

**PARLIAMENT RADIO AS A TOOL FOR PARTICIPATORY  
COMMUNICATION AND GOOD GOVERNANCE: A  
CASE STUDY OF MANDEVU CONSTITUENCY**

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By

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## DECLARATION

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## **ABSTRACT**

In order to make Parliament responsive to the demands of multi-party politics, the Parliament of the Republic of Zambia embarked on an ambitious programme in 1993 to reform and modernize itself for good governance. Parliament Radio was born out of reforms to bridge the felt information gap between parliamentarians and the electorate. However, the question remains: has this station been a tool for participatory communication and has it helped to entrench the tenets of good governance? This case study of Mandevu Constituency is an attempt to investigate whether Parliament Radio has been an effective tool for participatory communication and good governance. Mandevu Constituency was selected because it houses parliament buildings and the radio station. This constituency therefore was within coverage of Parliament Radio from day one. The study used both quantitative and qualitative methods for data collection. Specifically, survey, content analysis and in-depth interviews were used to arrive at the findings. Results of the research reveal that although Parliament Radio is relatively well known among sampled constituents, its listenership is very low and its interaction with consumers of its products is dismal. The study therefore recommends that deliberate publicity plans be developed to engage the constituents in order for the radio station to become a better tool for participatory communication and good governance.

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## **ABBREVIATIONS**

ABC	Australian Broadcasting Corporation
ANC	African National Congress
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BSA	British South Africa
CBC	Commonwealth Broadcasting Association
CPA	Commonwealth Parliamentary Association
CSO	Central Statistical Office
DTR	Development Through Radio
FNDP	Fifth National Development Plan
FP	Federal Party
FOI	Freedom of Information
LCC	Lusaka City Council
Leg Co	Legislative Council
MMD	Movement for Multiparty Democracy
MP	Member of Parliament
NPP	National Progressive Party
PF	Patriotic Front

SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SDA	Seventh Day Adventist
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
UDA	United Democratic Alliance
UNIP	United National Independence Party
UP	United Party
UPND	United Party for National Development
UPP	United Progressive Party
ZNBC	Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation
ZBS	Zambia Broadcasting Services

## **CHAPTER 1**

### **ZAMBIA- LOCATION AND SIZE**

#### **1.0 Introduction**

This chapter gives background information on Zambia *vis-a-vis* its location, size, political – economic history and the development of the press. It sets the context for the study, essential for understanding the institution of Parliament and governance.

Zambia is a landlocked country in South-Central Africa, situated between zero degree and twenty degree longitude and between twenty degree and forty degree latitude (CIA World Fact book, 2009). The country has a total area of 752, 614 square kilometres. 740,724 square kilometres of this area is land and 11,890 square kilometres this covered by water (Ibid.). The land boundaries of Zambia cover a total of 5,664 kilometres. The country is bordered by the following countries with the total border land as indicated: Angola, 1,110 km, Democratic of Congo 1.930 km; Malawi, 837 km; Mozambique, 419 km; Namibia, 233; Tanzania, 338 km; and Zimbabwe, 797 km.

#### **1.1 Brief History**

Cecil Rhodes with his business empire the British South African Company cut a pact with King Lewanika in 1890, which brought this land under the control of his company. With this achieved, Rhodes came to a new agreement in 1891 with the British government. His company was to administer the area from the Zambezi River up to Lake Tanganyika (CIA World Fact book, 2009). From the 1900s, the territory was divided into two protectorates, North-western and North-eastern Rhodesia, each separately administered by the BSA. In 1911 they were merged as Northern Rhodesia, with the capital as Livingstone. In 1924 the territory became a British protectorate. This was the beginning of colonisation.

### **1.1.2 Colonisation**

During the colonial period, most Africans were confined to the rural areas as the colonialists introduced a pass system. This system required Africans to carry passes authorizing them to live in towns. However, demand for African labour on the Copperbelt lead to the introduction of a tax system to compel men to seek paid work (Kasoma, 1986). This proved to be a blessing in disguise. For the first time in the history of the country, Africans worked side by side with people from different ethnic groups. “Consequently tribal barriers started cracking” (Ibid. 11). This was to help political organisation later.

The first political organisation of the Africans was around social welfare societies and religious movements to fight for their rights. They organised strikes (Simutanyi, 2007).

“African nationalism in Zambia emerged in 1948 when the African National Congress (A.N.C) was formed from the welfare societies” (Kasoma, 1986, p.14). Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula became its leader in 1951, while Kenneth Kaunda was the general secretary.

For eleven years, the country was part of the federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, with southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and Nyasaland (Malawi) being the other countries in the federation which lasted from 1953 to 1964.

### **1.1.3 Independence and First Republic**

At independence in 1964, Zambia was a multiparty state with UNIP as the ruling party, which faced little but persistent opposition from the ANC. Within the first republic (1964-1972), to smaller parties, the United Party (UP) and United Progressive Party (UPP) were created, but with a very short life span as they were banned. Among other reasons, these parties were banned for allegedly organising along ethnic lines. ANC on the other hand failed to command a nation –wide following. The ANC faced extreme pressure for national unity after skirmishes between its supporters and UNIP’s. This led to the integration of ANC into UNIP in 1972 through the Choma declaration. In 1972, the constitution was amended making UNIP the sole political party in the land.



Zambia inherited wealth in foreign reserves at independence, making it one to the wealthiest African countries. This coupled with high copper prices on the world market enabled Kaunda and his government to make steady economic improvements (Ibid.).

#### **1.1.4 Second Republic and Economic Decline**

In the early 1970s, Zambia's economy took a down turn caused by a sudden drop in the price of the country's major export, copper, on the world market. At the same time the price of oil soared. The economic situation was further compounded by Smiths' Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) in 1965 and the subsequent imposition of sanctions on Southern Rhodesia by the United Nations. This meant imports became very expensive as most were transported by air (Mulenga, 2004). By the late 1980s, Zambia's foreign debt had soared. Kaunda adopted Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) under pressure from the IMF, but to no avail. With copper prices falling, subsidies on mealie meal-Zambia's staple food were cut leading to riots in major towns on the Copperbelt and in Lusaka. Mulenga (2004) aptly observes:

The protests later ballooned into calls for multiparty elections and demands for Kaunda to step down. In a gesture he termed, a call for reconciliation, Kaunda pardoned all political prisoners including eight men who had been convicted of plotting to overthrow him in 1980 (Mulenga, 200, p.1)

Kaunda succumbed to public pressure and in 1990, the constitution was changed to legalise multi-party politics. A year later, elections were held and the Kaunda era came to an end after a resounding defeat from Fredrick Chiluba, a former trade unionist.

#### **1.1.5 Third Republic and Media Liberalisation**

With the coming of political pluralism in the early 1990s, the media landscape in the country changed. The country now sought to adhere to principles of pluralism and democracy brought about by the new waves of political pluralism across Africa after the

collapse of the Soviet Union bloc. The country transited from a closed one party political system to a multiparty system. These changes reverberated in the airwaves of Zambia.

The government of Mwanawasa passed the Amendment Act of the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation Act No. 20 of 2002 and the Independent Broadcasting Act of 2002 to liberalise the broadcasting sector to private investment.

The objectives of the ZNBC Act of 2002 were: (1) remove regulatory and licensing function of broadcasting industry from ZNBC (2) Provide for the licensing of television receivers by ZNBC and empower it to collect licence fees in order to broaden its financial base (ibid, p. 15). This was a milestone in the broadcasting industry because the Minister of information and broadcasting lost licensing powers, authority to hire and fire a director or to give general or specific directions to ZNBC. However: ...

Despite the fact that the ZNBC Act was amended towards the end of 2002, apart from the introduction of payment of television licence fees, the extensive amendments of the ZNBC Act were up to the end of 2006 not implemented. This means that as at the end of the said year, ZNBC was not yet converted into a public service broadcaster and continued dismally to be largely a mouth-piece of government (Matibini, 2006, 61).

At the time of writing this report, the above situation had not changed.

It is imperative to note that the IBA Act of 2002 became law almost at the same time as the ZNBC Act. One of the significant features of the IBA is that it is the licensing authority for broadcasting services in Zambia. The Act provides that IBA shall not be subject to the direction of any person or authority. "This provision encapsulates the notion that regulatory bodies should be independent of both government and broadcasting operators" (ibid, 80). This legislation is yet to be implemented as well.

## **1.2 Media History in Zambia**

All forms of media are shaped by political, economic; education and social conditions, but the media can also help shape things (Kasoma, 2002). This has been the case for Zambia. It is worth of note that the media has endured difficult situations in Zambia. Like in most African countries, the earliest newspapers were aimed at the small white community. Africans were ignored, except in so far as they could be depicted as criminals or in other negative ways. Thus, when Africans started canvassing for change in 1950s through to the 1960s, they could not count on newspapers, radio or television to advance their cause. During the federation days, the federal government controlled the radio and television outlets, and used the media to vilify black nationalists, while perpetuating the views of the federal government (Ibid).

At independence, the Zambia Broadcasting Services (ZBS) came into being as a single - channel television outlet, loosely modelled after the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). Being modelled after the BBC meant it was supposed to be autonomous, nonpartisan, and objective. But in practice ZBS quickly followed in the path trodden by other broadcasting houses in most African countries -it became a state-run institution that tendered to report news only from the government and ruling party's perspective. "Kaunda and the ruling party saw the broadcast media as handmaidens of the government and UNIP, which was shared by many African leaders" (Kasoma, 2002, p. 34). Views of the opposition were blacked out, as they were considered enemies.

The change from Kaunda and UNIP to Chiluba at the dawn of the third republic in 1991 was more than symbolic. It seemed to signal a major ideological change. The MMD, coming to power on an 'hour -for-change' platform took a different stance by promising to restore and respect press freedom. By 1994, for example, the government announced that those interested in starting private radio and television stations could apply for license (Ibid). Under the MMD and Chiluba, ZNBC television and radio programmes were opened up to government and opposition parties. News items critical to government were no longer automatically banned. Despite these changes, the government was

reluctant to grant TV licenses to opposition parties. Hence, according to Banda (2006), changes instituted by the government were largely cosmetic as government continued to control ZNBC.

### **1.2.1 TV Broadcasting**

Despite the glorious period ushered by the third republic, ZNBC was still the country's sole television broadcast although there was a change in government from restrictive UNIP to supposedly press-freedom-committed MMD.

As things stand today, there are a number, of private broadcasting organisations such as Trinity Broadcasting Network, Muvi TV, Mobi TV and CBC Television, all serving the central region of Zambia. The government amended the ZNBC act of 1987 to allow the corporation to collect TV license fees so as to strengthen its financial standing (Press Reference, 2007). This should have made the corporation more inclined towards being a public broadcaster, the hand of the government, however, is still visible as ZNBC is used for government propaganda (Banda, 2006).

### **1.2.2 Radio Broadcasting**

Since the liberalisation of the airwaves, a number of community and private radio stations have been established across the country.

The following are some of the radio stations that have emerged. Lusaka Province: Radio Phoenix (private), Hone FM and UNZA (community), Yatsani Radio, (Catholic/community); Radio Christian Voice in Zambia, 5-FM (private), choice FM (private), and Parliament radio (Public).

Eastern Province has Radio Maria (Catholic/community), Breeze FM, Pasma (community); Chikaya and Petauke explorer both private stations.

Copperbelt Province has Icengelo (Catholic/community), While Liseli (private) and Oblate (Catholic/community) radio stations are in Mongu Province .

Yangeni (Catholic/community) and Mano (community) are in Luapula and Northern Provinces respectively.

Southern Province has Chikuni (Catholic/community), Mosi-o-Tunya (Catholic) and Zambezi FM (private).

Maranatha (SDA/community) is in Central Province.

The above scenario presents a particularly interesting observation: the proliferation of Catholic/community run radio stations. This seems to be anchored on the Catholic Church's desire to contribute to the social development of the country through good governance and social justice. Kasoma (2002), considered the obtaining situation as a deliberate government ploy to appear liberalising the media industry while keeping strong control. This does not augur well for media diversity.

### **1.2.3 Brief History of Parliament Radio**

The history of Parliament Radio is closely tied up with parliamentary reforms embarked on by the Parliament of the Republic of Zambia in 1993. The re-introduction of multiparty politics in 1991 necessitated profound changes to align the procedures of Parliament with the demands of plural politics. These reforms hinged on making Parliament more effective in enhancing accountability, transparency and good governance.

On 3<sup>rd</sup> February, 1999, the Speaker appointed an eleven member committee to study and make recommendations for reforms in five areas:

1. The Committee system.
2. The legislative process.
3. The administration of the National Assembly.
4. Support services to Parliament and its members.

## The Member-Constituency Relations

(National Assembly, 2000, p. 3).

It is instructive to note that under Member-Constituency Relations, the committee identified three important aspects for reform: Establishment of Constituency offices, parliamentary Communications/ outreach and capacity to deliver constituent services. The justifications for the above aspects were that:

Constituency offices with appropriate staff offer both Members of Parliament and constituents an official place to exchange ideas and information vital to carry out the representative function of an elected member. Secondly, a well-informed electorate is an important component of any healthy, stable democracy. Communication and outreach efforts are an effective and important ways of both disseminating and receiving information (ibid. P. 3).

In the light of the foregoing, the committee recommended among other things, that Parliament Radio and /or television coverage of sessions of Parliament be instituted (Ibid, 3). With this recommendation, the process to establish Parliament Radio was set in motion.

In 2002, the National Assembly of Zambia and a consortium of co-operating partners signed a statement of intent on Parliamentary Reform Project (PRP). The outlined stages of PRP by the National Assembly of Zambia were:

- PRPI –a period of designing and planning of the project: November 2002-November 2003
- PRPII –Implementation of the project: November 2003-June 2007 (National Assembly of Zambia, 2008, p. 2).

Parliament Radio came on air in 2004, on FM 92.6 in Lusaka. The initial coverage area was a 20 kilometre radius. By the time PRPII ended in 2007, Parliament Radio was broadcasting to the entire line of railway, from Chilabombwe to Livingstone.

Located on the second floor of the main parliament building, the radio station's *modus operandi* is narrowly defined to broadcast live parliamentary debates from the Chamber. This meant that the station is alive only when the House is in session. Such mode of operation limited the extent to which Parliament Radio could be fully deployed as a tool for opening up Parliament to the people (interview with Parliament Radio staff, June 7, 2009).

Thus, from March 2009, the station begun to broadcast twice weekly, i.e. Tuesday 9 00 to 13 00hrs and Friday 14 00 to 17 00hrs, when Parliament is on recess. Among the programmes aired are: "Questions on Parliament" –designed to offer an opportunity to listeners to ask questions on Parliament, "The Zambian Parliament" –focuses on giving information on the operations of Parliament and "Know Your MP" –profiles MPs and gives information on developmental programmes taking place in the constituencies (interview with Parliament Radio staff, June 7, 2009).

In terms of announcers and producers, Parliament Radio has a skeleton staff of four (see appendix). One can appreciate the obtaining situation given that the core mandate of the station is broadcasting live debates from the Chambers, as noted earlier.

However, it should be stressed that from inception in 2004, it was planned that Parliament Radio would be a national broadcaster. As such, the following conditions were set for broadcasters and rebroadcast of proceedings and excerpts of the National Assembly:

1. Broadcasting and recording may only be made from the FM frequencies on which Parliament Radio airs proceedings on the House or from the feed provided by the station on the parliamentary web-site, [www.parliament.gov.zm](http://www.parliament.gov.zm).

2. Broadcasts shall be used only for the purposes of fair and accurate reporting of proceedings, and shall not be used for:
  - (a) Political party advertising or election campaigns;
  - (b) Satire or ridicule; or
  - (c) Commercial sponsorship or commercial advertising.
3. All reports of proceedings shall be such as to provide a balance presentation of differing views.
4. Excerpts of proceedings which are subsequently withdrawn may not be re-broadcast.
5. All laid down rules by the Speaker of the National Assembly, in respect of broadcasting shall be observed (National Assembly of Zambia, 2000).



## **CHAPTER 2**

### **PARLIAMENT RADIO AND GOOD GOVERNANCE**

#### **2.0 Introduction**

This chapter focuses on Parliament Radio and good governance. It gives a history of the Zambian Parliament, its functions and how this august House has related with the media in the past up to the present. Constitutive elements of good governance are also highlighted and discussed.

#### **2.1 Brief History of Parliament**

The history of the Zambian Parliament has a direct link to the Advisory Council that was first established in 1918 and was composed of five elected members. The task of this advisory body was giving a limited voice to white settlers:

As an Advisory Council, its mandate was to provide the White Settler community with a limited voice in the administration of the colony. When in 1924 the Colonial office took over direct administration of the territory, the Advisory Council was renamed Legislative Council (Leg Co). The Leg Co generally represented Imperial interests in London and local Settler interests because from its inception it was established in response to settler demands for responsible government in the colony (Phiri et al., 2004, p. 1).

It is noteworthy that in 1948, two more Africans were named to the Legislative Council. This was the beginning of the recognition that Africans needed representation in the Legislation (Press Reference, 2007). More representation followed in the 1962 legislative elections. For the first time universal adult suffrage was used. UNIP won 14, ANC 7 and FP 16. With combined more seats than the whites' party, UNIP and ANC formed a coalition government, with Kenneth Kaunda as Prime Minister (Phiri et al., 2004).

On 28<sup>th</sup> January, 1964, Northern Rhodesia held definitive general elections that marked the terminal phase of colonial. Three political parties participated. A total of 75 seats were reserved for Africans. UNIP won 65 seats on the African roll, ANC the remaining 10. NPP won all the 5 reserved for whites. These elections saw the formation of the last Legislative Council.

Later in May 1964, the British government called for the Northern Rhodesia Independence Conference at the Marlborough House in London. The three political parties –UNIP, ANC and NPP- with seats in the Legislative Council were represented. At this conference, an independence constitution was concluded. It provided for a legislative council made up of 80 representatives (Ibid).

“On 24<sup>th</sup> October, 1964, Northern Rhodesia became the independent state of Zambia and a republic within the commonwealth” (Phiri et al., 2004, 3). Thus the Legislative Council was renamed National Assembly and consisted 75 elected and 5 nominated representatives. When it met for the first time on 14<sup>th</sup> December, 1964, its first business was to elect its first speaker. Wesley Pillsbury Nyirenda took over from Sir Thomas William as speaker (Ibid).

After independence, two significant developments influenced the direction of the Parliament of Zambia. The first was the referendum of 1969 which supported the formation of a one party state. With this status quo, the writing was on the wall when in 1973, the constitution was amended leading to the Republic of Zambia becoming a one party state. From then on, all MPs in Parliament were from UNIP.

The second landmark development occurred 18 years later. In 1991, with winds of change blowing across Africa after the collapse of the Soviet Bloc and a deepening economic crisis in Zambia, the constitution was amended to re-introduce multiparty politics.

After the 1991 Presidential and general elections, opposition voices were once again heard in the Zambian Parliament. At the time of writing this report, Parliament, consisted

of members from various parties, majority being MMD (74), PF (42) and UDA –an alliance between UNIP and UPND -27 (National Assembly, 2007).

### 2.1.1 Functions of Parliament

Parliament or legislature is one of the three organs of government, the other being the executive and judiciary

The following are the core functions of Parliament:

- Legislation
- Oversight
- Representation

The **Legislative** role entails enacting, repealing and amending laws. This is a key function of parliament (Basedau, 2005). Before becoming a law, a Bill passes through the following stages:

- First reading –The Bill is formally introduced by reading it to the House without any debate, by the minister moving it if it is a public Bill or a member if it is a private Bill.
- Second reading –The Bill is explained to the House, followed by general debate on it.
- Committee stage –The Bill is subjected to detailed examination, debate and amendments if any.
- Report stage –If a Bill has been amended at committee stage, the report of the committee stage is presented with the amendments. This is an opportunity to further fine tune the Bill by amending it, if necessary.
- Third reading –The Bill is presented to the House for final debate and/or amendments (National Assembly, 2007, p. 2).

After passing through these stages, it goes to the president for assent. Thereafter it is a law of the land. However, should the president withhold assent, the Bill is sent back to parliament. After reconsideration, the Bill is sent back to the president. If he still refuses to sign the Bill, Parliament has to be dissolved and fresh presidential and general elections held.

The **oversight** role of parliament means it has a duty to scrutinise the operations of the executive; government departments and constitutional bodies. Parliament does this through, among others, reviewing of annual reports and committee sittings. This role is vital as it is the anchor for checks and balances hence practices for good governance. This role has a major bearing on development because in essence, parliament monitors development programmes of the government.

Legislative oversight is the investigatory, monitoring and evaluation role of Parliament, pertaining to scrutiny of both previously passed legislation and progress implemented by the government. The goal is to establish that the original intent has been followed, implementation completed and compliance exact (SADC Parliamentary Forum, 2007, p. 2).

In this context, one can note that legislative foresight pertains to the anticipatory of the legislature in predicting and preparing for approaching issues, challenges and opportunities (Ibid). Both oversight and foresight serve a vital role in ensuring accountability.

The **representative** function entails that “parliamentarians have to articulate and represent the interests of their electorate”, (Basedau, 2005, 8). Since parliamentarians hold their positions in trust, representation is about managing that trust. Within the institutions of government, parliament is the representative body through which the will of the people finds expression, in which their diversity is manifested and in which the differences between them are debated and negotiated (ibid).

The representative role of parliament has been a subject of debate concerning the rate and depth of representation. At least two theories on representation have emerged.

The first theory is the “**mandate theory**”. It is espoused by Held (1996) and Ropelato (2007). It holds that elected representatives must directly represent the views of their constituents –the electorate. The theory defines representation as limited mandate in which the representative is empowered to speak or decide in particular ways. Ropelato contends that what defines the representative system – the fundamental political relationship is the vertical relationship that arises from the bottom to the top. It means those who are elected assume a responsibility to care for the interests of the electorate throughout their mandate, rather than a scenario where citizens’ sovereignty is expressed at the moment of voting only followed by long periods of political alienation (Ibid).

The second theory is the “**independency theory**”, which holds that a representative must be allowed to initiate perspectives and reflect views and opinions that need not necessary only reflect those of the constituents. This is supported by Fakir (2003). He argues:

A representative be entitled to, and in effect has the right (by virtue of election or appointment) to exercise independent judgement during the cause of deliberations and process that accompanies the law and policy making function of the state. Hence individually and collectively, the elected representative determines the common good (Fakir, 2003, p. 33).

It is evident according to this school of thought that a representative does not need to consult the electorate before taking a position on an issue.

### **2.1.2 Relationship of Parliament with the Media**

Parliament uses the media to communicate its decisions, positions or findings on particular issues. The media constitutes any essential means for informing citizens about public affairs, and a key channel of communication between parliament and public. In their investigative role, the media have always been seen as a ‘watchdog’ against all

kinds of abuse (Beetham, 2006). How well the media fulfil these functions is vital for the quality of democracy and ultimately development. Ideally the media is not suppose to merely 'parrot' what comes from parliament without appraising or critiquing the information or the parliamentarians' line of debate. This can, if not well harnessed, be a source of tension. How has the Zambian parliament fared regarding its relationship with the media? This is an important question as the answer to it will hinge on information flows from, and public perception of, the institution. An examination of a few cases will be instructive.

The *Times of Zambia* (hereafter *Times*) was on the receiving end of the wrath of parliament in 1969 when it referred to parliament as a 'rubber stamp' This was after an unusual parliament procedure in which a Bill that had been rejected by parliament was re-introduced and passed (Kasoma, 1986). *Times* in an editorial attacked this move by stating:

... unfortunately it has made it abundantly clear, even to laymen like us, how manipulative the laws it passes are. Especially if the manipulation is being done by those who drafted the law. For yesterday's Parliament underlined one thing. It was the fact that it no longer matters about saying anything in the House for or against any bill, because if it is defeated it will be brought back until the government win it... Our 85 members on Government benches could surely have found more justified methods of getting what they wanted without the apparent denigration of the most important institution in our country (*Times*, 28 January 1970 editorial cited by Kasoma, 1986, p. 152).

This position did not stand in good taste with Parliament. The editor was summoned and dressed down by the speaker. Do the media have the right to report on all goings-on in Parliament? This issue was the bone of contention when the *Times* was accused of reporting on 'dead issues' by the speaker (Ibid). Dead issues referred to matters ruled out

of order. In response, the *Times* carried an editorial challenging that Zambia has the right to know truthfully local and international events.

Our position is firm. We will not be intimidated nor deflected from our task. We will go on reporting speeches and events as they happen. We will continue our aim of presenting a balanced reporting on news which is in the national interest... Zambia is not a dictatorship. Dictators start by muzzling the Press. Zambia is a participatory democracy. Once the Press becomes the tool of special interests then democracy and freedom are in jeopardy. We will not sit back and allow that to happen (*Times*, 9.12. 77 editorial cited by Kasoma, 1986).

This acrimonious relationship between the *Times* and Parliament dragged on with Parliament accusing the paper of having ulterior motives. Editors were on numerous occasions summoned, admonished, threatened with imprisonment and fines.

In 1996, *The Post* got into serious problems with Parliament. For 24 days in March 1996, editor Fred M'membe and journalist Bright Mwape went into hiding after being found guilty by the Zambian Parliament. The sin of these journalists was to write and publish articles in which then vice president Godfrey Miyanda was criticised for apparently calling for the resignation of a Supreme Court judge during a debate in Parliament. The vice president raised a point of order against the said articles. In his ruling, the Speaker found the two in contempt of parliament and sentenced them to indefinite detention.

On March 4, M'membe and Mwape surrendered to Parliamentary authorities, explaining that they would not apologise to the House. M'membe pleaded with the speaker of the National Assembly to absolve Sichone, who remains in hiding with her three-month-old infant, of blame. Attorneys for *The Post* have petitioned the High Court, challenging the constitutionality of the National Assembly Powers and Privileges Act (Press Freedom Alert, 12 March 1996).

In the same vein, Amnesty International made an interesting observation: “the charges of contempt of Parliament were reported by the aggrieved party, in this case the vice president Miyanda, who is also the (privileges) committee’s deputy chair” (Amnesty International News release 26 March 1996) .

It is significant to stress that Parliament and the media have responsibilities to their constituencies which are not mutually exclusive. Pitt (2002) rightly observes that both are essential actors in a working democracy. Parliamentarian as people’s representatives possess legitimacy, the media on the other hand helps the community in deciding whether to support a candidate in the first place and whether to renew their member of parliament’s mandate at the following election. Thus the media helps by supplying information to the electorate about the actions and opinion of their representative. It is of particular import that Parliament recognises that one of the roles of the media as the fourth estate is to keep parliament in check. “Criticism and a degree of cynicism” are part of the media’s role to the public. This position is also espoused by Beetham (2003):

As the democratic embodiment of the public’s political views, each parliament must respect the right of individuals and particularly the media to criticise its role, integrity and performance. It must react to such criticism with argument and through its own conduct rather than with punishment. (Beetham, 2003, p. 1).

It is inevitable that there will be some tension between parliamentarians and the media given the different purposes and cultures of journalists and politicians. Yet they both need each other, and have everything to gain from seeking to collaborate in ways in which parliament is presented to the public. The public, for their part have an interest in maximum openness if they are to be actively informed about the activities of their elected representatives (Ibid).



### 2.1.3 Parliamentary Reforms

Parliamentary reforms rolled out in order to meet the demands of democratic political dispensation *vis-a-vis* engaging more the public in deliberations, legislation and information dissemination. The re-introduction of multiparty politics in 1991 necessitated profound changes to align the procedures of Parliament with the demands of plural politics (*Times* 23 September, 2004). The reform programme was therefore conceived with the objective of addressing some limitations which existed in the institution. This included enhancing Parliamentary oversight role, and also of increasing public participation in the affairs of the institution. These reforms hinged on making Parliament more effective in enhancing accountability, transparency and good governance in the management of public affairs. The results of the reforms have been:

1. The introduction of a new departmentally –related committee system which provides oversight to all government ministries and departments
2. The referring of Bills after the first reading to relevant committees for detailed consideration before general debate and the opening up of the committee meetings to the members of the public and the press.
3. The introduction of live radio broadcast of Parliamentary debates on FM frequency to cover the line of railway from Livingston to Chililabombwe – Mansa and Kasama started receiving the signal in March, 2009.
4. The creation of a website: [www.parliament.gov.za](http://www.parliament.gov.za) and the relaxation of the dress code for members of the public visiting National Assembly (*Times* 23 September, 2004).

It is evident from the foregoing that the introduction of Parliament Radio in Zambia is within the ambit of larger parliamentary reforms targeted at bridging the information gap between the electorate and their representatives. It is an attempt to bring people in the

know about parliamentary proceedings. For Parliament to be 'open' means most obviously, that the proceedings are physically open to the public. However, in this era of heightened security especially after September 11, it may not always be practical. It is equally impractical for reasons of space, for citizens to crowd themselves in parliament. Issues of bread and butter have their own toll on people's time. This leaves the media, the peoples' 'eyes and ears' to be there.

Beetham (2006) makes an interesting observation that parliaments as an institution and politicians as a group do not rate highly in public esteem in many countries. This is, in part, because of the one-sided way in which they are often presented in the media. "The media tend to focus more on proceeding which are adversarial and on matters such as travel and expenses" (ibid, 2). In another breath, parliamentarians contribute to their own negative image as self-serving elite, being more responsive to partisan interest than to their own constituents.

In an opinion survey conducted in 1999, only 23% of Zambians trust parliament as an institution. "A majority of respondents felt they do not have enough information about politics (63%), and an even larger number cannot understand what goes on in politics and government" (Simutanyi, 2002, 8). Parliament Radio is relevant in this scenario because it an avenue for bridging the information gap between members of parliament and government on one side and the public on the other. Furthermore, it is a vehicle parliamentarians can use to give their electors their side of the story. To hear MPs debate, and to know what goes on in the House. It can be an interactive channel of communication between the people's representatives and the represented. For Beetham (2006), this radio is an empowerment tool to the voters. He rationalised it thus:

The ability of the broadcast media to transmit live events allows listeners to become virtual partners to those events. Live Parliamentary broadcast, in this context, provide an opportunity for the constituents to appraise the conduct of their elected representatives. No doubt, such an appraisal

by electors is essential to develop effective and accountable representation in the democratic governance. It also ensures the right of the people to receive diversity of viewpoints on important political issues and the freedom to seek information that directly affects them (Beetham, 2006, p. 6).

Parliament Radio can also be a tool for good governance if it avails the public timely information which is pertinent in decision-making process on various developmental programmes. Raine (2003) posits that greater access of the people to information is essential for the advancement of the democratic process and for the development of a society, which understands and cherishes the rights that democracy preserves.

## **2.2 Good Governance**

The term governance emerged in the development community in 1980s to refer to overall institutional and governing architecture of a country (Africa Research Group, 2004). Governance according to the United Nations (UN) means the process of decision-making and the process by which decisions are implemented (UNESCAP, 2006). Governance involves the analysis of processes and systems operating in a country, such as the government itself, financial institutions, political parties and the media (ibid).

Good governance is a type of government that embodies eight specific characteristics, seen as ideal in governance. Good governance embodies processes that are participatory, consensus-oriented, accountable, transparent responsive, effective and efficient, equitable and inclusive; and which follow the rule of law.

### **2.2.1 Constitutive Elements of Good Governance**

The following are the eight characteristics of good governance as defined by the UN.

#### **2.2.2 Accountability**

This is a key requirement of good governance and encompasses government and private institutions. Who is accountable to who depends on whether decisions or actions taken are internal or external to an institution. "In general, an organisation is accountable to those who will be affected by its decisions or actions" (UNESCAP, 2006, p. 2). In this

study, government is accountable to its citizens. For accountability to be enforced, it requires transparency and the rule of law.

### **2.2.3 Consensus-Oriented**

Good governance entails mediation of the different interests in society to reach a broad consensus on what is the interest of the whole community how this can be achieved. The UN further holds that consensus requires a broad and long term perspective on what is needed for sustainable human development and how to achieve such development (ibid).

### **2.2.4 Effectiveness and efficiency**

Good governance means that processes and institutions produce results that meet the needs of society while making the best use of the resources at their disposal. It is notable that the concept of good governance also covers the sustainable use of natural resources and the protection of the environment.

### **2.2.5 Equity and Inclusiveness**

The well being of society depends on ensuring that all its members feel that they have a stake in it and do not feel excluded from mainstream of society. This requires that all groups, but more so the most vulnerable, have opportunities to improve or maintain their well being. In this regard, parliament radio can be the link between various interest groups and the key decision makers- the governors.

### **2.2.6 Participation**

Participation by both men and women is a cornerstone of good governance. Participation could either be direct or through legitimate intermediate institutions or representatives. The UN is cognisant that representative democracy does not necessarily mean that the concerns of the most vulnerable in society would be taken into consideration in decision-making. Hence it posits that "Participation need to be informed and organised, which requires freedom of association and expression and an organised civil society.

### **2.2.7 Responsiveness**

Good governance requires that institutions and processes try to serve all stakeholders within reasonable timeframe. Undue delays in service delivery may be a recipe for corruption.

### **2.2.8 Rule of Law**

Good governance needs a fair legal framework that is enforced impartially. It also requires full protection of human rights, particularly those of minorities. The impartiality of the judiciary is cardinal in the enforcement of the laws. The police service must equally be impartial and incorruptible (p.3).

### **2.2.9 Transparency**

This means that decisions made and their implementation are achieved in a manner that follows rules and regulations. “It also means that information is freely available and directly accessible to those who will be affected by such decisions and their enforcement” (ibid, p. 3). Transparency entails that enough information is provided in easily understandable forms and media.

### **2.3 Statement of Problem**

The introduction of Parliament Radio in Zambia was meant to bridge the information gap between the electorate and the parliamentarians, and so make the electorate better informed about policies and priorities of government. On the hand, it was to make MPs aware of people’s concerns and articulate them well in the House. Parliament Radio offers a good platform for the exchange of ideas. Furthermore, communication has the capacity to change attitudes, values and behaviours. Lack of communication leads to ignorance, uncritical and passive citizens. Priorities of local communities get superseded by priorities of the central government. The question therefore is (1) to what extent is Parliament Radio, located in Mandevu Constituency, participatory in its programming? (2) Does it address core issues of good governance? This researcher had a hunch that Parliament Radio does not interact much with residents of the constituency where it is located and does not engage local communities its programming. This ignorance of the station and non involvement by the people in programmes renders the station less beneficial to the very people it is supposed to serve.

The researcher hopes the findings of this study will contribute to making Parliament Radio a more viable station in the democratic development of this country, anchored on good governance.

### **2.3.1 Rationale**

The above scenario calls for a study of how Parliament Radio is being used to highlight the topical issue of good governance in its programming. In the current democratic dispensation, good governance is closely tied to transparency and accountability.

This research will show how Parliament Radio can, through participatory communication strategies contribute to good governance. The researcher is aware that an in-depth study on parliament radio has not been done. Due to this lack of research on the station, people who are supposed to be the beneficiaries may actual be missing out because they may not even be aware of the existence of this station. Parliament radio is located in Mandevu constituency as noted earlier. This means the people of this constituency have been within the coverage area from the time the station was launched. The findings of this research, it is hoped, will contribute to the body of knowledge on the use of parliament radio for the furtherance of good governance.

### **2.3.2 Objectives**

The objectives of this study are:

1. To establish levels of awareness about the existence of parliament radio in Mandevu Constituency.
2. To measure the listenership of parliament radio.
3. To determine how participatory parliament radio is in its programming.
4. To determine if parliament radio helps in educating people on good governance issues.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.0 Introduction**

The research employs the triangulation approach espoused by scholars as ideal to take care of various inherent research shortcomings (Cresswell, 1998). According to Yin (1984), triangulation is the application and combination of several research methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon. Yin further posits that triangulation is good in that:

1. It can be employed in both quantitative (validation) and qualitative (inquiry) studies.
2. It is an appropriate strategy of finding the credibility of qualitative analysis.
3. It is an alternative to ‘traditional criteria like reliability and validity’
4. It is the preferred line in the social sciences.

#### **3.1 Research Questions**

The following questions guided this research:

Are the people of Mandevu Constituency aware of the existence of Parliament Radio?

1. What sort of people listen to parliament radio in Mandevu Constituency?
2. In what ways is Parliament Radio addressing issues of good governance?
3. What procedures are used by Parliament Radio to design messages or programmes on good governance?
4. What type of audiences does the station focus on?

5. How participatory is this station in its programming?
6. How and to what extent, does the station integrate the interests of its audience in designing messages?

### **3.2 Population**

The population on which the researcher did this study consisted of people living within Mandevu constituency, totalling **200,427** (Central Statistics Office, 2006). The target population included residents aged 18 years and above estimated at **82, 981** (LCC Delimitation information, 2006). These were chosen because the researcher believed they were the optimal group to provide information for the study.

### **3.3 Data Collecting Methods**

The following methods were employed in data collection:

1. Quantitative survey by administering structured questionnaires
2. Content analysis of recorded radio broadcasts
3. In-depth interviews

### **3.4 Quantitative Survey**

This involved 100 structured questionnaires that were administered to respondents in order to establish their participation in the affairs of parliament radio. The sample was carefully selected from the target population that was defined. The survey was used because it allowed for large amounts of data to be gathered with relative ease. This is attested to by Wimmer and Dominick:

The survey technique allows researchers to examine many variables (demographics and life-style information, attitudes, intentions and so on) and to use multivariate statistics to analyse the data (Wimmer and Dominick, 1997, p.14).



The following were the steps taken:

- (i) The population of Mandevu Constituency was divided into three clusters; low density wards, high density wards and undifferentiated wards comprising both low and high density.
- (ii) The total number of the population over 18 years of age in Mandevu Constituency is 82, 601 (Lusaka City Council Delimitation Information, 2006) and the total population for the constituency is 200, 427 (Central Statistical Office, 2006).
- (iii) Different townships were categorised and named as low, high density or farming community. Simple random sampling was used to determine areas that were representative of other township in the category.
- (iv) The researcher did another random sampling to select the names of streets in areas that were sampled within each township.
- (v) After the above, the systematic random sampling method was used to collect data.  $K = N/n$  formula was applied ( $K$  = interval,  $N$  = total population,  $n$  = sample size from each township).
- (vi) To choose the starting point in each street, random sampling was used.
- (vii) In the event a home had more than one eligible respondent, a quick random sampling was done on the spot.
- (viii) The researcher used a combination of multi-stage cluster sampling procedure, followed by systematic sampling at the level of wards.

Table 1: **High density wards**

<b>High Density Wards</b>	<b>Sample</b>	<b>Actual Population</b>	<b>Questionnaires</b>
Raphael Chota	17,203	54, 243	20
Justine Kabwe	13,188	33, 516	16
Chaisa	9, 739	24, 656	12
Mpulungu	8, 981	14, 602	11
<b>Total</b>	<b>49, 113</b>	<b>127, 017</b>	<b>59</b>

Source: Central Statistics Office, 2006 and LCC Delimitation information 2006

$49133/82601 \times 100 = 59$  **Questionnaires for high density wards.**

Table 2: **Low density wards**

<b>LOW DENSITY WARD</b>	<b>SAMPLE</b>	<b>ACTUAL POPULATION</b>	<b>QUESTIONNAIRES</b>
MULUNGUSHI	3,836	6,683	5
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>3,836</b>	<b>6,683</b>	<b>5</b>

Source: Central Statistics Office, 2006 and LCC Delimitation information 2006

$3836/82601 \times 100 = 5$  **QUESTIONNAIRES for low density wards.**

Table 3: **Undifferentiated wards (comprising both high and low density areas)**

<b>WARD</b>	<b>SAMPLE</b>	<b>ACTUAL POPULATION</b>	<b>QUESTIONNAIRES</b>
ROMA	13,556	32,322	16
NGWERERE	16,476	34,405	20
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>30,032</b>	<b>66,727</b>	<b>36</b>

Source: Central Statistics Office, 2006 and LCC Delimitation information 2006

For each of the low, high and undifferentiated wards, the appropriate township/compound within the wards was randomly selected to ensure that each had a non-zero chance of being selected. Determining where the questionnaire was to be first administered, was randomly done.

### **3.5 Limitation**

The researcher was not attached to Parliament Radio but depended on literature from the Parliament Library, personal interviews with presenters, producers, the research department of Parliament and recorded broadcasts. This denied the researcher the opportunity for direct observation of the *modus operandi*.

### **3.6 Content Analysis**

The content analysis method was used to objectively analyse the recorded programmes. This helped to link cause (programme content) to effects (of quantitative survey). Further, content analysis consisted of all broadcasts. These were recorded for an hour on a predetermined sequence of every other day when parliament was in session, for ten days. It included debates, ministerial statements, and questions for oral answer.

Actual days on which recordings were done are:

**Table 4: Actual days on which recordings were done are**

Date	Order Paper
27 <sup>th</sup> January, 2009	Ministerial statement, Questions for oral answer
29 <sup>th</sup> January, 2009	Ministerial statement, Questions for oral answer
3 <sup>rd</sup> February, 2009	Debate on the Budget
5 <sup>th</sup> February, 2009	Ministerial statement, Questions for clarification
10 <sup>th</sup> February, 2009	Debate on the Budget
12 <sup>th</sup> February, 2009	Questions for oral answer and Debate
17 <sup>th</sup> February, 2009	Questions for oral answer, Ministerial statement and Debate
19 <sup>th</sup> February, 2009	Questions for oral answer, Ministerial statement and Debate
24 <sup>th</sup> February, 2009	Questions for oral answer and Debate
26 <sup>th</sup> February, 2009	Ministerial statement and Debate

A pre-coded coding sheet was designed for purposes of analysis using the Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) software, following transcriptions of the recordings. A noteworthy point is that recorded broadcast were used to itemise regularity with which constitutive elements of good governance were raised on the floor of the House. This was further gauged with quantitative survey regarding the perception of the targeted audience. An analysis of the recordings is presented in chapter seven.

### **3.7 In-depth Interviews**

In-depth interviews were conducted involving the presenters, producers and the chief Parliamentary research officer. An enormous amount of information was gained from respondents. The focus was on how participatory the station was and the extent to which governance issues were substantively discussed.

### **3.8 Data Analysis**

Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) was used to analyse the data collected in research. This was analysed by the use of tables, frequencies, percentages, graphs and charts.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **CONCEPTUAL AND OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS**

#### **4.0 Introduction**

This chapter gives the definition of key concepts as they relate to this study and explains the sense in which they will be used throughout this report. The theme of this research is the principle of communication for development. The key argument underpinning this principle is that effective communication leads to development and good governance.

#### **4.1 Communication**

There is no single definition of ‘communication’ among scholars. Instead different definitions have been advanced: the discriminatory response of an organism to stimulus (Steven, 1950), the eliciting of a response through verbal symbols (Dance, 1967), the transmission of a message to a receiver with conscious intent to affect the latter’s behaviour (Miller, 1996); a process in which participants create and share information with one another in order to reach a mutual understanding (Rogers, 1995). From the foregoing, communication is understood from various angles as the securing of a response from a sent message affecting the behaviour of the receiver (Miller, 2005) and as the mutual influence of behaviour between the sender and the receiver through shared meanings (Rodgers, 1995). Mody (1991), aptly puts it that communication is achieved when the sender and the receiver hold common meaning, that is, the meaning the sender wanted to share is identical to the meaning the receiver holds. Chali (2004) elucidates that communication is a two way process of exchanging information between a sender(s) and a receiver(s) using verbal (written or oral), non verbal symbols or any combination of these such that information shared is completely understood by two the parties as intended. The operational definition of communication is ‘a two way process of exchanging information between a sender(s) and a receiver(s) using verbal (written or oral), non verbal symbols or any combination of these such that information shared is completely understood by two the parties as intended’.

#### **4.1.1 Participation**

Participation is “involvement by a local people and, at time, additional stake holders in the creation of a programme or policy designed to change their lives” (Jennings, 2000, 12). This is the sense in which the term will be used in this study.

#### **4.1.2 Participatory Communication**

Diaz (1994, cited in white, 1994) defines participatory communication as a type of communication in which all the interlocutors are free and have equal access to means to express themselves *vis-a-vis* their viewpoints, feelings and experiences. This is the sense the term will carry in this research.

#### **4.2.0 Theories Underpinning Study**

What follows is a discussion of the main theories and how they apply to this study.

##### **4.2.1 Agenda-setting**

This theory is attributed to Maxwell Combs and Donald Shaw, coined in 1972 to study the effects of mass media on political opinion during the 1968 presidential elections in the United States. This theory holds that the media is very powerful in influencing the public agenda because there is a relationship between the way mass media treats an issue and the opinions the public develops about an issue. What the media treats as important, the public believes it is important (Steinberg, 1999).

Key assumptions of this theory are:

1. The media does not reflect reality, they filter it. This is related to the gatekeeping role of the media. The media is overwhelmed with information because it is constantly looking for news. Since the media suffers the limitation of time and space, it has to serve as a gatekeeper, what is newsworthy, the depth, context and angle of the study (Ibid).