority.

RBC and ZBC Messages

A total of 101 descriptors emerged from the 40 programs broadcast by the established radio stations analyzed in this dissertation. By examining messages contained in the programs disseminated by these stations, two broad themes emerged: Hegemony maintenance and Opposition criminalization. A total of 29 descriptors from RBC programs stressed hegemonic maintenance while 28 descriptors emphasized the need to maintain the current regime. At least
23 descriptors from RBC messages criminalized the opposition. Condemnation of the opposition by ZBC was in at least 21 descriptors.

Table 4.2

Descriptors from Broadcast Text Aired by RBC and ZBC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Radio Station</th>
<th>*HM</th>
<th>∞OC</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ZBC</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RBC</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

∞OC – Opposition Criminalization

![Graphical representation of descriptors from texts broadcast by the RBC and ZBC.](image)

Figure 4.2. Graphical representation of descriptors from texts broadcast by the RBC and ZBC.

There was no huge difference in the number of descriptors that these two stations used in what this dissertation has categorized as hegemony maintenance and opposition criminalization. Some of the descriptors that these stations used, which were categorized under hegemony maintenance include “protecting” the nation, by exhibiting “excessive tolerance” even after being “falsely accused” by those bring used by “neo-colonialists.”
We can note that the established radio stations have fewer descriptors compared with those used by the clandestine radio stations. Could it be because it is more demanding to alter the status quo, especially by undermining it, than it is to maintain it? We can posit that the established regimes under scrutiny have laid down dominant hegemonic structures that may demand more efforts on the part of those undermining them both strategically and logistically. We can also posit that established regimes have other well constructed institutions to construct their messages and compete with messages from the clandestine radio stations. For hegemonic maintenance could be through various information and cultural agents not necessarily radio messages. From the messages, RBC and ZBC show their allegiance to the political interests of the government in power.

However, since established regimes are in control of the broadcasting sector, broadcasting stations are in the forefront of maintaining this ideological power relation. I suggest the term *hegemon-ian* – a combination of hegemony and Ian to refer to the hegemonic exertion in Rhodesia during Ian Smith’s rule.

It is in the same vein that Mugabe seems to be operating in a hegemonic mode. Emphasizing the hegemonic aspect of Ian Smith is important because it is largely responsible for establishing the circumstances of the Mugabes’ (Pre-and post-independent) clandestine activities. The Janus aspect of Mugabe, however, does not apply to Ian Smith. Consequently, there is no significant value to making symmetrical models of Ian Smith and Mugabe – i.e. Ian Smith held only one of those positions while Mugabe holds two.

Both Smith and Mugabe attempted to maintain their dominant hegemony by criticizing opposing voices. Their criticism borders on demonization. An examination of messages crafted by RBC and ZBC in reference to critics of the established regimes illustrates a committed effort
to “criminalize” the opposition in order to maintain the status quo. The analyzed broadcast texts allude to the other thematic category: opposition criminalization. Some of the descriptors RBC used that falls under this category include “terrorists,” “thugs,” “communists,” and “thugs” with “incompatible ideas” in reference to the guerilla fighters. ZBC used terms such as “dissidents,” under the payroll of the “imperialists” who want to “re-colonize” Zimbabwe. Even SWRA has been referred to as being under “western influence” to “destabilize” Zimbabwe.

Opposition criminalization is in reference to tools and people propagating messages opposing the established regime by considered them dissident and subversive. For opposing or failure to promote the regime’s agenda, they are condemned (through messages that demonize them) and their operators harassed, and their means of communication intercepted.

Descriptors used by the established stations are fewer than those used by the clandestine radio stations. This can be attributed to the fact that the established governments did not entirely depend on the radio in crafting their messages. There are other ways of crafting messages such as by sanctioning other materials purposely tailored to promote the ideological hegemony of the regime in power.

Descriptors such as “dissidents” were used by ZBC and RBC to scandalize those who adopted a different viewpoint from that of the government. One of the most frequently-used descriptor to condemn alternative voices by ZBC is by portraying them as “surrogate of western voices.” The idea is to convince Zimbabwean that their “sovereignty” is threatened because those “undermining” the government are “influenced” by the west. The government portrays itself as a “victim.” Its crime is by “protecting” its people against “re-colonization.”
RBC frequently used the word “terrorists” when referring to the members of the nationalist movement. Its intention was to portray those opposing hegemonian as “looters” and “enemies of peace” who were lacking in ideology, mere “thugs.”

By criminalizing the guerrilla fighters, RBC justified their killings as a way of riding the country of terrorists. By introducing the concept of criminality, RBC propagated messages that served the Ian Smith regime’s need of depoliticizing the conflict. RBC messages such as: “Political demonstrations” organized by “thugs” whose support is gained by “terrorizing” the citizenry, attempted to exonerate Ian Smith from the blame of suppressing the guerrillas. Crafting such messages portrayed the war of liberation as being led by “terrorists” whose methods were criminal just as their goals were apolitical.

A case in point is RBC’s newscast on June 22, 1978, where guerrilla fighters were vilified and reviled for “dignifying” themselves with titles such as “freedom fighters.”

It is doubtful if the terrorist, or his leader, has any political objective worthy of the name, outside the exercise of raw, naked power. They want power, and they will do anything to win power. These men are armed thugs, criminals bent on taking Africa back to another age, when it was known as the Dark Continent. To dignify them with names like ‘freedom fighters’ and guerillas is to afford them a status they do not and will never deserve. In the six years of the terrorist war in Rhodesia, the armed forces have demonstrated time and time again that they are more than a match for these criminals. (RBC June 22, 1978).

Response to the Research Questions

The interpretation of the data gathered for this dissertation reveal the complexity of message propagation in a restrictive environment, especially because of the clash informing the antagonistic nature of the involved information systems. One of the message propagation strategies that conspicuously emerge from the findings is the deliberate manipulation of messages to challenge the discourse of the other small world.
The messages by the established radio stations (RBC and ZBC) purposively propagated to discredit the critics and at the same time appeal to the citizenry for support. The messages by the clandestine radio stations (VOZ and SWRA) are also purposively propagated to discredit the dominant hegemonic discourse and the status quo. These messages not only paint a gloom picture of the present, but they incite the citizenry by showing freer and just governance that they have been denied by the incumbent. With such an understanding, we can now address the research questions while keeping in mind the circumstances within which the analyzed messages were propagated.

**SWRA and VOZ**

The Voice of Zimbabwe message propagation is informed by the need to alter what its proponents – the guerrilla fighters – perceived as a “political cancer” and later-day “slavery in our country.” There are observable elements in both the Sturges’ and Chatman’s model in VOZ’s message propagation techniques.

Sturges’ information input elements – surveillance and espionage – observed in VOZ’s unwillingness to disclose its information sources when packaging its news items. While this leaves the information disseminated open to criticism; whether it is sheer propaganda or verifiable information, it responds to Chatman’s concept of secrecy. A messages such as, “Settlers and mercenaries are dying every day at the hands of the freedom fighters,” lacks any attribution and may not pass any credibility test as it is.25 However, the way such a message is crafted provides an insight into the stealth way in which information was gathered.

Sturges’ information output elements are observed as well in VOZ message propagation. Information output is anchored on information delivery. What we are interested in this

25 VOZ broadcast October 3, 1978
dissertation is the message under delivery and how its modeling is different from any other message that would have been designed in another information environment. Most messages propagated and distributed through VOZ gravitate toward political activism and incitement. We may refer these messages as means of political education. Phrases such as “struggling oppressed masses of Zimbabwe,” “congratulations upon the telling victories,” “over a thoroughly demoralized racist settler,” “our cause is just, join a just cause” among others, punctuate most of the VOZ broadcasts. Its messages are provocative, inciting and volatile. They promote “violence” with the end result being to “topple” the “fascist” regime under “dictator” Ian Smith. Mention of “guns” to “kill” the “oppressor” in order to attain “our independence” is conspicuous and celebrated especially in one of the most popular programs – *Chimurenga Requests*.

We can also observe Sturges’ information repression element in VOZ messages propagation techniques. Information suppression by VOZ was by crafting messages discrediting the establishment’s messages. VOZ suppressed any message that was anti-guerilla activities. Here is a case in point: According to VOZ, ZANU –PF and its leaders were the “authentic expression of the Zimbabwean (Rhodesian) masses,” unlike Ian Smith who was a “fascist dictator.”

Not only are VOZ messages strategically produced, but they are also logistical in orientation. A case in point is messages tailored to offer recruitment information, which included the exact location of recruiters to the nationalist movement. The messages about recruitment centers were encoded for security (secrecy) reasons, so that only the members of the small world, the insiders, could understand (decode) them.
Descriptors emerging from the messages disseminated by VOZ are illustrative of its goals. They include: one-man one-vote, political transformation, dismantling enemies of peace, and assisting the oppressed masses.

VOZ’s goals included spreading information to recruit more guerrilla members, win the hearts and minds of the people, and to demonstrate power by defeating Ian Smith’s initiatives. The continued transmission of broadcasts under restrictive circumstances is instructive of the station’s resolve as well as a demonstration of power: that the nationalist movement was strong despite governmental proscription. Its messages are comparably brief. This can be explained by the circumstances within which the station was operated. VOZ depended upon Egyptian, Tanzanian, Zambian and finally Mozambican broadcasting stations to relay its messages. Due to time restrictions, VOZ messages came to the point of discouraging verbosity. Due to its hurriedly presented information, most of its messages lack background information, and some of it fails the credibility test. Some of these messages consequently, pass as outright propaganda.

VOZ messages exhibit Chatman’s concepts. By suppressing information through the way it crafted its messages, VOZ alludes to Chatman’s concept of information poverty. Although Chatman (1996) refers to information poverty as reluctance by members of a particular small world to exchange information with the outsiders, it may also refer to deliberately crafting messages to push a certain agenda rather than what such messages would ordinarily mean.

The reluctance to share information is not necessarily outright communication avoidance in the presence of the outsider. It can be also by developing internal vocabulary developed to ensure that only insiders understand and have the capability to interpret it. Interpretation depended heavily on how messages had been propagated. A term like “terrorist” was interpreted
differently by the guerrillas when used by VOZ. The same term was interpreted differently by Ian Smith sympathizers when used by VOZ, and different when used by RBC.

VOZ messages attempted to reinforce the guerrillas’ worldview that theirs was a worthy cause. Its messages were intended to provide dependable information about the military aspects of the struggle and at the same time counter what the nationalists considered “misinformation” of the colonialists.

Within the brief time it broadcast, VOZ laid bare the predicaments that confronted the Zimbabwean masses. The station apportioned the blame on the colonialists, and urged the masses to resist oppression. It provided messages that aimed to explain the suffering that colonialists had imposed upon Zimbabweans, to mobilize and incite the masses, to communicate military objectives while justifying the war of liberation, and also to request for the support of its cause from other countries and organizations.

SWRA messages are accommodated by the Sturges’ and Chatman’s model as well.

SWRA’s information input is partly based on surveillance and espionage. Some messages lack attribution because some of the messages are propagated by the station’s “walking salespeople” who gather information on behalf of the radio station.26

SWRA claims to be a “normal” radio station. Elliott (1982) notes that some clandestine radio stations define themselves by negating their status; by alleging to be what they are not. SWRA attempts to provide alternative information to Zimbabweans, and by extension to the world, to expose what it sees as the “Zimbabwe Crisis,” and to demonstrate to its audience that Zimbabwe deserves better governance. From descriptors that emerge from its messages, SWRA goals are geared toward the attainment of its core mission: a different government that is

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26 In an email message sent to this researcher, Gerry Jackson referred to reporters on the ground as “walking salespeople” because they have to disguise themselves when gathering information for her station. Other “walking salespeople” are discontented civil servants who secretly provide information.
different from the current “bad government.” Some of these descriptors include: change, political representation, economic change, restoration of respect of human rights, national reconstruction, respect for the constitution, and unfettered democracy.

When we examine the messages of its analyzed programs, a different conclusion may easily be drawn; namely that this is a station that is not in the mainstream and opposing the current regime. Almost all of its guests are critical of the Mugabe’s government. It would, of course, unlikely to expect government representatives to appear in a program aired by a station proscribed by the government they represent.

A case in point is SWRA’s April 10, 2007, Hot Seat program, when its hostess, Violet Gonda, aired her telephone conversation with one of the Zimbabwean government ministers, Kembo Mohadi. The minister was unaware of the caller’s identity. Violet wanted to know what the government was doing about the arrest and torture of political activists who had appeared in court drenched in blood.27 International media reported the heavy-handedness, which reached the opposition leaders. The following is the minister’s denial:

Gonda: Minister I wanted to find out from you or to get a comment from you about the allegations from the MDC that a lot of their activists are getting arrested and tortured in custody. And, as the Home Affairs Minister, I wanted to find out or to get your comment on this.

Minister: No we don’t arrest anybody and torture people here in Zimbabwe. We arrest criminals and even if they are terrorist criminals we don’t torture them. The law takes its own course, if someone has got a case to answer he goes to Court and he is convicted. Those allegations are false.

Gonda: But Minister Mohadi these MDC leaders and activists have actually appeared in Court covered in blood. So how can you explain this?

Minister: Ah no, when was that?

Gonda: How can you explain this?

27 In March 2007, the leader of Zimbabwe’s opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) was beaten by police together with his colleagues after riot police broke up a public meeting organized by the Save Zimbabwe Campaign. The victims appeared in court drenched in blood and it was reported in various international media.
Minister: When was that? When was that? When did they appear in Court covered in blood? That is a wrong statement. When was it? (SWRA Hot seat)

This is a rich illustration of information output in that it exhibits not just sheer propaganda but it is a mockery on the government it critiques. Sentiments in defense of Mugabe’s government are rarely aired in SWRA. In the case of Minister Mohadi, his views were aired because they portray him as a caricature of the government he represents. Even if the minister criticized the attack on the opposition figures, he would have been criticizing the government he serves. Either way, SWRA would have achieved its goal. It was absurd for the minister to deny what was reported in international media. Although his strategy of defending his government did not succeed, at least during this telephone conversation, one wonders how he could have justified arresting and torturing innocent people who were practicing their democratic right as stipulated in the Zimbabwean constitution.

SWRA is critical of and attempts to provide an alternative voice to what it considers an oppressive status quo. Although SWRA promotes change through non-violence strategies, its information and politically-didactic messages are at the core of its campaign to expand the democratic space. It is precisely because of its membership in a small world that is different from the one occupied by the current regime that SWRA demonstrates an opposing world view.

In advancing its objective, SWRA like VOZ crafted its messages with the aim of challenging meanings that were emerging from the dominant hegemony. This critical attitude involves defying meanings and policies designed for such meanings. Both SWRA and VOZ challenged counter-discourses emerging from established regimes through RBC and ZBC. By questioning these discourses, they challenged the hegemonic political structures.
RBC and ZBC

Unlike SWRA and VOZ, RBC had elaborate message propagation machinery because of its association with the incumbency – Ian Smith regime. It did not operate under limited airtime like the VOZ and SWRA – both which have the disadvantage of broadcasting in exile.

The Psychological Operations Unit (POU) was set up by the government to compliment the efforts of RBC and other information systems. POU crafted and distributed information from a government standpoint with the intent of scandalizing and discredited information from the guerrillas as misinformation. This was one way of suppressing information by employing psychological tactics that undermined activities associated with the guerrillas. Despite having a military unit associated with it, POU was created to reach and win the hearts and minds of the people.

It is demonstrative of how RBC used terms that discredited VOZ and ZANU-PF sympathizers. Mugabe and his colleagues were “terrorists, murderers, and communists.” A close examination of RBC messages also reveal how they failed to offer a clear distinction between innocent victims of the Ian Smith regime’s brutality, and the guerrillas who were the target of the regime’s military actions. Yet the deliberate failure to clearly distinguish between the victims and target of the military actions was aimed at justifying the regime’s heavy-handedness on its critics while reinforcing its protectionist postulations. Such information logistics necessitated an understanding for contestants in this information warfare to understand the information requirements of their sympathizers. It was also crucial to know their opponents and their opponents’ sympathizers as well.

RBC information suppression element is evident in its justification of the killing of the “terrorists” who propagated views divergent from those of the regime. Progress by the guerrillas
was denied RBC coverage. It portrayed VOZ as a political instrument being manipulated by the communists.

In an effort to challenge VOZ’s messages that RBC served the colonialist, RBC hired a black broadcaster. Such an effort not only attempted to discredit (suppress) VOZ messages, but it was also an attempt to seek entry into the “other” small world. RBC was sanctioned by the regime’s information and broadcasting laws.

Like RBC, ZBC has the support of the political incumbent. Its resources are incomparable to those of SWRA, the station critical of the regime that ZBC serves. Like RBC, ZBC is sanctioned by the current information and broadcasting regulations.

ZBC information input elements are not explicitly secretive like the surveillance and spying techniques employed by VOZ and SWRA. Its messages however, provide an insight into how they are propagated. We may read a lot of editorializing in most of its analyzed programs. The messages strain to convince. The use of term such as “re-colonization” seems rather far-fetched.

ZBC seeks to justify why “other” stations have been denied licenses to operate because allowing them to broadcast would be promoting “dissidence.” Its messages point to provision of “protection” from “political sell outs” under the influence of the “western imperialists” to re-colonize Zimbabwe. SWRA has been accused of being on the payroll of the West. SWRA has been described as a station that is waging “a one-sided campaign against Zimbabwe and ZANU-PF” by the ZBC.

In pre- and post-independent Zimbabwe, regimes in power have devised means to suppress alternative media. During his time Ian Smith cracked down on VOZ by introducing laws and regulations that criminalized VOZ. The Ian Smith regime put in place various limiting
laws and regulations that frustrated and criminalized alternative sources of information. Some of
the laws under Ian Smith include: the D notices -publication of sensitive defense matters, the
Emergency Power Regulations, the Criminal Procedure and Evidence Act, the Official Secrets
Act, the Law and Order Maintenance Act, and the Censorship and Entertainment Control Act.

Other restrictive laws included: the Rhodesian Law and Order Maintenance Act, the
Emergency Power Act, and the African Affairs Act. Various books, newspapers, pamphlets,
musical records, and posters were also proscribed. Books such as Nelson Mandela’s *No Easy
Walk to Freedom*, Kwame Nkrumah’s *Class Struggle in Africa*, and Charles Mungoshi’s *The
Coming of a Dry Season* were banned. Books by non-African were proscribed as well: Tom
Wolfe’s *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test*, Walter Rodney’s *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*,
Jean Paul Sartre’s *Black Orpheus*, Che Guevara’s *Bolivian Diary*, and Langston Hughes, Leroi
Jones, and Lorraine Hansberry’s *Three Negro Plays*. Other banned materials ranged from Bob
Marley musical records, periodicals such as *Drum* and *Marxism Today*, pamphlets such as
*Communism Today*, to miscellaneous materials such as T-shirts with inscriptions denoting
adherence to a political organization opposed to the regime.

When Mugabe rose to power, his government maintained these regulations. To ensure its
hegemonic maintenance, the regime instituted more laws and regulations. These include the
Information and Protection of Privacy Act, the Public Order and Security Act, the Censorship
and Entertainment Control, the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act, and the
Criminal Codification and Reform Act.

In 2002, Mugabe’s government unleashed terror in earnest on alternative sources of
information that it considered to threaten his rule. Table 4.3 lists journalists who were arrested in
2002, and the laws they allegedly transgressed
In 2005, the Zimbabwean government continuously jammed frequencies used by SWRA. The same year transmissions of two independent radio stations, Voice of the People and Radio 7 were blocked from relaying their programs to Harare, the capital of Zimbabwe. Other limiting laws were enacted and exorbitant fees introduced against those who transgressed the
Acts. Under the Public Order and Security Act, fines were introduced for anyone who “insulted the president” and for “communicating falsehood.”\textsuperscript{28} The government’s rationale for introducing the Public Order and Security Act was explained thusly, the “Internet has been used to destroy the image of Zimbabwe and that this was made possible by the lack of regulation in cyber-communication.”\textsuperscript{29}

This dissertation posits the futility of such information suppression initiatives because they did not hinder the use of other available avenues to propagate messages. SWRA has been jammed since 2002 and its producers find alternative ways to re-launch programming and transmission. The station’s operators devise ways go around the disruption of the message propagation process. New ways of gathering information, processing, packaging and disseminating has been sought. The station also has a callback number where listeners in Zimbabwe can leave their number to be reached. Opinions can also be made to this station through emails and other web discussion fora. SWRA uses the cell phone short message services (SMS) to send headline news to Zimbabweans. The station only requires the listeners to send their cell phone number. Besides SMS, the station has also set up podcasting services.

A cursory overview of the SWRA Web site shows how new ways of propagating messages have been sought. This has resulted from the availability of new technology, which besides enabling avoidance of the disruption of message propagation, it also allows for new ways to propagate messages.

\textsuperscript{28} www.cpj.org accessed April 24, 2007
\textsuperscript{29} Zimbabwe’s deputy minister of information and publicity, Bright Matonga speaking to the United Nations news agency, IRIN
After analyzing the data and examining the findings against the research questions, we can safely point out the presence of message propagation elements among VOZ, SWRA, RBC and ZBC as postulated by Sturges and Chatman. However, the findings of this dissertation suggest a modification for the Sturges and Chatman’s model when examining message propagation in restrictive information circumstances. Although Sturges and Chatman have
examined the mechanics that inform message propagation in restrictive environment, circumstances, this researcher suggests the need to examine systematically the situational attributes that help construct limiting information environments. We may argue that communication in a restrictive information environment is designed in a way that its participants make sense of their situations, and come up with ways to solve their information needs, resolve their contradictions and/or challenges to their small worlds.

A restrictive information environment is situational, and message propagators operating in it are subject to tactical changes at different times, accordingly shifting their cognitive maps (see also Hall, 1981). A restrictive information environment is similar to information-need situation where an individual’s internal sense runs out. The message propagator therefore create a sense (makes sense) out of the information situation - an essence of information (see also Dervin, 1984). It is in such restrictive information environments that mechanics to propagate messages in order to suit such limiting circumstances are crafted. Sturges’ model, especially fails to address the information input, output and suppression strategies situational value and how they are subject to various factors, both tactical and logistical. It also fails to address how information contestants adjust to various situations in their message propagation process.

The models also fail to address the subtlety of the information mechanics since they do not acknowledge the impact of cultural pressures and historical realities. The models fail to provide for a functional monitoring mechanisms whereby the effectiveness or failure of information activities can be examined: what was disseminated was just “enough” information to incite people into taking action.\(^\text{30}\)

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\(^{30}\)Patrick Wilson (1977, p. 56) argues that enough information serves “as a basis for decisions and action in the areas of our concerns and enough to satisfy our appetites for information bearing on our interests.” Once information need is satisfied, information seekers may not allow more information flow addressing the closed concern.
Findings of this dissertation show the need to emphasize that information input, output and suppression as components dependent on each other; not discrete and independent categories of information activities. Information input or output, for instance, would depend on how information has been suppressed. Input and output are not necessarily divorced from one another; neither is it necessarily a single event. Suppression can also occur even without the knowledge of the information source.

There is an assumption by the Sturges’ and Chatman’s model that the messages crafted are relevant. Sturges’ also fails to address the failure of propagated messages and how such a realization shifts the information input portion of his model. Both models do not address self censorship, which should be a huge factor in a restrictive environment and if there is danger involved. Since there is no mechanism to evaluate the accuracy of the message propagated, we may argue that accuracy is dependent on the source. Unacceptable source would most likely be associated with inaccurate messages.

One thing that is conspicuous from the analyzed data is that Mugabe\textsuperscript{1} (pre-independent Zimbabwe) and Mugabe\textsuperscript{2} (post-independent Zimbabwe) is one and the same person, but with a different information handling and management strategy. Both Mugabes show the same attributes from the two halves of the model. He is a symbolic reflection of the message propagation techniques in the Zimbabwe’s information warfare. He is double-faced, similar but not the same person; just like the other reflected part of the model.

Further Analysis of the Findings

The broadcast texts analyzed in this dissertation demonstrate how message propagators seek to understand the social circumstances and cognitive levels of their target audiences. An examination of those involved in message propagation shows that they are highly
knowledgeable. Mugabe for instance, is university educated and has several academic and honorary degrees from various international universities. These knowledgeable politico-information activists involved in message propagation activities are able to critically appraise the political information before devising ways of persuasively crafting messages for the masses. Their chief aim is to widen and deepen the masses’ political understanding.

The high level of education among the leaders of the nationalist movement is conspicuous when one examines their choice of words during interviews and when providing broadcast material for their radio station. As Colin Matutu, a political commissar during the liberation movement notes, how words were chosen was important when politically sensitizing the masses. Because of the high illiteracy level among Zimbabwean at that time, the nationalist leaders- themselves educated Zimbabweans - crafted their messages in a way intelligible to the masses. Matutu explains how the guerrilla leaders strove to make the meaning of their messages clear to the masses.

We didn’t talk about political theory, for people did not understand all that political jargon. What we had to do, in fact was to tell them of the hard realities of life. People should get the message that was the important thing. The simplest thing was to learn their grievances. (Frederikse, 1982, p. 60).

An insight into the mechanics of social movements may shed some light in the analysis of message propagation in restrictive environments. Just like in the formative stages of a social movement where the public’s values and rights are violated by those with the legalized sanctioning authority, so is the lack of information avenues for message propagators in a restrictive information environment. As in a social movement, only a few people understand the violation and then take upon themselves to politically educate the masses.

31 Some universities have stripped Mugabe of honorary degree. Edinburg University in Scotland, which recognized and awarded him an honorary degree in 1984 for his “services to education in Africa,” annulled this honor in June 2007. Michigan State University and the University of Massachusetts are also considering revoking their honors to Mugabe.
Rivera (2004) has noted how groups or classes of people develop oppositional discourses and practices to counter the normalizing and hegemonic discourses and practices when they are placed or feel to be in subordinate positions. The discourse used by VOZ and SWRA Zimbabwe challenges dominant discourse and the policies of institutions, which are associated with them. These stations, consequently, presuppose the meaning of the concepts that they challenge. We can submit that the sophistication of the medium used in the crafting of the message is arguably secondary to the management of the information with which the message is molded from. As it turned out in Zimbabwe, the sophistication of Ian Smith’s information machine failed to provide an alternative political vision that was acceptable to the majority if 1980 General Elections are anything to go by.

Ross (2000) and Obinor (2005) have demonstrated challenges that face the mass media in influencing political conflicts. The Smith regime, for instance introduced a mobile cinema unit that targeted the rural dwellers. It was part of the psychological approach to win the rural dwellers’ support. One of the films shown was insensitive to the African culture and it boomeranged on the Smith’s regime. When the same regime introduced newspapers, it did that with total disregard to the high illiteracy rate and economic situation of the masses. Despite the availability of these messages, they were either inaccessible – poor people who could not afford a newspaper – or (mis)interpreted to the detriment of the producer.

Clandestine and established sources of information together with their audiences resist what Agada (1999, p. 75) calls “second-level knowledge” because information from members of another small world is suspect. This is exhibited in how the guerrillas trusted their “spies” while soldiers allied to Ian Smith trusted their “intelligence” services and the POU. It serves a clear illustration of small worlds in conflict.
This dissertation is in no way evaluative of the clandestine or the established radio stations. We may nonetheless posit that the 1980 General Elections that paved way to majority rule is the litmus test on whether the Zimbabwean independence struggle was more information than military oriented. The political and election campaigns that preceded the attainment of the majority rule depended on the information that had been distributed during the independence struggle. It is how information was managed, how message were propagated – not the military strategies – that generated the need for the electioneering process. It is the vote not the gun that carried day.

The mechanics that informed this information conflict even after the elections is articulately summed up by Eddison Zvobgo, who until 1980 was the ZANU publicity and Information officer and who was appointed the minister of Local Government:

The regime (Ian Smith’s) was hoist by its own petard. Having lied over the years, trying to project these ‘terrorists’ as having no support, all hated by the people, as just a bunch of power hungry malcontents who could never win a free and fair election, they couldn’t turn around and say, “These people are popular, let’s work hard.” That would have been contradicting their propaganda (Frederikse, 1982, p.325). The nationalist’s information strategies gained authority after the elections because the people realized that those who had been preposterously portrayed by the hegemonian as “terrorists, murderers and communists” were now in positions of authority.

From the findings of this dissertation, we may safely portray VOZ and SWRA as an attractive though dangerous avenue for those who are socio-politically desperate to communicate their frustrations with the status quo. In such a restrictive information environment as Zimbabwe, VOZ and SWRA have attempted to perform the much-needed and sought for symbolic and communication functions. Their role in such situations is simply utilitarian. This role is still problematic because of the profound requirement to extricate Zimbabweans from a cognitively limiting situation to see themselves in another situation that is better and freer. The messages are
designed to awaken the citizenry into a critical way of recognizing the oppressive and restrictive nature they were living in.
CHAPTER V
DISCUSSION

This dissertation does not only exclusively focus on the sanctioned government impending clandestine media; it also focuses on how sanctioned government and clandestine media interact in a conflicting information environment in order to maintain adequate message propagation. The term message is differentiated from information because information incorporates the element of meaning. Although the message incorporates the element of meaning, it is nonetheless not the meaning.

The radio messages analyzed for this longitudinal case study were calculatingly encoded to make them arcane and unintelligible but to the members of the targeted small world. These messages were “meaningless” to those who lacked the requisite requirements to decode them. Encoding in this case is a form of secrecy and deception that punctuate message propagation in conflicting small worlds. The stations worked hard to create a small world through the use of encoding and decoding, a small world in which outsiders may be able to access the encoded messages but most likely fail to understand the content. The inability to decode a message resonates with Wilson’s (1983) assertion that availability of information does not necessarily equate to its accessibility. To decode one requires certain essential tools – ranging from comprehending the linguistic symbols used to the ability to contextually interpret symbols in a way that is sanctioned by the propagating small world.

Information avoidance may also take the form of codes that are only intelligible to the group members. Such secretive coding was used by Christians under persecution from the Roman authorities. Before the cross became a symbol of Christianity, two bowed intersecting lines, which symbolized a fish was widely used. Although this symbol was surreptitiously used,
it had a mythological attribute to it. This symbol was a derivative of an acronym, *ichthus*, for the Greek words for “Jesus Christ, Son of God, Savior,” which mean “fish.” The two bowed lines symbolizing a fish were therefore used by the group that felt persecuted because of its belief system. According to Jowett and O’Donnell (1999, p. 60), the fish symbolized the mission of the group it represented and did so simply and effectively; as a result, it was found scrawled on walls, trees, in the dust, and any place were the Christians wished to leave their mark to communicate their increasing numbers and strength to others.”

The ability to code messages either facilitates or hinders the message propagation process. It facilitates the message propagation process by insuring that messages designed is of intended meaning to the insiders of the targeted small world, that the propagated message will be decoded as intended. It hinders message propagation process because the outsiders of the targeted small world lack the requisite tools to decode the message. Such hindrance contributes to information poverty.

Message propagation does not happen in a vacuum. While crafting messages for their intended purposes, message propagators are influenced by the signal from the information recipients. We can posit that message propagators are sources of information as they are its recipient. The propagator of messages must take into consideration the understanding, knowledge and decisions of the information recipient (see Hayes1993).

The findings of this dissertation closely associate the message with the function. When VOZ, for example broadcast it message, both the guerrillas and Ian Smith sympathizers got the message. However, the message triggered different activities. We may refer to the triggered activities as the function. The message could help recruit more villagers into becoming guerrilla or incite those already in the guerrilla camps to act in a certain way. The same message could
give Ian Smith regime an idea of how to suppress the source of that message, or discredit the message, say by hiring a black broadcaster. These mechanics of message propagation, just like the function, are dependent on respective small worlds.

The subsequent activities triggered by the message is what we may call “function” whose value is contextual. If pre-colonial Mugabe sent a message, its function had certain value to the guerrilla. The other function would to trigger a process of slowing down the message propagation process, say by jamming VOZ’s transmission frequencies. In both instances, the message propagation is therefore a relationship between the message and the context. The reliance of message propagation on the dynamics of small worlds necessitates the use Chatman’s model.

If this dissertation merely focused on established governments sanctioning and suppressing message propagation, Sturges’ model would have been sufficient. But the presence of the communities of people, multifaceted internal and external information conflict and the conflicting interaction of information systems brings in Chatman’s model. This model provides a human group component. Her model also fits well not only because of the competing information systems (small worlds) but also because in liberation struggles, generally one group is smaller, disfranchised or unsanctioned.

There is no evaluative component in this study. The concern of the study is not whether established are right or wrong in suppressing message propagation or whether clandestine radio operators are successful or otherwise in going around information barriers. The focus is on the mechanics that inform structures, codes and delivery systems that are needed to sustain sufficient information in a restrictive environment.
A closer examination of how the messages were crafted shows the information source’s knowledge of the circumstances and context of the target audience. Schiffrin (1994) has argued that context can be viewed in terms of knowledge – what the source knows and assumes the audience knows – and how that knowledge determine message propagation and the choice and use of language.

Chatman (1985, 1991) and Savolainen (1993, 1995) have noted that information gathering and dissemination in restrictive circumstances indicate that context, especially the information user’s specific environment at a point in time, is a better indicator and predictor of information needs and uses of information than the socio-economic status.

In addition, this dissertation points to the strong role of sanctioning authorities both in criminalized and legalized “small worlds.” Sanctioning authority in legalized worlds may be recognized or rejected and even criminalized by other established worlds. A case in point is the insistence by the South African government that Zimbabwe should make its own decision in pulling itself out of the crisis, while other countries such as Zambia condemned Mugabe. South Africa calls its approach “soft diplomacy.” Other words that prominently feature in international relations are sovereignty and political autonomy. Similarly, the sanctioning authority in criminalized worlds can be recognized or rejected by other criminalized world.

It is not just the media that plays a crucial role in clandestine information flows; the content is equally if not more important in any form of information warfare. In the case of Zimbabwe, the major concern was not so much how the information was handled, as much as how it was managed for the intended purpose. But the information interpretation process generates a credibility concern. For information to gain credibility, a cognitive authority associated with trust by the information recipients emerges.
Wilson (1983) argues that it does not matter whether those who claim authority actually have it, but what is important is on what basis people recognize it. Yet to identify who is considered an authority is different from what one needs to be or “ought to be” in order to be recognized as one. According to Wilson (1983, p. 14) a cognitive authority is one who influences one’s thoughts “that one would consciously consider as proper.” Cognitive authority is considered credible and worth of belief and trust. However, we can as well define authority as those we find inherently believable, “convincing, and persuasive.”

Credibility was a concern in both the Zimbabwean information warfares. The nationalists who operated VOZ had to impress upon the masses that they were credible. They realized the significance of balancing between inciting the masses while at the same time portraying their activities (even violent ones) as moral. Their messages illuminated their activities as founded on a moral responsibility to liberate Zimbabwe. It is no surprise that they gained support as an alternative leadership both within Zimbabwe and internationally.

During information warfare, information is gathered with the intention of influencing others across the divide. It is, therefore necessary to understand the information mechanics of the “other” during the espionage and surveillance activities. Sturges’ model fails to address this phenomenon. We may gain some insight by using elements of Chatman’s small world, but still understanding of the other is “from our own angle of vision” (Wilson, 1983, p. 3).

Just as Carey (1989) has argued, communication can be perceived as dissemination of messages as well as part of extracting meaning from the message in the complex process of reality construction. In the case of Zimbabwe, clandestine radio broadcasting was and continues to be a significant source and disseminator of messages and has invariably become an arena for defining and constructing social reality.
As uses and gratification theory posits, what is meaningful to people is that which occupies the center of their reality. Clandestine radio broadcasting has been in the forefront of proving information that strongly attempts to shape Zimbabwean reality. But as Goffman (1959) has noted, people may fail to recognize the reality of their situation but rather examine the situation as it ought to be for them before acting accordingly. Clandestine radio broadcasting, through provision of political education has attempted to expose the wrongs associated with the regime in power. That way, Zimbabweans are provided with an opportunity to yearn for better governance. That desire for representative government in the ‘70s necessitated the use of guerrilla-generated information warfare. VOZ was integral in attempting to inculcate that desire. SWRA continues to attempt to play a pivotal role in politically sensitizing Zimbabweans. Of course, without significant audience feedback, one can only extrapolate that SWRA is effective from Mugabe’s attempt to jam their signal.

Zimbabweans’ interpretation and response to information about their political and economic misfortunes, like the interpretation and responses of other people, are a reflection of their socio-economic, political and even psychological needs. Their needs determine how they interpret the information and at the same time establish the level of satisfaction of their interpretation. Mugabe’s success with his clandestine radio and his continued and current suppression of the clandestine radio together suggest that clandestine radio may be significant part of how Zimbabweans construct their information environment.

As Freire (1972) notes, no matter how inundated in a culture of information and communication victimization and unresponsiveness, people have the urge to improve the quality of their individual and collective life. He sees this urge as the first step toward regeneration, to break free from those oppressing them. This urge is nurtured through dialogue, with proper tools,
which may not be necessarily legalized or sanctioned by the oppressor. Clandestine means of communication is one such initiators of dialogue where information avenues are suffocated and stifled. This dialogue stimulates in the participants’ a critical way of recognizing their tyrannical situation. This critical attitude involves engaging certain meanings and certain argumentative approaches of the dominant hegemonic discourses. It also generates counter-discourses, which are forms of counter-practices. Emergence of counter-discourses challenges not only political and legislative institutions, but also hegemonic political structures.

In the case of Zimbabwe, clandestine radio broadcasting has been a fertile source of generating counter discourses that challenge the regime’s political propaganda and repression. The discourse these stations generate is laced with possibilities of freer governance. But the masses must be disentangled from restrictive scope that blinds them from seeing themselves in a better and freer environment. This may be the chief role of discussed clandestine radio station, but which is long-winded and complex.

Civil disobedience and violent change of political guard may not be ruled out given the institutional collapse that characterizes Zimbabwe at the present. This dissertation, however, projects rebirth of Zimbabwe not under the midwifery of military and violent uprisings, but through critical information gathering, processing, and dissemination from avenues that are unsanctioned by the current regime.

Future Research

A literature search revealed no audience research has been conducted in clandestine radio broadcasting. Audience research of clandestine radio broadcasting could be conducted by examining caller messages in talk show programs such as Health Beat and Hot Seat.
The role clandestine radio plays once there is a change of power structure that allows them to legally operate with no restriction is an area worth examining in future. Since clandestine radio stations are not like social movements, which die once their objectives are reached; future research recommended by this study is to examine how these media outlets adjust to a socio-political environment that they have been surreptitiously championing once it is achieved. It might be interesting to examine message propagation in other clandestine revolution movements to find out if there are other elements other than the ones observed in the programs sampled for this dissertation.

Once the constitution of a small world is altered and its fundamental principles shifted – for example a country becomes democratic and accommodating – the environment in which the small world developed is subject to various changes. Although the basic elements that define a small world – social norm, social type, and worldview and information behavior – are not invalidated, they are based on a different foundation and a different understanding. Interpretation of any piece of information is therefore circumstantial.

This researcher calls for an examination of the relationship between sanctioning authority and previously criminalized information sources. The study also recommends future examination of previously criminalized sources that are later licensed and how their message propagation techniques may compare with that of social movements that have achieved their objectives.
APPENDIX A

CAPTIONS FROM SWRA WEB SITE
Government takes over Olivine Oil

The state media announced Monday that the government has taken over the Olivine Oil company by acquiring a 49% stake in the U.S. food group H.J. Heinz Company. This is major news in that it signifies the beginning of Robert Mugabe and ZANU-PF’s takeover of private industry. If agriculture which government took over is anything to go by, it is feared business in Zimbabwe has seen its last days. Chaotic farm invasions created severe food shortages. Now it is believed government wants to control the manufacture of certain basic commodities in order to keep prices low and gain support ahead of the elections due next year. Economist John Recharte said that will

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Latest currency rate £1 = 500000
The rate is creeping back up again

International Organization
for Migration
IOM can help you return home

If you are an asylum seeker you were smuggled or trafficked into the UK you have overstayed your visa

IOM can help
- small business start up vocational training & apprenticeships
- education courses for adults and children

Protest by phone and e-mail
Money watch: cost of basic goods in Zim

Call us on
0800 783 2332

Elvis Mudzuri, the MDC’s national organising secretary was injured on Sunday night when the vehicle he was travelling in was involved in a collision with a herd of cattle. Three other people travelling with the former Harare Mayor were also injured in the accident on the Bulawayo Harare Highway.

Woman and child die in stampede at Harare Agriculture Show

A WOMAN and a child were killed in two separate incidents involving transport and food stampedes at the Zimbabwe Agriculture Show. Reports say a throng of hungry people charged to grab free food and snacks that were distributed at the closure of the week-long exhibition on Saturday. An official of the Harare Agriculture Society on Monday confirmed the accident but quickly distanced the group from any responsibility. He denied suggestions that it was the scramble for food that was at the centre of the mad dash that killed the two. He insisted the stampedes were caused by an overwhelming turnout at the annual event. Our sources said at least 10,000 people passed through the gates on Friday alone.

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Monday Schedule

6.00-6.30 Station Opening with John & Mandisa
6.30-7.00 Callback with Money Watch
7.00-7.30 Newsreel
7.30-8.00 Letter from America with Stan Mukaa
7.30-8.00 The Hidden Story with Tich Sibanda
7.30-8.00 Zim Alive with Torela Karimakwenda

SWRadioAfrica Podcasts

THE aRT OF dUANE uDD
"Best mbira album in the instrument’s 1500 year plus history... true classic!"
Worlds Rhythm 2007. Click here to listen...>

Blogspot

- Sokwanele blog
- P. Thornycroft
- Zimbabwe Today
- The Zimbabwean Pundit
- The Bearded Man
- Comrade Fatso

Mobile phone campaign

We now have an SMS news headline service sent to mobile phones.
If you have a friend or relative in Zimbabwe who would like to receive this free service please email their mobile phone number to:
talk@swradioafrica.com

Monday Downloads

From 20:30 GMT, the following archives will be available. Mac users

- Full two hour broadcast
- Newsreel
- The Hidden Story
- Callback
- Letter From America
- Zim Alive
Protest - make your voice heard
Calling the police and ministers to make your feelings known

Join the CHRA e-mail protest - Protest by e-mail - Protest in UK - Action for armchair activists

If you are calling any of these numbers to protest please do not be belligerent or angry. This will not be effective. Remain calm. Tell them they are beating their mothers and fathers and brothers and sisters. Tell them no one has to carry out instructions that are wrong. Remind them that Zimbabwe can still be the happy, peaceful and beautiful country it once was and that they should work for good, not for evil. All they have to do is put down their baton sticks and their weapons and refuse to help a regime that does not have the interest of the people at heart.

State House Office of the President:
700071, 700073-76, 700096, 701947, 701956, 708682, 708690, 708691, 708712

Police commissioner
Augustine Chihuri 250008/792621/700171

Home Affairs Minister
Kembo Mohadi 011-605424/430422/794628/703695 text him 011-605424

State Security Minister
Didymus Mutasa 011200532-774189

Resident Governor for Matabeleland
Cain Matema cell no 011871431 work no 09867596

South African High Commission
South Africa House
Trafalgar Square
London WC2N 5DP
Phone:
+44 (0) 20 7451 7299
Please help the Diasporans to harrass Mugabe and crew
13 March 2007
Hi Guys,

Great job you are doing. I realized the other night after calling the rhodesville police station to protest the detention of innocent activists that, making hundreds of thousands of phone calls 24 hrs a day to people in government would be the most NAGGING way for diasporans to fight back and be heard, and so in that spirit I bought a phone card and called that station a record FIFTY times and whenever they didn’t hang up I spoke my mind, sometimes I had just enough time to squeeze in statements like “freedom for us means freedom for you too” or when I was frustrated I flat out said “Ma Purisa hamuna kudzidza” but after the 50 odd phone calls I felt a lot better then it hit me, what if I had phone numbers for the real trouble causers, you know the Chihuri’s Mohadi’s Chinamasas, Elliot Manyika etc…. I could devote everyday to ensure kuti whenever they pick up the phone, they hear exactly what we Zimbabweans who are out of their reach really think about them, also with the police I realised kuti we can slowly radicalize one uneducated constable working the late night shift at a time until somehow it gets to their concience.

To make this work I’m asking for you to please use your wonderful website as a vehicle for obtaining contact information for these people then I pledge to make sure that I explode my own phone bill by calling them at the most ungodly hours to tell them what I think of the things they are doing to Zimbabwe, this will be therapeutic for me and many other diasporans who fell helpless at the same time they will be exposed to the truth about the realities of their actions. Please consider this proposal guys and keep up the good work, by the time this campaign finishes we’ll have the phone numbers of every major culprit in Zimbabwe listed on your site and we’ll be bombarding with calls everytime they do things we don’t like. It will be OUR way of JAMMING their communications!!!!

Keep the fire burning
A worldwide reading against Robert Mugabe is the focus on Zim Alive this week. On September 9th The International Literature Festival in Berlin is sponsoring an anti-Mugabe reading of poems by Zimbabwean writers Chenjerai Hove, Chirikure Chirikure and Dumbudzo Marechera and Elinor Sisulu’s foreword written for the book “Gukurahundi in Zimbabwe: A Report on the Disturbances in Matabeleland and the Midlands 1980-1988”. The aim is to draw attention to the humanitarian crisis in Zimbabwe and the organisers have appealed to radio stations, schools, universities, theatres and cultural institutions around the world to read the poems on the same day. SW Radio Africa and the Zimbabwe Vigil group in the UK will be participating. Get more details on Zim Alive this week.

Programmes

Callback
Your views
Your opinions

Schools are set to open tomorrow but many schools are faced with the very real possibility of opening their gates with no water for drinking or to flush toilets. Bulawayo resident Musa is a parent who is very concerned about the prospect of his children being exposed to diarrhoea and other serious ailments because of the water shortages and he speaks to Mandisa about their efforts to have the mayor come up with a solution to the crisis. Please note that the scheduled interview with Musa will be broadcast later this week.

Letter from America

In today’s Letter from America Dr. Stan Mukasa analyzes the argument by Robert Mugabe and ZANU(PF) that the West has imposed economic sanctions against Zimbabwe.
APPENDIX B

GERRY JACKSON’S INTERVIEW WITH GLOBAL CRISIS WATCH
(Intro. Voice of Dr. Condoleezza Rice) To be sure in our world there remain outposts of tyranny and America stand with the oppressed people on every continent: In Cuba, in Burma and North Korea, and Iran and Belarus and Zimbabwe.

SW Radio Africa, A voice for Zimbabwe’s voiceless is in crisis. The country sole independent radio station broadcast from exile in London faces closure because inaction of international community to continue its funding. As Condoleezza Rice said earlier this year, Zimbabwe is an outpost of tyranny. Its President Robert Mugabe is a despot and the world is profiting of the rape of the country’s wildlife, its economy, and its people thanks to enabling of this broke regime. To those of you who look to the UN as the moral high ground, I say look at Zimbabwe. The loss of SW Radio Africa will send only one message: The world does not care.

Joining us from London is Gerry Jackson, founder of SW Radio Africa www.swradioafrica.com

Gerry, our prayers are with you and your fellow countrymen for an alarming hour of grief the eleven hour of reprieve. How grave is the situation for your station?

Gerry: It is very dire at the moment not … at the moment. I lost…let see…Tuesday…Thursday…the end of the month. And also we can continue for one month on medium wave. But sure enough the show is gone and with the jamming that is going on it gonna be difficult to find the kind of money required to stay on multiple frequencies to go… to go around them

I: There are reports that China supplies the Mugabe regime with high frequency jammers to obliterate the reception of SW Radio Africa. Have you been able to confirm that?

GJ: They can but you know we have been on air for three and a half years now and at the beginning people were a bit nervous not getting their names but now the want their names on air. They are…. to them things happening to then to death happening to them ……brothers and sister getting much more bold on air

I: Gerry, for the benefit of our listeners who weren’t at the speed on Zimbabwe, what is the current situation?

GJ: It is very dire at the moment. Our last short wave broadcast will be Tuesday…Thereafter we can continue for one month on medium wave. But short wave is gone. the …any more …have been shut down, not that they were too much but it was in the beginning.. And so there are no international journalists any more… the BBC for instance is not allowed to set foot in the country. It is a government that turned on its own people because for the first time and the President Robert Mugabe’s regime there has been a viable opposition. Mugabe can’t hide….He clearly wants to die in power and he is just not gonna allow any opposition into his rule, the totalitarian control
I: And it voices like SW Radio Africa that threaten Mugabe’s hold on power

GJ: Yes, his rule has to be …… by people in the rural area, so just need the poor area in the country. Now he is beating them into that can….. Now he is using intimidation through the visa and the rigged elections and concerned about radio and I was on state radio there for many years and the way to get through people and he just not gonna allow it.

I: We have been speaking with Gerry Jackson, founder of Zimbabwe independent SW Radio Africa. Your own personal story as a journalist inside Zimbabwe, Gerry is rather extraordinary. You were fired from state radio for airing uncensored telephone calls from listeners, and talking about the reality of situation in Zimbabwe, what happened?

GJ: (Laughs) It was a great morning (Laughs) honestly a troubled morning in my life, I have to confess. I happened to be…first we had. The town had exploded and there was nothing on the early news bulletin. And I was in the morning shift. And I started playing music and I started opening phone lines so that people could know how dangerous it was and avoid town. And then I decided letting people talk on air. And they…we were talking about brutality of police and how they were attacking people and um...umm... that put in trouble and I was told…… to stop what I was doing and I didn’t, so they just removed me from the studio. I heard a few days later that Mugabe had been (laughs) listening. So…so… so... so… the...the request to get me off air came direct from him. And I said to someone, he had to find out what was going on in his own country.

I: The power of radio. By allowing callers on air you were providing a vital public service and yet you were fired for doing so

GJ: I know. It is
Well, I broadcast in Zimbabwe And what I broadcast in SW Radio Africa is normal radio, is just what should be in any normal radio station .Is not incendiary

I: Clearly, Mugabe has created an information blockade not only to deceive the people of Zimbabwe but also the international press

GJ: Not only that. He is very proactive as well. He wants to get his message across the region. So We had news recently that they gonna start publishing the state newspaper, the Herald in South Africa where there are between 2-3 million Zimbabweans in exile. They are talking of starting their own show that will be broadcasting 24/7 to counter what they call negative propaganda from the west started a regional newspaper in Namibia. He is not backing off

I: It seems also that with Mugabe starting these “international ventures” he is trying to frame his image and that of his regime. In some way, is he is giving up on the public opinion inside of the country and turning into Zimbabwe’s Diaspora who may not know exactly what is going on? The past control in Zimbabwe. Everyone into submission and everyone who can see how is the going and it is estimated that more 70% of the total productive population is outside the country now. Is so bad. Keep o getting bigger
The Iranian have been in there recently, they have digitized all the studios for the Zimbabwe broadcasting. It is such a nice, big, expensive media approach

I: We are talking about the rogue regime in Zimbabwe receiving support from Iran and from China to remain in power

GJ: That is correct but you know what happens I think wonna state right is that everybody in the world likes
It is plunder on a grand scale. They were in South Africa 18 months ago hunting black rhino which according to one of the most endangered species on the planet. They kill it, strip it, skin it, dehorn it, take the trees, take the animal, take the stuff off the ground … and it is plunder…Big time plunder

I: We know that China sits on the UN Security Council. Has the UN taken any interest whatsoever on the situation inside of Zimbabwe?

GJ: Ah.. no there has only been blocking mechanism inside of UN ..
UN has been spectacularly disappointing in this whole thing. I mean Zimbabwe is on the UN human rights commission on the United Nations represented on there by regional African block. It is a farce. It is just ah…ah... How can such a Human Rights Commission have any credibility.


GJ: Well, the right word has to be appalling. There is no other word for them It is disgusting what is going on

I: Gerry, what is the kind of role that SW Radio Africa is playing inside of Zimbabwe? What is the message that is sent not only to the regime but what is the message that is being sent to the people?

GJ: We are trying to say that there is an alternative, that it does not have to be like this, and you Zimbabweans work together we have to push and make it happen in a non-violent way. You know there are more more questions than there are answers and there is no time to pick a bomb and criticize and pick up and nothing happens but it is a nation on it and the young kids particularly have …what they gonna do
We open discussions, we have forums, we have civil society leaders, we have people internationally, we …shop… write books on practices of non-violent action, what we can do we try to train people on what they can do , to provide support system. We try to dialogue, access to opposition and civic society. They can get the message across the world

I: And that message also sends signal to the people inside of the country that they are not alone. That the world is watching. That is the moral support that is needed to keep the flame of democracy alive inside Zimbabwe
GJ: That is hugely important. You know the greatest hope we can broadcast whenever we can we do it, is anybody saying something criticizing is looked at like someone who is …don’t give up hope. Hang in there, it has to change; will change. Mugabe is 81

I: Right, we say a report on SW Radio Africa’s web site – swradioafrica.com- that there is now speculation on Mugabe’s health

GJ: Well, he was released from doctor’s some … test and there is such major disappointment in his rule that every time… he goes to the doctor is near

I: With SW frequencies cut off this week; can you cover the entire country on Medium Wave?

GJ: The problem is that we cannot cover the entire country with medium wave because of technicalities involved, so we are reaching about half the country, Southern part of the country. So the top part does not get the news and reception in the main cities is not great. Uh when you look at the Internet, we got, we have not got any bandwidth in Zimbabwe, so if you… they are on the Internet …and of course the country is poor.

It is a problem but the good thing about MW is that like FM quality in SA which is right on the border and there are 2-3 million in exile and they are very educated, very active, very concerned, so we are …our programming and target the region because it is the region that can more than anybody else pressure change. That is how Rhodesia went. It was Rhodesia before Zimbabwe and when SA stopped supporting Rhodesia, it collapsed by the night. SA is hugely supporting Zimbabwe and if it stop doing that, stop continue.

I: What more evidence do we need of South Africa support in neighboring? SA president, Mbeki came out and publicly criticized Condoleezza Rice for her comments, comments that we heard at the top of the program where she called Zimbabwe an outpost of tyranny

GJ: Thambo Mbeki has been a huge disappointment to everybody. I mean during the fight in SA, Zimbabwe was incredibly supportive of ANC fight and Zimbabwe feels … let down by a brother that they helped because Mbeki is just… going about diplomatic approach to the problem… and nothing is happening and it is very disappointing.

I: Gerry, the bottom line here is that China, Iran, Zimbabwe’s neighbors want not only to plunder the country’s natural resources but also to use it a s stepping stone into a tragedy that we know as the Democratic Republic of Congo

GJ: Yes, we invaded the Congo and … to support the conflict and forge the …diamond… there is direct … between Congo and Zimbabwe, which is my country

I: If SW Radio Africa, say by the end of the year, Gerry, receives absolutely no funding whatsoever and permanently leaves the air, what kind of message does that send… and I hope international organizations that we know visit clandestineradio.com and listen to Global Crisis Watch take note,. What kind of message does their lack of support for SW Radio Africa send to the people of Zimbabwe?
GJ: It is difficult because it is not the end of the year and we have to the end of June to shut completely without … cash but it gives Mugabe a completely open playing field…..as it is he, we need more pressure, not less as he is a chess master, he plays with the west. He succeeds all the time. He is just going to have an open season to get his message across. While everyone is talking about “saving Africa,” I just see the entire southern Africa region going down the tubes He manipulates several options such as … handshake with Prince funeral He is a great manipulator and he wants absolute credibility and regional support to get his message across. The whole of Southern African region and

I: Gerry Jackson, the founder of SW Radio Africa- www.swradioafrica.com- the people of Zimbabwe needs to be empowered so that they save themselves. Fund SW Radio Africa. Gerry, thank you
APPENDIX C

RBC SAMPLE TRANSCRIPTS
In an act of barbarism worthy of another age, terrorists this week forced an African man to cook and eat his own ears. Another gang of terrorists also slashed away parts of the upper lip of a black woman. These acts of savagery, committed by men whom some call “freedom fighters,” herald the future in store for the people of Rhodesia if the terrorists were ever to gain control. Men who can commit crimes such as these, and still sleep soundly at night, are in reality animals in human guise. The communist nations arm ant train terrorist, and use them as willing tools to gain political ends which have nothing to do with freedom. It is doubtful if the terrorists or their leaders have any political objectives worthy of the name, outside of raw, naked power. They want power, and they will do anything to win power. These men are armed thugs, criminal bent on taking Africa back to another age, when it was known as the Dark Continent. To dignify them with names like “freedom fighters” and “guerrilla,” is to afford them a status they do not and will never deserve.
APPENDIX D

VOZ SAMPLE TRANSCRIPTS
For black Zimbabwe traitors, this is a time of crisis and decision. As the Revolution War being waged by the Patriotic Front against the Smith-Sithole-Muzorewa-Chirau fascism regime enters its final phase, reports reaching ZANU headquarters in Maputo, Mozambique indicate that there is now a crisis among the Zimbabwean black bourgeoisie, traitors, fellow-travelers and puppets of the Ian Smith regime, opportunistic running-dogs and other capitalistic vultures. These black reactionary and feudal elements in Salisbury, Bulawayo, Gwelo, Umtali, Fort Victoria, Gatooma and Que-Que, now know that the treacherous Internal Settlement of 3 March 1978 has collapsed under the heavy blows of the Patriotic Front forces, firmly and resolutely supported by the broad masses of Zimbabwe. They now know that the Patriotic Front will soon be ruling Zimbabwe and are wondering what will be in store for them. These enemies of Zimbabwe know that by supporting the Internal Settlement of Ian Smith, Abel Muzorewa, Ndabaningi Sithole, and Jeremiah Chirau, they have participated in the massive programme of torture, murder, massacre and terror perpetrated by the iniquitous regime on the Zimbabweans in Zimbabwe and on Zimbabwean refugees in Mozambique, Zambia, and Botswana. They know that each day they wake up to new programmes of committing fresh crimes. Yet they continue to stick by the regime. These criminals know that white settlers who have committed these crimes will flee Zimbabwe on judgment day. Already many thousands of them have left the country. Where will black collaborators and traitor go?
APPENDIX E

SWRA HOT SEAT DESCRIPTORS
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APPENDIX F

SWRA HEALTH BEAT DESCRIPTORS
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APPENDIX I

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REFERENCES


Web Sources


