

COMMUNICATION SYSTEMS IN AFRICA

WEEK EIGHT: Communication and Political Development.

In this lecture, attempts have been made to connect a clear interdependence between the media and political systems. Leila Demarest (2018 cited in Orgeret and Rønning, 2020) argues, to some extent the role of media and communication in African politics was relatively neglected. This can be explained by the authoritarian turn that took place in many African countries after independence and the tight control of state governments on the press, as well as violent repression of dissenting voices. Africa has a great size of the region and the related political, religious, linguistic and cultural heterogeneity and as such it is impossible to make any kind of generalizations. These differences result in political methods and behaviors that could vary greatly from one country to another.

Learning Outcomes



1. Understand an overview of political communication
2. Explain political communication from Africa's perspective
3. Critic media and political reforms in Africa.
4. Discuss the political development communication opportunities and challenges in Africa.

An overview of political communication

According to Orgeret and Rønning (2020), a broad characteristic of political communication is that it deals with how means of communication function within political processes. It entails the interaction of three main actors: political actors, the media and the public. It involves all elements of the communicative chain – the production of political messages, the dissemination of these, the reception and interpretation of such communications. Political communication entails formal and informal settings, public and private environments and all forms of mediation.

Political communication is a process that is central to political institutions and particularly the traditional news media but increasingly on other media platforms and formats such as social media. Thus, political communication includes both traditional mass media and new media such as social media, and particularly now the interrelationship between old and new media and how they relate to political processes. It involves how citizens act politically, whether individually or organized, in parties, and interest groups, etc. It is the interaction between the different actors and institutions that matters in political communication. Messages flow downwards from governing authorities to citizens, horizontally between political actors and upwards from citizens and groups to the political

institutions. Mancini (2011), points out that an important element of political communication processes is that they involve matters of public interest that are subjects of controversy and conflict. It implies a struggle or some sort of negotiation about social influence and power.

Defining Political Communication

According to Mutsvairo and Karam (2018), several definitions of political communication have been proposed by various scholars with Chaffee's (1975: 15) easily identifiable because of its noticeably invigorating simplicity: 'the role of communication in the political process'. Norris (2004: 1) defines political communication as 'an interactive process concerning the transmission of information among politicians, the news media and the public'. McNair (2011: 4) takes it further with an all-inclusive approach that stresses the academic field is not just centered on the political relationship between media and democracy but on 'all forms of communication undertaken by politicians and other political actors for the purpose of achieving specific objectives'.

According to Norris (2001), political communication is an interactive process concerning the transmission of information among politicians, the news media, and the public. The process operates downward from governing institutions toward citizens, horizontally in linkages among political actors, and also upward from public opinion toward authorities. Political communication has always been central to the electoral and policymaking process but since the early 1990s certain important developments have fundamentally altered this process, particularly postwar trends in the mass media moving from the traditional world of newspapers, radio, and television broadcasting toward the Internet. This article outlines alternative interpretations of the nature of these trends and reflects on their consequences for the process of socioeconomic and political development around the globe.

According to Mutsvairo and Karam (2018), relations between the media and state players in several post-colonial African countries have always been guarded, with members of the press corps working to actively promote the ruling party in what has been called the Soviet media model (Seibert 1956). For example, Ansu-Kyeremeh and Karikari (1998) argue that radio and television broadcasting fell victim to state monopoly in 1935 and 1965 when they were respectively unveiled in Ghana. In a similar vein, Banda (2006) posits that in a state-sponsored regulation exercise, post-independence Zambia sought to issue broadcast licenses on religious merit, with Christian applicants supporting President Fredrick Chiluba's Christian-centered views being favored and securing the much-needed ticket to the airwaves. The colonial legacy has been critical in media development across Africa. In Zimbabwe, for example, the tendency to use radio for hegemonic political purposes has been reported both in the pre- and post-colonial state (Moyo 2005). Indeed, McQuail (1994) has propounded that one key characteristic for countries transiting from colonialism has been the lack of human and infrastructural resources to develop media systems without state intervention, a development which

has unfoundedly seen dominant media models in practice and in principle becoming prevalent. For many in Africa, it was nearly impossible to find alternative sources of news content before the digital revolution, which took shape between the late 1950s and 1970s. Lack of funding weighed down upon potential independent players, leaving the government the lone supplier of one-sided news bulletins, which took the obvious narrative of supporting the incumbent. Mutsvairo and Karam (2018), further argues that problems holding back political participation, including illiteracy, cannot be ignored, especially in Africa where uninformed citizens, constrained in terms of communicating their views, rely on media messages to explain and articulate pressing political issues.

ASPECTS OF POLITICAL COMMUNICATION RESEARCH

According to Orgeret and Rønning (2020), political communication as a field of research deals with the following aspects: *the creation, shaping, dissemination, processing and effects of information within the political system and the media system*. Thus, it deals with the interplay of communication and politics. It includes the activity of citizens, individual political figures, public and governmental institutions, the media, political campaigns, advocacy groups and social movements. It encompasses the communication from those who govern to those who are governed as well as the debate about the political system and events in the media.

To analyze the production aspects of political communication involves *the processing of stories in the media, finding the story, identifying sources, creating the story through framing and the rhetorical slanting of mainly journalistic content*. This means that the study of political communication involves both an investigation into the content and effects of political messages on audiences of different kinds and users of a variety of media. In this context, it is relevant to mention that one of the foundations of modern communication research was political media effect studies. In this context, voter behavior and election studies are important areas (Orgeret and Rønning, 2020).

Research on political communication deals with *how information, stories, images, debates and opinions presented in the media promote certain values and interests and with how political decisions are being influenced by the media*. ***Under what circumstances do media affect voters, leaders and the political system? How do exchanges among individuals and groups affect what they know about politics and how do they interpret and act about politics?*** This means that the context of the political processes and the forms of communication is essential for the analyses of media and politics (Orgeret and Rønning, 2020).

Of course, the context varies with political systems as well as with media structures. There is no doubt that in the last decades, the development of communication formats has changed how political

processes are being communicated. Nevertheless, the issues in political communication research have to do with *access to and control over the means of communication, contents of the media, strategies for reaching diverse audiences, impact on opinions and behavior* (Orgeret and Rønning, 2020).

Such issues are at the heart of the debate over media and control, whether a political system is authoritarian or democratic. The different communication platforms and who control them decide the context of political communication. Do we deal with an open or closed society? Who gets their voices heard? What role do stereotypes play in the political communication processes, content and effect and the ensuing narrative?

What are the limits to communication and political action and influence?

1. Media always function to a greater or lesser degree as channels for information from state institutions informing or persuading citizens to act politically.
2. In an authoritarian society, the media will function as propaganda machine of the government.
3. In a democratic society, the media will provide channels for debate and inform citizens of their rights as well, promoting engagements in issues of central importance to the development of society.
4. Political communication is ideally about the interactions between government and citizens. In a democracy, public communication deals with matters of public interest and with scrutinizing those holding social and political power.
5. The different media platforms support political communication that provides channels for messages from social movements, civil society advocacy groups and political parties in order to create a sphere for an Open and free public discourse. Ideally, it should be the role of the state to secure that this is the case.
6. However, even in closed societies, new communication platforms provide opportunities for public debate of issues that are of interest to citizens (Orgeret and Rønning, 2020).

Political communication from Africa's perspective

According to Mutsvairo and Karam (2018), one key point is clear: there is no room for generalizations because Africa is clearly not a single country. Case study analysis of various countries in Africa demonstrates a diversity of experiences when it comes to the rickety or unbalanced relationship between politicians, mass media and citizens. Studies show that the media role in elections, political processes and decision making, along with digital media's ability to shape

politics, varies within a concomitant of emerging democracies and long-standing dictatorships. To understand this *heterogeneity, one needs to look no further than the diverse cultural, social, historical, religious and indeed linguistic differences associated with the African continent*. For instance, some African religious groups forbid their followers from going to clinics or watching television, the result of which could swing voting decisions in favor of a particular candidate. The noticeable multifariousness in religious beliefs is therefore key to understanding the dynamics of political communication in Africa. As noted, *unlike the situation in liberal democracies of the West where the press plays a watchdog role in seeking 'to prevent the abuse of power' (Marder 1998: 20) or take the function of the Fourth Estate (Hanitzsch 2007), the case studies presented in this study show a systematic marginalization of media institutions aimed at keeping them out of political power and influence.*

The role played by technology

Opportunities

Of increasing importance across the continent is the role played by technology in influencing political processes. Gone are the days when citizens were considered passive political players if not receivers. The capacity for citizens to gather and in many instances even disseminate news through **social media** channels such as *YouTube* is also significantly changing the field of political communication in the region, considered home by up to 1.216 billion people. A booming **civil society** has had a key role to play in empowering the citizens, but thanks to *the advent of online technologies, citizens are taking it upon themselves to empower each other politically*. The mediating role of a journalist is not totally gone but, depending on the political dynamics of a country and unhindered accessibility to the Internet, *citizens have taken a new active role not only in determining a country's political shape but ensuring that those who abuse power are brought to book*. Better still, politicians are emboldening themselves with a firm grasp of online technologies, so as *to make the process of reaching out to constituents and supporters simple and useful*. Social media platforms are being used *to drum up support for candidates during elections across the continent. Other politicians are maximizing the potential of new technologies to their fullest extent by building political websites or blogs to support their political base.*

Some, including the late John Magufuli, become instant social media icons, when he was appointed Tanzanian president, unlike his predecessors, choosing to crack down on corruption and wasteful spending in the aftermath of his inauguration in November 2015. He has had his own critics, who accuse him of stifling dissent. The enduring hashtag #WhatWouldMagufuliDo that universally trended on Twitter and Facebook is a key pointer to Africa's increasing importance in global politics. As citizens in Tanzania and Africa took to social media to mimic Magufuli's no-nonsense approach

and zero tolerance on corruption and inefficiency, the whole world reacted. Note that political circumstances including maturity and freedoms play a prominent role in determining the extent to which the Internet influences politics.

A study on digital political participation in 2014 found that six out of ten Kenyans were actively participating in political issues, along with 52% of Senegalese, but also concluding that just 24% of Ghana's population were highly engaged political participants (Pew Research 2014). This shows the varying nature of online-based political participation in Africa. *Particularly pressing issues, including restricted civil liberties, digital divide and digital illiteracy, have been highlighted by Mutsvairo and Harris (2016) as key factors inhibiting the Internet's potential to influence African politics. To fully understand the role of social media in African politics, we argue that it is important to consider the prohibitive cost of accessing the Internet either via mobile phones or computers, and also slow connections: a lack of information technology (IT) infrastructure remains a major hindrance to Africans attempting to go online.*

Challenges

Realizing the potential for social media to facilitate active citizen political engagement, some governments are opting to regulate and restrain these digital spaces. One way of doing this is by switching off WhatsApp or any social media platforms. *In early 2015, the government's reaction to non-stop protests against President Joseph Kabila of the Democratic Republic of Congo was to impose an Internet blackout, forcing all telecoms companies including giants Vodacom and Orange to discontinue all Internet and short-message services across the country.* Chad also introduced restrictions on social media, messaging and mobile phone communication during its national elections in April 2016. Similar measures have also been applied in Uganda and Zimbabwe, even though officials in the southern African country have denied allegations of *taking down WhatsApp during anti-government protests against President Mugabe.* Even Ghana, considered a robust role model for political democracy, also announced *measures to shut down social media ahead of the November 2016 election so that 'social media are not used to send misleading information that could destabilize the country'* (Clotney 2016). Cameroon also disrupted internet connection in its restive Anglophone regions in 2017 to contain mass anti-government protests.

Critics of media and political reforms in Africa.

According to Mutsvairo and Karam (2018), globalization has in part steered African political and media systems in the direction of reform but these endeavors have been religiously resisted. The adoption of Western models of journalism as a hallmark of media and political democratization continue to face enduring opposition among long-standing African leaders, determined to extend

their political longevity by controlling media institutions. Zimbabwe under deposed President Robert Mugabe or in extreme terms Eritrea, are insightful examples. While privately owned media have flourished across Africa, Eritrea has refused to warm to the idea, steadfastly remaining in its own league by denying operational licenses to would- be independent journalists and closing down the lone opposition voice in 2001. Another example is President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, in power since independence from Britain in 1980, but ousted in 2017, who arrested Western journalists and attempted to silence reporters from the private media, accusing them of being regime change agents. Media control is a notable habit of other long-serving African presidents, including Paul Biya of Cameroon, Eduardo Dos Antos of Angola and Equatorial Guinea's Teodoro Obiang Nguema, who have a combined uninterrupted leadership reign of 105 years. Dos Antos quit active politics in 2017. Albeit at slow pace, media reform has for many years been taking shape in Zimbabwe as more and more independent players have been licensed to operate even though under Mugabe's reign the monopolisation of news remained the government's closely guarded ambition, with state journalists clearly enjoying privileged access to the president and other state functionaries.

Long-serving presidents within totalitarian African states *consider independent journalists agents of the neo-liberal model of democracy, which is mostly supportive of Western institutions such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund.* For this reason, they are *mostly aligned with opposition politics, which in many countries face the accusation of representing Western imperial interests, hence the need to resist reform and maintain hegemonic powers.* In rejecting reform, the law and regulatory mechanisms normally work hand in glove to stifle media development and the freedom of expression. Nigeria's revised constitution falls short of guaranteeing media freedoms or freedom of the press, choosing instead to provide provisions for the freedom of expression. This means, therefore, that the law does not explicitly protect the work of journalists.

The democratic credentials of African governments have been doubted by Joseph (1998), who contends that the holding of regular elections is largely symbolic: the shambolic nature of voting leaves the process with little credibility and legitimacy (Schatzberg 1993).

The Roles of a vibrant civil society

Gyimah-Boadi's (1998) research in Tanzania has flaunted the notion that key to transforming African political systems is the presence of a vibrant civil society. The same sentiments were echoed by Lachenmann (1993) following her research in Senegal. But the perpetuation on the part of several African leaders of the ideology that civic society and non-governmental organizations represent the interests of the imperialists makes it nearly impossible for these institutions to play a role in fulfilling the media or political reform agenda as they are viewed with suspicion.

In 2015, Haki Africa, a Mombasa-based non-governmental organization, was banned by Kenyan authorities for operating without a license. American John Lombardo, who had led the non-governmental outfit Artworks for Youth, was in 2016 declared an undesirable immigrant after overstaying his visa by a day in South Africa. By the same token, in Zimbabwe, civic society members were accused of being spies for Mugabe's erstwhile foes, the British. *While African governments have vociferously been critical of the continent's colonial heritage, which favored the protection of White interests, it must be noted that in many instances they have also turned to political rhetoric, hypocritically using the same privileges, and in some cases settler laws, to protect their own interests and those of their associated political elites at the expense of nation building.*

A historical overview of political communication in Africa: The Case of South Africa

According to Mutsvairo and Karam (2018), in South Africa a distinct body of multi-disciplinary work has emerged, and this political communication research can be separated into five distinct themes. **The first** is that of political economy and the media. Much academic research, since the end of apartheid and colonialism, is concerned with complex issues such as the role of the state broadcaster (SABC) in a political economy; the effects, patterns and organization of media ownership; and the number of ways in which the national press has been seen to support the neo-liberal agenda of government privatization. In one such article, for instance, Duncan (2014) argues that the African National Congress (ANC) has become dominated by *secur-ocrats*.

A second major body of work has evolved around the analysis of local and presidential elections either from the vantage point of politicians, political parties, analysts or expert consultants.

A third distinct theme to be identified within this body of work is that of pressure groups, non-government organizations and professional bodies and analysts. These include, but are not limited to, the Freedom of Expression Institute, Media Monitoring Project and the Media Tenor South Africa. These analysts, researchers and political activists are considered 'largely invisible' (Glenn and Mattes 2012). The experts and analysts are often consulted by both the ruling government and opposition parties in order to critique media coverage at distinct junctures in South Africa's socio-political history, such as the Marikana massacre in 2012 (Duncan 2010, 2013; Duncan and Reid 2013).

A fourth influential body of work within political communication has developed out of the study of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) (1996). Initially this research dealt with issues of narrative and the practical mechanics of setting up such a commission; in other words, the research documented the TRC's procedures and out-comes in a descriptive manner. More recently, though, research has been published on the politics of memory, history and reconciliation in the

democratic public sphere. The studies address various issues, such as, how the forgiveness of the transgressors of violence in the past goes hand in hand with building a stable, transitioning society and thereby encouraging a robust public sphere with active, questioning and critical citizens. It is assumed that attending to past injustices will ideally lead to a reconciled society, while burying these collective and individual traumas would lead to a polarized or schizophrenic society, and public sphere, even delaying transition, thereby jeopardizing the birth of democracy. However, this last assumption is being challenged; in other words, the TRC and its proceedings and findings have recently been met with criticism; and both its agenda and its role have been called into question (Dobell 2007).

Lastly, the theme of new media and ICT and their relation to, and within, political communication has seen a prolific amount of scholarly work published recently. This deals with questions of the Internet functioning as a public sphere; the impact on democratization (Lesame 2005); the use of new media as a form of political communication; the use of social networking sites functioning as agents of change, and even of sub-activism. An example is Bosch's study on the growing use of Facebook by South African youth as a form of 'political sub-activism that works at the margins of the dominant public sphere' (2013: 119). In another study Bosch makes use of the South African student-mobilised campaign Rhodes Must Fall (#RhodesMustFall or #RMF) to explore 'youth activism and counter-memory' as these students campaigned to remove the monumental statue of Cecil John Rhodes, a British imperialist and colonialist. These students argue that the statue promotes institutionalized racism and exclusion.

Political development communication opportunities and challenges in Africa

New technologies have both positively and negatively transformed the dynamics of political communication in twenty-first-century Africa. Take South Africa, a country that is considered well connected digitally in comparison with other nations on the continent. Estimates by Bosch and Mutsvairo (2017) show that up to 7.4 million South Africans have access to Twitter while 8.28 million are subscribed to YouTube, yet exorbitant accessibility costs are normally not put in the frame by technological deterministic evangelists.

Mobile operators claim the loss of potential revenue caused by the lack of 100% rural connectivity leaves the cost of accessing broadband mobile Internet highly expensive and at US\$146 a gigabyte, perhaps one of the most highly priced in the world. Tanzania apparently has the cheapest 1 GB at US\$0.89. In South Africa this is pegged at nearly US\$5, as the South African parliamentary hearings heard in September 2016 in response to the #DataMustFall protests against the colossal costs of wireless data, which took lawmakers by storm across the country. In Zimbabwe, 1 GB cost US\$35 per month. The lack of sustainable competition could be the main reason behind these excessive

Internet costs, with leading telecom firms Vodacom and MTN enjoying a preponderant monopoly that leaves them accounting for a 70% total market share. These costs are a limiting factor to political participation in a highly unequal society such as South Africa, where nearly half of the country's 51.8 million citizens live in poverty. However, we cannot ignore the fact that on the contrary a study of trends in political participation in fifteen African countries concluded that social status or poverty did not influence participation rates (Bratton 2008). Technological advancement has become the focal point for political and economic development in non-Western societies, where basic communication infrastructure is in notably short supply. But the tendency to assume there wasn't technology in Africa before the colonial arrival is worrisome and misleading, as indigenous communication has always prospered. Blake (2006) recommends that African societies should use indigenous communication and traditional cultures to better comprehend their own technological competencies. The preference for Western or Chinese models of technology is hurting Africa's potential. It is also killing opportunities for local initiatives. Traditional chiefs have historically safeguarded and controlled all forms of communication at village or community levels. In emerging systems, local chiefs have lost their political power, with Western-oriented parliamentarians becoming key political representatives.

Traditional equipment such as Zimbabwe's *hwamanda*, which is a side-blown aerophone used primarily as a signaling device during war-time or at traditional dances, no longer carries the same respect it used to as Western technologies are favoured especially by the younger generation. The opportunities presented by modern technologies appeal to nearly everyone, politicians, citizens and media professionals alike, but it cannot be forgotten that they also cripple local initiatives. Africa is haunted by a lack of innovation as more and more people look to the West instead of advancing their own political models. Why should African politicians aspire to attract democracy to their countries when they can adopt simple models that befit their cultural, political and economic circumstances? Botswana is a key success story that we should note. While democratic elections are routinely held, only one party, the Botswana Democratic Party, has been in power since 1961. The political consequences of technological overreliance are also hurting political candidates, who adopt Western ideas such as online campaigning without realising that face-to-face campaigns and rallies remain the most effective way of reaching out to political supporters, especially those living in remote hamlets.

Summary



Africa as a region has its own shared yet sometimes complicated history in addition to very diverse religious and social cultures. Remarkably, and complicating things further, it is possible to discover many cultures or religions within one African country. History is key to understanding the complex African political terrain.

Political communication is a process that is central to political institutions and particularly the traditional news media but increasingly on other media platforms and formats such as social media. Thus, political communication includes both traditional mass media and new media such as social media, and particularly now the interrelationship between old and new media and how they relate to political processes.

Political communication as a field of research deals with the following aspects: the creation, shaping, dissemination, processing and effects of information within the political system and the media system. Thus, it deals with the interplay of communication and politics. It includes the activity of citizens, individual political figures, public and governmental institutions, the media, political campaigns, advocacy groups and social movements. It encompasses the communication from those who govern to those who are governed as well as the debate about the political system and events in the media.

Relations between the media and state players in several post-colonial African countries have always been guarded, with members of the press corps working to actively promote the ruling party in what has been called the Soviet media model. New technologies have both positively and negatively transformed the dynamics of political communication in twenty-first-century Africa.

REFERENCES

Ansu-Kyeremeh, K., & Karikari, K. (1998). *Media Ghana: Ghanaian media overview, practitioners and institutions*. Accra: School of Communication Studies, University of Ghana.

Banda, F. (2006). Commentary: Negotiating distant influences: Globalisation and broadcasting policy reforms in Zambia and South Africa. *Canadian Journal of Communication*, 31(2), 459–467.

Blake, C. (2006). An African nationalist ideology in diaspora and the development quagmire: Political implications. In M. K. Asante & M. Karenga (Eds.), *Handbook of Black Studies*. London: Sage.

Bosch, T. (2013). Youth, Facebook and politics in South Africa. *Journal of African Media Studies*, 5(2), 119–130.

Bosch, T., & Mutsvairo, B. (2017). Pictures, protests and politics: Mapping twitter images during South Africa's fees must fall campaign. *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies*, 38(2), 71–89

- Bratton, M. (2008). Poor people and democratic citizenship in Africa. In A. Krishna (Ed.), *Poverty, participation and democracy: A global perspective*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Chaffee, S. H. (1975). *Political communication*. Beverly Hills, CA: SAGE.
- Hanitzsch, T. (2007). Situating peace journalism in journalism studies: A critical appraisal. *Conflict & Communication Online*, 6(2). Available at http://www.cco.regeneronline.de/2007_2/pdf/hanitzsch.pdf. Accessed 8 October 2016.
- Duncan, J. (2010). Thabo Mbeki and dissent. In D. Glaser (Ed.), *Mbeki and after: Reflections on the legacy of Thabo Mbeki* (pp. 105–127). Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
- Duncan, J. (2013). South African journalism and the Marikana massacre: A case study of an editorial failure. *The Political Economy of Communication*, 1(2), 65–88.
- Duncan, J. (2014). *The rise of the secur-ocrats*. Jacana: Cape Town.
- Duncan, J., & Reid, J. (2013). Toward a measurement tool for the monitoring of media diversity and pluralism in South Africa: A public-centred approach. *Communicatio*, 39(4), 483–500.
- Glenn, I., & Mattes, R. (2012). Political communications in post-apartheid South Africa. In H. Semetko & M. Scammell (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of political communication*. London: Sage Publications.
- Gyimah-Boadi, E. (1998). The rebirth of African liberalism. *Journal of Democracy*, 9(2), 18–31.
- Joseph, R. (1998). Africa, 1990–1997: From Abertura to closure. *Journal of Democracy*, 9(2), 3–17
- Lachenmann, G. (1993). Civil society and social movements in Africa: The case of the peasant movement in Senegal. *The European Journal of Development Research*, 5(2), 68–100.
- Lesame, N. C. (2005). Bridging the digital divide in South Africa. In N. C. Lesame (Ed.), *New media: Technology and policy in developing countries*. Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.
- Marder, M. (1998). Watchdog journalism—arrogance wins? Nieman Report No. 52. Cambridge, MA: Nieman Reports.
- McQuail, D. (1994). *Mass communication theory: An introduction*. London: SAGE.
- Moyo, D. (2005). From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe: Change without change? Broadcasting. In H. Melber (Ed.), *Media, public discourse and political contestation*. Uppsala, Sweden: Nordic Africa Institute.

Mutsvairo, B., & Harris, S. (2016). Rethinking mobile media tactics in pro- tests: A comparative case study of Hong Kong and Malawi. In Ran Wei (Ed.), *Mobile media, civic engagement and civic activism in Asia: Private chat to public communication* (pp. 215–231). New York: Springer.

Mutsvairo, B. and Karam, B. (eds) (2018), *Perspectives on Political Communication in Africa*, London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Norris, P. (2001), Political Communication, Editor(s): Neil J. Smelser, Paul B. Baltes, International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences, Pergamon, 2001, Pages 11631-11640, ISBN 9780080430768, <https://doi.org/10.1016/B0-08-043076-7/04364-3>. (<https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/B0080430767043643>)

Orgeret, Kristin Skare and Rønning, Helge (2020), ‘Political communication in East Africa: An introduction’, *Journal of African Media Studies*, 12:3, pp. 231–240, doi: https://doi.org/10.1386/jams_00021_2

Schatzberg, M. (1993). Power, legitimacy and ‘democratisation’ in Africa. *Africa*, 63(4), 445–461.