

2. The media concentration on a few issues and subjects leads the public to perceive those issues as more important than other issues. This is instinctive because when people hear or read news stories they tend to appropriate the order of importance that the media gives to the stories. The mass media tells us which issues deserve our attention and these issues become the focus of public consideration.

This theory is applied to issues including history, advertising, foreign and medical news.

Agenda setting is applicable to this study in that Parliament Radio as a media house can deliberately set an agenda of issues it considers important to its listeners i.e. about budgetary process and governance issues. The public can internalise this agenda and give salience to issues raised therein.

#### **4.2.2 Diffusion of Innovation Theory**

The diffusion of innovation theory centres on the conditions which increase or decrease the likelihood that a new idea, production or practice will be adopted by members of a given culture or society. Diffusion innovation theory predicts that media and interpersonal contacts provide information and influence opinion and judgment.

According to Rogers (1995), the multi-step media model of communication shows how consumers pass along information about innovation to other consumers within the social networks. The nature of networks, the role of opinion leaders, change agents and gatekeepers determine the likelihood that an innovation will be adopted. There are five adopter categories:

- Innovators
- Early adopters
- Early majority
- Late majority
- Laggards

In terms of scope and application, the theory focuses on five elements: (1) the characteristics of an innovation which may influence its adoption; (2) the decision-making process that occurs when individuals consider adopting a new idea, product or practice; (3) the characteristics of individuals that make them likely to adopt an innovation; (4) the consequences for individuals and society of adopting an innovation; and (5) the communication channels used in the adoption process.

This theory is relevant to this study because Parliament Radio is an innovation. How people, especially of Mandevu Constituency will adopt it, will depend on how the station is seen as addressing a need. Its impact as a tool of linking parliamentarians with the electorate will depend to some extent on how influential members of various communities adopt it. By aggressively marketing Parliament Radio to opinion leaders as a vehicle for good governance, communities can gain awareness of the station and its relevancy to them.

#### **4.2.3 Participatory Communication Approach**

This kind of communication approach embraces the involvement of local people in the development process. This is done firstly by identifying the needs, opportunities, problems and solutions with local communities (Mwila, 2008). The purpose is to make people own the problem, be engaged in decision making process and ultimately to own the solutions. At the core of this theory is the belief that local people should be the architects of their own destiny. Kasongo rightly observes that participatory communication;

Allows the intended beneficiary community to communicate critically, that is upwards and downwards with development ‘benefactors,’ and also to communicate horizontally, that is away themselves. Horizontal communication facilitates wider input from intended beneficiaries. The broader the spectrum of views, the more accurately the realities of these communities can be represented. By sharing their views, communities identify problems consensually, and open up collective strategies for

confronting them. Vertical communication then becomes crucial in order to facilitate the implementation of the strategies which have been developed (Kasongo, 1998, p. 11).

This theory is anchored on participation. It is used in community mobilisation for projects, to ensure ‘ownership’ be intended beneficiaries.

One issue that characterised the presidency of Levy Mwanawasa is the anti-corruption drive, which is a good governance issue. But unless people can buy into it, own the fight against corruption, it may remain an alien issue to them. Parliament Radio can engage the people to participate and rally behind this noble crusade.

#### **4.2.4 Conclusion**

This chapter discussed various concepts that underpin the study. It is clear from the foregoing that different concepts help to contextualise this study in the communication field. This is important because it provides grounding for the work.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **5.0 Introduction**

A researcher who conducts an investigation with no regard to already available data falls into the syndrome of “ivory tower research” (Wimmer, R and Dominick, 1997, p.33) believe that “a research of available data saves time and money.” In this regard, literature review is indispensable to any research.

The literature in this study reviews the works that different researchers have done including their methodologies and findings, and the relevance of their works to this study.

#### **5.1 Broadcasting Parliament Spreads Throughout the Commonwealth**

It is important to note that this is one of the major studies done on parliamentary broadcasting. As such it will be reviewed extensively because it is cardinal for this report.

Mary Rain (2004) edited a study done by the commonwealth Broadcasting Association (CBA), the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association and UNESCO. The aim of the study was to gather information covering both radio and television in order to

- Find out how countries in the commonwealth report the work of their Parliaments, for how long and whether live or in recorded form.
- Find out whether is parliamentary proceedings are shown on a dedicated cable channel or a main terrestrial channel or just radio.
- Assess the impact of parliamentary broadcasting and to find out if it was reaching the masses.

In terms of methodology for gathering data, questionnaires were sent by the Commonwealth Broadcasting Association (CBA) to broadcasting organisations. The Commonwealth Parliamentary Association sent similar ones to parliaments. The following specific questions were asked to national broadcasters:

1. Does your organization broadcast live or packaged coverage? If you do not, is there any other broadcaster in your country doing live or packaged Parliamentary coverage?
2. How many hours per day or week are dedicated to live parliamentary broadcasting?
3. How many hours per day or week are dedicated to packaged extracts from Parliament?
4. Please describe the format in which Parliamentary proceedings are broadcast.
5. Do you have a dedicated cable channel for the broadcast of Parliament, or is the coverage being shown on a main terrestrial channel?
6. What impact is Parliamentary broadcast having?
7. Is it reaching a mass audience?
8. Are regional Parliaments shown in the regions?
9. Are there written guidelines or any special legislation for Parliamentary coverage?

Over eighty countries were captured in the survey with 78 percent responding to the questionnaires.

The study found that some 60 countries throughout the world allow TV cameras and radio microphones to record proceedings of their legislatures, including a great majority of commonwealth states. In a number of them: Australia, Britain, Canada, New Zealand and Samoa, “the national broadcaster is required by law to carry out daily or weekly reports on their country’s Parliamentary proceedings. It is noteworthy that:

As far as the Commonwealth is concerned, the real pioneers of Parliamentary broadcasting are Australia and New Zealand, with New Zealand beginning radio broadcasts of the proceedings of its House of

Representatives in 1936. A decade later, Australia followed suit. The national broadcaster, the ABC, had a correspondent giving nightly reports on radio from Parliament in Canberra as early as 1942 but the actual broadcasting on radio of Parliamentary proceedings began on 10 July 1946 as the result of an enquiry by the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Broadcasting which drew heavily on the experiences of its New Zealand neighbour (p.2)

The survey is illuminating and considers particular examples of countries that broadcast parliamentary proceedings. A few cases are cited in this review.

**Australia** has the broadcast proceedings covered by law. The ABC has a statutory obligation to broadcast the proceedings of the Senate and the House of Representatives and joint sittings of both Houses on radio and television. In 1988, a radio network was established to carry the broadcast of Parliament and related material only (p.2). The ABC News Radio, which is a live 24 hours national news network, also carries live coverage from both Houses when Parliament is sitting.

However, a point of special note is that equipment and the technical feeds for the broadcast are provided by Parliament. Equally important “exactly how the Parliament radio broadcasts work, which debates are covered and from which House, are regulated by a committee –the committee on the Broadcasting of Parliamentary Proceedings – drawn from both Houses. In coming to their decision on coverage, the law states that “the committee shall take into account the importance of the impending debate and public interest attaching thereto in deciding the allocation” (p.2). In effect, the law calls for public interest as the overriding factor.

The fact that Parliamentary committee decides what gets aired may have repercussions on the content quality as politicians, not journalist determine what is newsworthy for the public. For television coverage, it is the ABC and Parliament, which determines the allocation of broadcast time.

**Canada**, according to the survey is the first commonwealth country to televise live Parliamentary debates, beginning with the speech from the Throne by Queen Elizabeth during the her visit to Ottawa in 1977. Within the next two years, the Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) granted the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation exclusive rights to cover Parliamentary proceedings. It is educating that CBC originally had a channel dedicated for Parliament broadcast, but ceased running it in 1991 due to cutbacks in budget. But owing to a felt need for live coverage:

A newly-formed consortium of the country's major cable companies stepped in - with the support of Parliament - to ensure continued coverage of Parliament so that, as it said in its application for the license, "millions of Canadian cable households would continue to receive House of Commons broadcasts at no cost to taxpayers or subscribers". The consortium contributes more than five million dollars a year to fund the channel. Day to day operations and editorial decisions are the responsibility of CPAC staff. ...The cable consortium says Canada's cable industry believes that unbiased and widespread access to the institutions, processes, individuals and events that shape Canadian public policy is a vital public service (p.3).

The national broadcaster, CBC, does not cover live proceedings except special occasions like the delivery of the budget. Their coverage is indirect through newscast and current affairs on radio and TV. Zambia can do well to take a leaf from Canada. In its case, to have the burgeoning commercial and community radio stations broadcast live some proceeding of Parliament and ensure near national coverage.

In the same study, it was noted that **Britain**, had a length struggle to get the cameras and microphones into Parliament:

The BBC first suggested broadcasting Parliament's proceedings as long ago as the 1920s but the idea was rejected. Twenty years later, at the height of the Second World War, the government argued that

proceedings in Parliament were too technical to be understood by the ordinary listener who would be liable to get quite a false impression of the business transacted. It was felt it would be better to let the professional political correspondents explain the mysteries to the public. In fact the arguments went on for years. The BBC carried out several broadcasting experiments and permanent radio coverage was eventually allowed in 1978. But television was another matter. Supporters of televising proceedings argued that it would lead to greater public understanding of the work of Parliament; it would involve the public more in politics and it would also help to make the politicians more accountable (p.4).

The reluctance to introduce cameras into the chamber was anchored on fear that TV would trivialise and distort the work of Parliament. It was claimed MPs would play to the gallery to get themselves on TV, while the equipment and the technicians would all be too intrusive. It was in 1985 and 1990 respectively, that when the Upper House, the Lords and the House of Commons admitted cameras (Op.cit). It should be recalled that in Britain too, the national broadcaster, BBC is required to broadcast an impartial account, day by day, prepared by professional reporter of the proceedings of Parliament. This is done, according to the study, by Radio 4, which has a national wide reach. Like in Canada, there is a special dedicated Parliamentary channel, BBC Parliament. The survey points out that:

First launched in 1992, by a group of cable companies as a non profit venture, and taken over by the BBC six years later, it provides continuous unedited coverage of proceedings but is available only on satellite, cable or digital terrestrial television. The debates are shown live, and uninterrupted without commentary. To help viewers understand and follow proceedings, there are captions at the bottom of the screen, naming the subject under debate, the MP speaking and which party he or

she belongs to. So it is clear to the viewer who is talking and what they are talking about (p.5).

The genesis of live Parliamentary coverage on television points to an active, politically conscious, civil society seeking active participation in governance issues. In Zambia, it has been the private print media that has unearthed critical information on issues of governance, i.e. accountability.

In **India**, the research highlights that Parliamentary proceedings are frequently shown live on TV. The State – owned All India Radio records the Question Hour which is then broadcast later the same day on the national channel of All India Radio. It does not, however, provide daily live coverage but broadcasts the daily summaries of one hour a day containing voice clip, when Parliament is in session. The survey revealed that Prasar Bharati Corporation is the only Indian organisation allowed to cover Parliamentary proceedings. “They also carry a packaged broadcast each evening in English and Hindi” (p.6).

For **Africa**, the study notes that the tendency in African commonwealth countries is to broadcast major occasions on radio and TV, though TV as medium is far less important for conveying information than radio. “So radio is a far better option for governments in for example, health campaigns like combating the spread of AIDS, for getting messages across” (p.9). In South Africa, the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) carries live coverage on a national channel, reaching about three quarters of the population. An independent information services, the Parliamentary Monitoring Group, provides detailed reports on the proceedings of Parliamentary committees. The survey in general noted that African national broadcaster in many cases opt for compiling packaged reports of about 30 minutes a day and reporting Parliamentary news bulletins with voice clips.

Majority of respondents welcomed access to Parliamentary information, with a few expressing reservations on the need to keep the dignity of the House. A series of rules to control the way broadcasters operate have been formulated. In UK for example, the House of Commons demands that:

the director should seek, in collaboration with the Supervisor of Broadcasting organisation, to give a balanced, fair and accurate account of proceedings, with the aim of informing viewers about the work of the house.....in carrying out this task, the director should have regard to the dignity of the House and to its function as a working body rather than as a place of entertainment. Coverage should give an unvarnished account of the proceedings of the House, free of subjective commentary and editing techniques designed to produce entertainment rather than information (p.11).

This landmark study gives general rules obtaining in commonwealth countries. The recordings of the proceedings are used for purposes of providing fair and accurate reports of proceedings. They are not to be used for:

- a) For political party advertising
- b) Satire or ridicule
- c) Commercial sponsorship or advertising.

No extracts of parliamentary proceedings may be used in any form of advertising, promotion or other form of publicity

No extracts of Parliamentary proceedings may be used in any light entertainment programme or in a programme of political satire, though extracts of Parliamentary proceedings may be included in broadcast magazine programmes which also contain music or humorous features provided that the different types of items are kept separate (p. 12).

The Zambian Parliament Radio borrowed heavily from the above rules, with the following excerpts:

- Excerpts of proceedings which are subsequently withdrawn may not be re-broadcast.
- All laid down rules by the speaker of the National Assembly, in respect of broadcasting shall be observed.
- Non –observance of official guidelines will attract sanctions.

The study observed that in the larger states of the commonwealth i.e. the main public service broadcaster –ABC of Australia, CBC of Canada and BBC of Britain –have comprehensive guidelines for their journalists. The ABC has four key values of honesty, fairness, independence and respect. The CBC espouses balance fairness and impartiality. “Any situation which could cause reasonable apprehension that, a journalist or organisation is biased or under the influence of any pressure group whether ideological, political, financial social or cultural must be avoided” (p.14).

Most countries captured in the survey reported that they had not undertaken any audience surveys to assess the impact of Parliamentary broadcasts. Majority of the respondents said they used indicators like postbags, phone-in programmes and telephone calls their station to measure the impact of their broadcasts. What the research revealed was that very little formal studies have been done specifically for the coverage of Parliament. However, If the live broadcast in countries like Australia, Britain and South Africa only attracted ‘niche’ audiences, the other almost universal form of coverage such as packaged reports in news bulletins and news programmes do win big audiences and views.

The survey makes an illuminating observation about live coverage of Parliamentary proceeding with regard to furthering democratic ideals:

... if electors can see their Parliaments live - whether just debates or as in most countries just Question Time - they will begin to feel more involved. Live broadcasts mean the authorities have less chance to be

able to censor proceedings. They will not be able to cut out critical voices so easily or exercise pressure on journalists to broadcast only voices that support the government side. Viewers and listeners will be able to hear all points of view and judge for themselves (Beetham, 2006, p. 15).

On this aspect, Parliament radio can really become a participatory tool for good governance as citizens are accorded a chance to hear unedited views, which normally would not be featured on state controlled national channels in most African countries, Zambia included. This study, as noted above, is relevant to this thesis because it highlights linkages between Parliament and the media. There is a long tradition of Parliamentary broadcast in the commonwealth with entrenched practices. Some of these practices like rules for broadcasters have been adopted by the Zambian Parliament and influence its governance landscape.

## **5.2 Parliament and Democracy in the Twentieth Century.**

Beetham (2006) conducted a survey on the role of Parliament in a Democratic state in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. The aim of the study was to define the contribution of Parliament to democracy and to identify the distinctive attributes of a democratic Parliament.

The method employed in gathering data was submissions from a number of Parliaments on their democratic practices and the challenges they face.

Beetham (2006) defines democracy as an ideal and a set of institutions and practices. As an ideal, it expresses two principles:

1. The members of any group or association should have the determining influence and control over its rules and policies, through their participation in deliberations about the common good.
2. They should treat each other, and be treated as equals.

He argues that these principles are imperative from the smallest group to the largest state. “How effectively they are realised in practise is the touchstone of how democratic any association can claim to be” (Ibid, p.3).

For a country, these democratic principles are only realised through a complex set of institutions and practices. The institutions include a guaranteed framework of citizen's rights, institutions of representative and accountable government, an active civil society and a number of mediating institutions between government and citizens.

The mediating institutions include political parties and the media. The role of political parties in governance is vital because they not only represent citizens as collective group:

Parliament not only represents citizens as individuals, through the presence of political parties it also represents them collectively to promote certain broad policy tendencies. Parties serve both to focus electoral choice, and also to ensure that these choices are carried through into the work of Parliament and into ongoing public debate (Beetham, 2006, p. 20).

The media plays a significant role in information dissemination and in engaging the citizenry in participatory communication and participatory development. But as Beetham (2006) observes, this relationship is surrounded by an aura of distrust:

Parliaments depend upon journalists, editors and media presenters for informing the public about their work. Yet there is much mutual distrust between them. Journalists are often frustrated by restrictions on access to proceedings, or by contempt and defamation laws which may unnecessarily constrain what they can publicly report. Parliamentarians on their side hold the media partly responsible for the low esteem in which they are collectively held, because of one sided portrayal of their work (Beetham, 2006, p.44).

Tensions inevitably arise between the media and Parliament as noted above. However, these two institutions need each other and have everything to gain from seeking to collaborate. In this regard, Parliament radio has a vital role to play. "Citizens cannot hope to influence Parliaments unless they are fully informed about what they are doing, neither will they be able to hold their representatives to account properly" (ibid, p.45). Through live broadcast, MPs from both the ruling party and opposition are accorded chance to be heard by the electorate.

The research showed that much of the work of Parliaments is carried out in committees, and many Parliaments are opening them up to the public and media personnel. However, evidence points to restrictions that many Parliaments still have in place on the media regarding live coverage of committee sittings.

Among recent examples of improved transparency, the Dutch Parliament has experimented with opening up the procedural meetings of certain committees to the public, so that observers can see how they set their agendas and arrange public hearings. The House of Representatives of the Republic of Cyprus now allows media personnel to attend committee meetings 'with very few exceptions'... In South Africa, committees are open to the public and the media, and can only be closed after open discussion and with the approval of the speaker (Beetham, 2006, p.44).

In the UK, a proactive practice has been initiated after the Putnam Commission Report (cited by Beetham, 2006). Media select committee officers chose particular stories to push to media houses and explain why the findings are of particular news interests. This is unlike in the past where journalists spent time in the gallery hoping to come across newsworthy findings. Beetham (2006) notes that training members of select committees, and especially the committee chairs in media relations and presentation could readily equip them to take similar initiatives.

The survey noted that legislation which gives citizens access to information held by public bodies is an important democratic resource, endorsed by the 'right to seek

information' provision of the International Covenant on Civil and Political rights. It further observed that Freedom of Information (FOI) legislation exists in more than fifty countries. This provides a resource for use by citizens and NGOs as well as the media to improve transparency of public bodies. It can be surmised that "while its use can assist Parliament in holding governments to account, it can also enhance the accountability of Parliamentarians to themselves" (ibid, p.46).

Beetham (2006) comments that in some countries, access to information about Parliament is provided by regulation specific to Parliament. A case in point is the Polish senate:

In an effort to comply with citizen's constitutional right to information, Senate regulations include rather detailed provisions covering, for example, the need to inform the public of forthcoming Senate sittings, public right to attend Senate and Senate committee sittings, public access to Senate papers, minutes and stenographic reports from Senate and Senate committee sittings, as well as to other documents and information associated with the work of Senate and its bodies... There is no doubt that access to information issues legislated in so much detail has a great deal of impact on the transparency of work performed by the Senate and its bodies, contributing on one hand to the democratization of life and, and on the other to activating citizens who can, if they so wish, become familiar with Senate work via access to information of their choice (Beetham, 2006, p.47).

In many countries with FOI legislation, there, exist independent bodies authorised to hear complaints against decisions to deny access to information, including those by Parliament itself. The general principles covered by FOI as enshrined in the global campaign for freedom of expression are:

- The principle of maximum disclosure, obligation to publish and active promotion of open government;
- Exceptions should be clearly and narrowly drawn and subject

to strict 'harm' and 'public interest' tests;

- Access to information should be facilitated, and requests not deterred by high cost or delay;
- Refusal to disclose information should be subject to appeal to an independent body whose decisions should be binding (ibid, p.48).

The Zambian Parliament is yet to pass the FOI bill. It is hoped that once enacted, civil society organisations, media practitioners and the general public will be empowered to help entrench good governance by holding government to account on various issues.

The survey established that freedom of expression is a bedfellow with access to information. This is the right to communicate and publish information freely to others. Beetham argues that this right is fundamental to the democratic process because it is based on dialogue and persuasion between informed citizens and their representatives.

Regarding the media reporting on Parliament, it is imperative, observes the research that any limitation on the freedom of expression should be drawn as narrowly as possible. Any such restriction should be subject to the threefold test:

- Prescribed by law
- Such as are necessary in a democratic society for example for the protection of national security or
- The rights and reputation of others( ibid, p.49)

In the countries surveyed, the most frequent restriction that has been used to limit what can be said or written about Parliamentarians concerns the damage to reputation, or 'defamation'. The survey laments that:

... Some countries still have defamation laws which can be used to restrict the range of media reporting of politicians unduly. These can be particularly restrictive where they form part of the criminal law, with a possible penalty of imprisonment for journalists who overstep the line. In some countries, it is the level of damages that can be awarded in civil

cases which may act as a deterrent to robust public disclosure or criticism (Beetham, 2006, p.49).

In this regard, the recommendations of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association study on Parliament and the Media (2003) is illuminative. It recommended that Parliament should repeal legislation, rescind standing orders or publicly abandon their traditional authority to punish the media and others offending the dignity of the House simply by criticising the institution or its members. It posited that inaccurate reporting should not be considered as contempt of Parliament, and only serious cases of interference with Parliament's ability perform its functions should be treated as contemptuous.

This study by Beetham (2006) is relevant to the study Parliament Radio as a tool for participatory communication and good governance constituency, as it illuminated issues of access to Parliament which, in Zambia's Parliamentary reforms, gave birth to Parliament Radio. Although Zambia is yet to enact FOI legislation, the Polish example and others, present plausible case for enhancing good governance through availing information to journalists, civil society and the citizenry.

### **5.3 2006 CIPF Ghana Parliamentary leadership Survey**

Kevin Wyjad (2006) conducted a survey in Ghana, with the following objectives: to explore the flow of information in, within and out of Parliament, as well as certain areas of Parliament; and to find how the House performs the oversight role.

Quantitative method was used to gather data, in which 65 MPs were targeted. Questionnaires were filled out anonymously and voluntarily. The survey revealed that:

- MPs do not exploit the media to inform their constituents of Parliament's activities.
- Most MPs depend heavily on the media for information about activities of other institutions.
- 57% of respondents cited the media as their primary source of

information about the activities of the executive

- On average, MPs read somewhere between one quarter and one half of the annual budget document
- Oversight of other institutions is weak, and most opposition members are more critical than Majority MPs.

The survey is relevant to this work as it highlights the role of the media in information delivery to both electorate and Parliamentarians. When the media is underutilized in governance, an information chasm is created governance players. Parliament Radio, used to the optimum, can fill this gulf.

#### **5.4 Protecting the Reputation and Standing of the Institution of Parliament and Parliamentarians**

This research was done in Zambia by Phiri B.J, Banda C J and Hantobolo G.H in 2006, focusing on the perceptions, realities and reforms in Zambia. The objectives were:

- To assess the role of Parliament and its reputation and standing in Zambia's political history;
- To assess the impact of various constitutional changes to the political and Parliamentary history of Zambia;
- To study the reasons that have made Zambia's constitutional developments controversial and less acceptable thereby undermining the credibility of Parliament and Parliamentarians; and
- To examine what caused the failure to liberal democracy during the period 1991 to 2001(Phiri et al., p.7).

Qualitative and quantitative methods were used, as well as Focused Group Discussions and interviews with MPs, Political leaders both from the MMD (ruling party) and opposition parties. Prominent and ordinary citizens were also captured in the interviews.

The results of this survey were:

- The perception of some Zambians on the roles and functions of Parliament are very poor. 21.6 percent said Parliament was a law making body, 14 percent considered it just as source of income for MPs. “unfortunately, 30.8 percent of Zambians had no idea of what roles and functions of Parliament were.
- On positive and negative decisions of the Zambian Parliament, 42.7 Percent said they had no idea of anything positive decision taken by Parliament since 1964.
- An equally high number of respondents 41.6 percent expressed no knowledge of any negative decision taken by Parliament since 1964
- 86 percent said government manipulation makes MPs fail to debate freely (Phiri et al., 2006, p.70).

From the above findings, the researchers inferred that most parliamentary decisions are not well publicised to the citizens. Part of the reason for this, according to the study, is the poor Member of Parliament – constituency relationship. MPs did not have offices in their constituency, while political parties on the other hand had, making their presence more visible. In this vain, members of the political party to which the MP belong had easy access to him, unlike members from other parties. The research observed that “MPs in Zambia generally tended to project themselves as representatives of those who voted for them, usually erroneously believing that only members of their own party voted for them (ibid).

Based on the findings of the research, the following recommendations were made:

- The Zambian Parliament should work to improve on its broadcast of Parliamentary debates to ensure that majority of the citizens know what is debated in the House. Rather than relying on Radio 4 and TV only, other media like Radio 2 and Radio 1,

which have wide coverage, should be used.

- Other languages other English, should be used to majority  
Zambians understand Parliamentary proceedings. Debated can be  
translated in the seven local languages used on radio.
- Any reforms made in Parliament should be explained to the  
people so that they know and understand them. The current trend  
where about 65 percent of Zambians do not know of any reform  
done since 1964 points to the need for this.
- MPs should be accountable to their constituency before they are  
given gratuity.
- People should be educated about the functions of Parliament and  
MPs (Phiri et al., p.87).

From the foregoing, it is clear that the research by B.J.Phiri, C.J. Banda and G.H.N. Hantobolo (2004), is very relevant to this study. It explored people's perceptions of Parliament and made credible recommendations for reforms, among them the use of radio as way of informing most citizens about the functions of Parliament.

### **5.5 Parliament, Media and Citizens**

Fackson Banda writing in an article in *The Post* (February 11, 2009) entitled Parliament, Media and citizens, noted that the Zambian Parliament has undergone 'democratic realignment' in the past decade. However, according to him, this may be endangered by sentiments like those allegedly issues by the speaker on, "some honourable members of the House had developed the tendency of divulging privileged information to the media" (*The Post*, January 23, 2009). The speaker cited the National Assembly (Powers and privileges Act) and informed the House that information submitted to his office, a committee of the House or office of the Clerk of the National Assembly, constituted privileged and confidential information, which could only be released with his express permission.



The concern of the Hon. Speaker was that releasing confidential information to the media might inadvertently open up the House to premature public scrutiny, resulting in the public drawing premature conclusion on incomplete information. “Going to the media constitutes contempt of the House” stressed the Speaker.

Banda argues that though the above sentiments were targeted at MPs, they have repercussions on the media as they can be interpreted as not being supportive of media freedom, a key definer of a vibrant democracy. Thus he observes:

... exercise of democratic rights and freedoms can sometimes be hampered by the very institutional procedures of democracy that we value. As a result, we sometimes end up with what Benjamin Barber calls “thin democracy”. Real, organic participation is encumbered because we must wait for the wheels of the bureaucracy to grind before we can get useful information from public institutions (*The post*, February 11, 2009, p.20).

From this perspective, the focus of Parliamentary democracy is seen as both a process and an event. As a process, it is a ‘contested terrain which encapsulates the politics of generating, disseminating and consuming political information’. As an ‘event’ it means that the media must not only report *post factum*. Banda lucidly observes that in developed democracies, sometimes the government deliberately “leaks” information in order to assess possible public scrutiny.

It is rightly argued that members of the public have a right to know the goings-on in the House as they happen, *vis-a-vis* the confrontations of parliamentary politics. The media prefers this to stage-managed press releases which do not give the processes leading to the event. While it is indisputable that Parliament is imbued with powers to punish parliamentarians and citizens, Banda, however, questions the democratic-participatory validity of National Assembly (powers and privileges) Act. The conclusion made is:

... Questioning parliamentary rules of procedure is a legitimate aspect of our multi-party democracy. Parliament is certainly not above us, as citizens of this country. If some members of Parliament believe that there is something important to “leak” to the citizens through the media, so be it! (*The Post*, February 11, 2009, p.20)

This article is pertinent to this study because it encapsulates Parliament-media relationships on one hand and Parliament and citizens participation in democratic governance, on the other. Parliament radio can be an interactive medium linking citizens with the House.

## **Conclusion**

In conclusion, it is noteworthy that this study has been enriched by scholarly writings cited above. However, it stands different as it focuses on how Parliament can be a tool for participatory communication between parliamentarians and the institution of Parliament on one side and the electorate and general public on the other. Furthermore, it seeks to explore how Parliament Radio can entrench tenets of good governance among the listening public.

## **CHAPTER 6**

### **PRESENTATION OF KEY FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS**

#### **6.0 Introduction**

This chapter presents and analyses the key findings of the research. As stated in chapter two, the aim of the study was to examine to what extent, if any, Parliament Radio was a tool for participatory communication and good governance.

The information in this chapter is presented under

#### **6.1 Survey: what respondents said**

#### **6.2 Structured Questionnaires**

Altogether 100 questionnaires were administered as explained in chapter. This method provided very vital information concerning targeted population's knowledge of the existence of Parliament Radio and how they perceived its products. This was in relation to good governance and participatory communication.

#### **6.3 Sex Ratio**

The study revealed that 37 percent of the sampled population were males. Females on the other hand, were 63 percent. This gives a sex ratio of males to females of 19 to 31.

#### **6.4 Age Structure of the Sample**

According to the survey, majority respondents were in the age range 25-34, making up 24 percent. This was closely followed by 18-24 and 45-54 at 23 percent apiece. Age range 35-44 and 55-64 had 14 percent each, with the 65 and above category consisting only 2 percent.

Table 5: Age range

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	18-24	23	23.0	23.0	23.0
	25-34	24	24.0	24.0	47.0
	35-44	14	14.0	14.0	61.0
	45-54	23	23.0	23.0	84.0
	55-64	14	14.0	14.0	98.0
	65 and above	2	2.0	2.0	100.0
	Total	100	100.0	100.0	

## 6.5 Marital status

38 percent of respondents were married. 43 percent were single, 3 percent were divorced while 16 percent were either widows or widowers.

## 6.5 Occupation

Occupations of respondents were categorised as follows: Formally employed 22 percent, self-employed 28 percent, housewives 20 percent, students 21 percent and farmer 1 percent.

## 6.6 Level of Education

The research showed that most respondents had attained at least secondary school level (51%). Those with primary and tertiary levels were almost at par, with 23 and 24 percent respectively.

Table 6: Level of education

		Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Primary	23	23.0	23.0	23.0
Secondary	51	51.0	51.0	74.0
Tertiary	24	24.0	24.0	98.0
Never	2	2.0	2.0	100.0
Total	100	100.0	100.0	

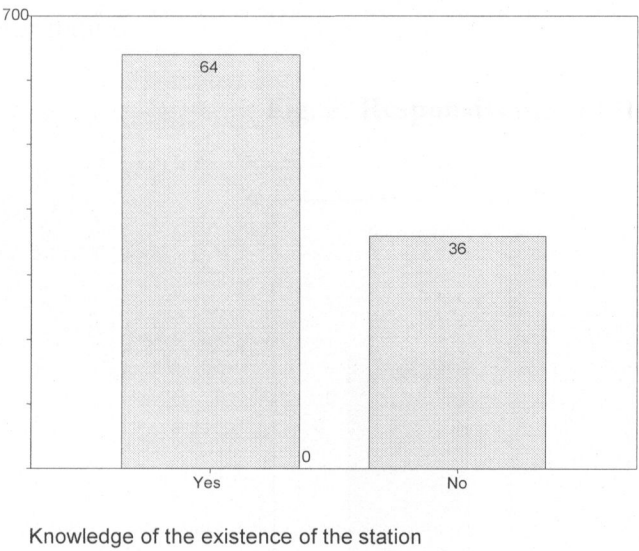
6.6 Access to Radio

Asked if they owned a radio, 81% of respondents answered in the affirmative. This by far outweighed those who did not (19%), who constituted less than 20%. Furthermore, 65% of respondents had access to a radio in the neighbourhood.

6.3 Knowledge Ratio of Existence of Parliament Radio

According to the sample 64 percent knew of the existence of Parliament while 36 percent did not. This represents a knowledge ratio of 32 to 19 as shown in the chart below.

Fig. 1: Knowledge of the existence of the station



6.9 Listenership of Station

When asked if they listen to the station, 10 percent said they do so daily, 13 percent once a week and 5 percent twice a week. The crux of the matter is represented by the 28 percent who rarely tune in and the 44 percent who have never listened to it. This is analysed further below.

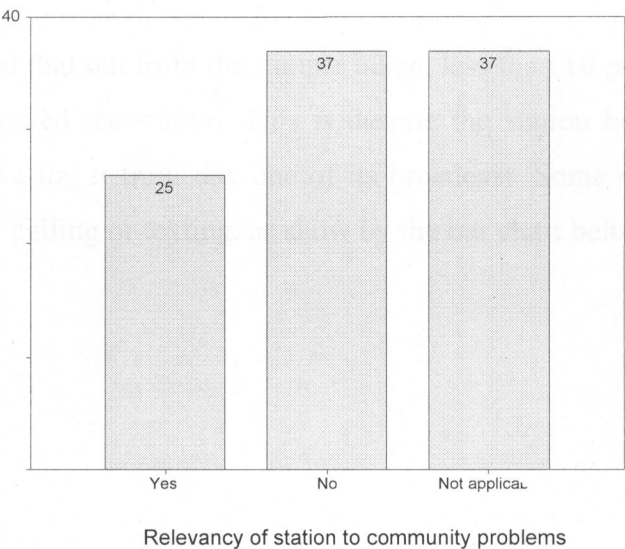
6.9.1 Most Popular Programmes

Among those that listen to the station, about half (44%) listed debates as the most popular programme. Entertainment and developmental programmes were on par at the tail-end with 4 percent apiece. These results reflect the prime mandate of the station which is to broadcast proceedings from the chamber.

6.9.2 Responsiveness of Station to Community Problems

When asked if the station was responsive to problems like poor water reticulation which the community face, 26 percent of respondents who tune in to the station responded in the affirmative. 37 percent responded in the negative. The bar chart below represents this information.

Fig. 2: Responsiveness of the station



6.9.3 Perceived Role of the Station in Transparency

Table 7: Role of station in transparency

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	36	36.0	36.0	36.0
	No	19	19.0	19.0	55.0
	Not applicable	45	45.0	45.0	100.0
Total		100	100.0	100.0	

From a sample of 100, as reflected in the table above, 36 percent of respondents said the station was informative about transparency in government. A total of 19 percent did not see the station that way.

With regard to the fight against corruption, the study revealed almost a similar pattern as above. In all, 34 percent had a positive impression, while 22 had a negative one.

6.9.4 Participatory Nature of the Station

The research revealed that out from the sample taken, less than 10 percent of respondents had ever called or texted the station. This is despite the station being cited within the constituency and covering it from day one of its broadcast. Some 47 percent had never engaged the radio by calling or texting, as show by the bar chart below.

Fig.3: Respondents who called or texted the station

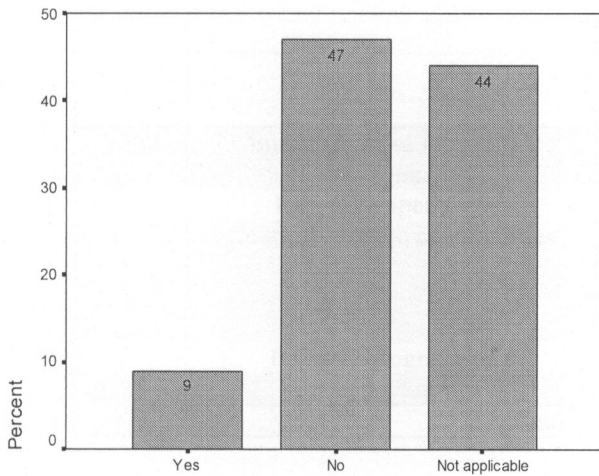


Fig.5: Called or texted the station

### 6.9.5 Views on how to Enhance Community Participation

When asked what Parliament radio should do to allow for more community participation, 56.3 percent of the sample opined that the station should conduct community visit as way of engaging with the grassroots. Some 13.5 percent espoused introducing more interactive programme, with 8.3 percent going for open forum. About 5.0 percent suggested improving programming.

Table 8: **views on how to improve participation**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Introduce more interactive programmes	13	13.0	13.0	13.0
	Introduce open forum	8	8.0	8.0	21.0
	Conduct visits to communities				
	Improve programming	5	5.0	5.0	80.0
	Do not know	20	20.0	20.0	100.0
	Total	100	100.0	100.0	

### Analysis of possible influencing factors

This segment will analyse the result of the research to consider influencing factors, if any, on the results obtained. Cross-tabulations will be used for this purpose.

#### 6.9.1.1 Gender Factors

Table 9: **Gender factors**

		Have you heard of Parliament radio?		Total
		Yes	No	
Sex respondents	Male	31	6	37
	Female	33	30	63
Total		64		100

This research revealed that almost equal numbers of males and females have heard of Parliament radio, 31 and 33 percent respectively. However, five times more females were not aware of the station -30 percent females against 6 percent males. This is despite an overwhelming 81 percent of respondents owning radio sets, as noted above.

There were an equal number of males and females who listened to the station at least twice a week- 14 percent. However, 35 percent of women and 9 percent of men had never

tuned in. This could be due to economic factors. Women engage in income generating actives which may take away from the “kitchen” and the radio. Men on the other hand are more likely operate from an environment tuned in to some station i.e. drinking places. It is not unusual for men to take a radio with them to a work site.

In terms of participating in the programmes of the station by texting in, only a paltry 4 percent of men and 5percent of women have ever engaged the station. This is opposed to over 20 percent apiece who have never done so. The table below shows this information.

Table 10: **Respondents who have called or text according to sex**

		Have you ever called/text the station?			Total
		Yes	No	Not applicable	
Sex of respondents	Male	4	24	9	37
	Female	5	23	35	63
Total		9	47	44	100

It should be appreciated that parliament radio has had no facility for calling in or texting in. Only in March, 2009 was texting line introduced. At the time of writing this report, there was no call-in programme on the station.

6.9.1.2 Age Factors

The combined age bracket of 18-34 constitutes majority respondents who are aware of the existence of Parliament radio, making up 47 percent. This is positive because the said age bracket comprises the youth of the constituency who present an opportunity. On the other hand, the age group 34-44 represents the most uninformed category about the existence of the station.

Regarding listenership, the age brackets 18-24 and 25-34, recorded 8 percent each. The most worrisome result however is the 28 percent who rarely tune in to the station and the 44 percent who have never listened to the station. These two groups constitute a colossal 72 percent, majority of who have never tuned in to the station.

Table 11: Age groups of Participating Respondents.

Age of respondents	Have ever called/text the station?			Total
	Yes	No	Not applicable	23
	1	14	8	23
25-34	6	8	10	24
5-44	1	5	8	14
45-54	1	13	9	23
55-64		6	8	14
Above 65			1	2
Total	9	47	44	100

From the cross-tabulation shown above, the 25-34 age group registered the highest participation at only 6 percent, while the other groups had one each save for the 65and above category. As noted above participation via calls or texts was nonexistent until March, 2009.

With regard to good governance, the age groups 18-24 and 25-34 had a combined sum of 21 percent out of a total of 34. This indicates that the youthful generation of the sample had a positive perception of the station’s role in good governance. The most pessimistic age group was 45-54. It is worth of note that aggregate results are indicative that 34 percent view that station in positive light *vis-a-vis* good governance.

6.9.1.3 Educational Factors.

On the awareness of the existence of Parliament radio, those with tertiary education constituted the most informed class at 87 percent, secondary level 64.7 percent, primary level 39.1 percent. These results indicate that access to information increases with education. Thus, more educated groups are more likely to be aware of innovations in their milieu.

Table 12: Impact of Education on Awareness of the Station

		Have you heard of Parliament radio?		Total
		Yes	No	
Level of education	Primary	9	14	23
	Secondary	33	18	51
	Tertiary	21	3	24
	Never	1	1	2
Total		64	36	100

Regarding listenership, the research indicates that among the sample population, those with at least secondary level of education made up at least 24 percent of those who tune in to the station at least once a week. Among respondents with only primary education, a meagre 4 percent tune in to the station. Hence, it can be inferred that education is an empowering tool to accessing media products, where a foreign language is used.

Results on respondents interaction with the station show that a peculiar phenomenon. Respondents who receive only primary education interacted more with the station -30 percent, compared to those with at least secondary level -15 percent. This phenomenon shows that lowly educated classes may be enthused to know more about Parliament i.e. through participation in quizzes, than more enlightened groups.

On the perceived role of the station on good governance, positive responses were: secondary education only 64.7 percent, primary education only 17.6percent and tertiary 17.6 percent. The station is viewed in good light mostly by those who attained secondary level of education only. Possible reason for the dip in colleage/university graduates rating of the station is those better educated tend to have a raised yardstick for measuring standards.

### 6.9.1.4 Content Analysis

Parliament radio was monitored on a predetermined sequence of every other day, one hour, for 10 days when the House was sitting. This content analysis considers the frequency with which constitutive elements of good governance were substantively subject matter on the floor of the House.

**Accountability:** This was raised at least once, 70 percent. This is a positive indication as accountability has almost become a buzzword in governance. Coming in the wake of the revelations from the Auditor General’s office about rampant abuse and theft of state resources, this is a cause for hope.

**Rule of Law:** This was discussed at least once in 60 percent of the monitored broadcasts. The reign of president Mwanawasa gave prominence to this element of governance.

**Transparency:** one can note with dismay that this was one of the least raised elements at only 30 percent. Possible reason is that transparency is at times used interchangeably with accountability. The figure below shows this information.

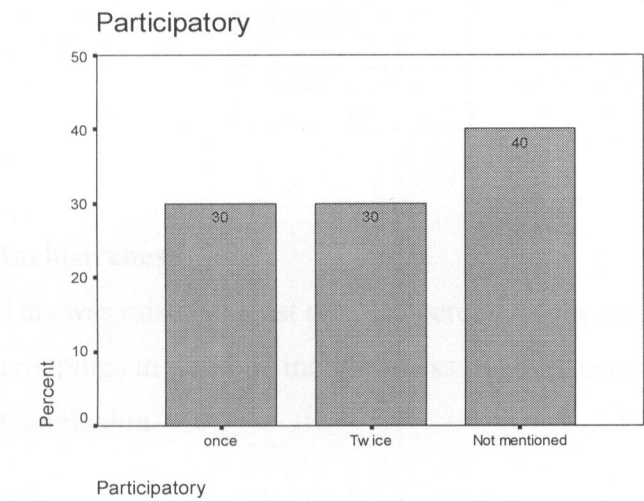
Table 13: **Transparency**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	once	3	30.0	30.0	30.0
	Not mentioned	7	70.0	70.0	100.0
	Total	10	100.0	100.0	

**Consensus-Oriented:** this is important in a multi-party democracy like it obtains in Zambia. Views from the ‘left’ are equally cardinal. In the monitored broadcasts, this constituted 30 percent. This in part is because the ruling MMD has the advantage of numbers in the House.

**Participatory:** This formed part of discussions in the chamber on at least one occasion, giving a 60 percent.

Fig.5: Participatory



**Responsiveness:** Is one of the hallmarks of good governance. It had a joint highest score of 80 percent. That the MPs were talking about it is good. However, it is in actions that responsiveness is best gauged.

**Efficiency and Effectiveness:** This relates to timely delivery/execution of goods or services, using most appropriate means. On the monitored broadcasts, it was subject matter for 80 percent, at least once.

Table 14: **Efficiency and Effectiveness**

		Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Once	10.0	10.0	10.0
	Twice	10.0	10.0	20.0
	Not mentioned	80.0	80.0	100.0
	Total	100.0	100.0	

**Inclusiveness:**

This was raised at least once 20 percent of the sampled times. With over 70 dialect groupings in Zambia, inclusiveness in governance is cardinal.

**Conclusion**

Having considered the findings of the research and analysed the results, it is cardinal to cast a long view and see what can be done to make parliament a better tool for participatory communication and good governance. The following chapter will give recommendation and a conclusion to the study.

## CHAPTER 7

### RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

#### 7.0 Introduction

Stemming from the results of the study, this researcher will now give recommendations on what specifically needs to be implemented to make Parliament Radio a more responsive tool for good governance and participatory communication.

#### 7.1 Marketing

Parliament Radio is a relatively new station. From discussions with the station's staff, the station has never engaged in marketing itself. Publicity would market the station's products to the populace. This is cardinal especially that the line of railway is awash with new radio stations. Deliberate plans should be devised to make Parliament radio known, i.e. through roadside shows, Billboards or advertisements on the national broadcaster ZNBC.

#### 7.2 Broadcast Committee Sitings

At the time of writing this report, the station did not cover proceedings of the committees, only deliberations from the chamber. Broadcasting Committee sitings would be instructive to the public. It would help the public appreciate how the House reaches its decisions *vis-a-vis* the quality and broadness of its consultations with key stakeholders. The Public Accounts Committee has in the recent past received accolades from the public because of its excellent oversight role of government operations (*The Post*, April 29; May 2 and May 7). The public however, usually accesses such information through the private media as the public media seems disinclined to publish news-stories highlighting governments shortcomings. Airing proceedings live would enable information from the proverbial 'horse's mouth', uncensored and un-editorialised.

### **7.3 Expert Discussions**

Some debates in the chamber, especially on legislation, taxation, maybe too technical for the general public to grasp. This student recommends that experts in various fields -MPs or outsiders- be interviewed on the station to demystify technical issues. This can be arranged with relative ease because the station can be privy to the order paper prior to the commencement of deliberations in the chamber. The 15 minutes session break is very apt for this.

### **7.4 Bring Commissions on Board**

Good governance entails citizens playing an active role in the affairs of government. In this vein, communication between the governed and governors is indispensable. The researcher recommends that when Parliament is on recess, the station can invite Commissions like the Anti-Corruption Commission, Permanent Human Rights Commission, Police Public Complaints Commission and Judicial Complaints Commission. This would enable the public to know how they operate and how to approach the commissions when their –public's- rights are infringed upon. Thus, making the station a tool for good governance.

### **7.5 Civil Society**

Through the modernisation process of Parliament, civil society organisations are regularly called in to make submissions before Parliamentary Committees on areas of their specialisation. This student recommends that Parliament Radio utilises civil society organisations especially those involved in governance to discuss issues raised on the floor of the House substantively. Ideal time would be when the House is not sitting.

### **7.6 Allow for Rebroadcasting of Programmes Aired on the Station**

Zambia currently has over 30 radio stations as noted in chapter two. This plethora of stations is unprecedented in the media history of the country. The researcher recommends that Parliament radio allows other stations to rebroadcast its programmes. This would

translate into the station having almost a national reach. Plans should be devised to reach out to other stations for this initiative, rather than passively waiting for other station to contact it.

### **7.7 Listeners' Clubs**

The station has a reasonably good number of youths who are aware of it. However, as the research has shown, only a minute portion listens to the station. A strategy should be devised to target schools and establish listeners club. A fertile ground has been established by the ministry of education through the introduction of civic education for senior classes.

### **Conclusion**

This segment provides the conclusion to the study of Parliament Radio as a tool for participatory communication and good governance.

It is worth noting that Parliament Radio was conceived in the wave of parliamentary reforms launched in early 1990s. These reforms were bent on making parliament more responsive and participatory in a multi-party democracy.

The findings of this research revealed that although a number of constituents are aware of the existence of the station, its listenership was very low and its interaction with consumers of its products was dismal. If remedial measures are not taken urgently, this could militate against bridging the gap between parliament and parliamentarians on the one hand and the electorate on the other.

A solution for making Parliament Radio an effective tool for participatory communication and good governance should include the following facets:

1. Marketing. Parliament Radio should be marketed so as to be known, for how else can people tune in? The media landscape of Zambia has changed such that there is a plethora of radio stations aggressively selling themselves.

2. Broadcast live committee sittings. This would enable the public to follow important deliberations, especially of committees like Public Accounts, whose *modus operandi* has attracted a lot of public interest. This would also make the public more participatory in governance.
3. Broaden scope. Different commissions such as the Electoral Commission of Zambia, Anti-Corruption Commission, Police Public Complaints Commission, and CSOs such as Transparency International, whose functions have a bearing on good governance could run programmes on the station –when the house is on recess. This would help create a cadre of informed and proactive citizens.
4. Listeners' clubs targeting the youthful members of society especially those in schools. This would help to create loyal followers for the station and have a multiplier effect.

Implementing the above measures would unlock the full potential of Parliament Radio as an effective tool for participatory communication and good governance.

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**APPENDIX 1**  
**AUDIENCE SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE**

Dear Respondent,

I am carrying out a survey to determine if people in Mandevu Constituency know about the existence of Parliament Radio and if the station addresses issues of governance relevant to the community. All information you will give me answering the questions I am going to ask you will be treated as confidential. I promise that the information will be used only for the purpose of this survey. Please as truthful a possible.

SECTION A

Please tick what is applicable

- |        |           |
|--------|-----------|
| 1. Sex | 1. Male   |
|        | 2. Female |
| 2. Age | 1. 18- 24 |
|        | 2. 25- 34 |
|        | 3. 35- 44 |
|        | 4. 45- 54 |
|        | 5. 55- 64 |

6. 65 and above.

3. Marital Status

1. Married

2. Single

3. Divorced

4. widow/widower

4. Occupation

1. Formally employed

2. Self-employed

3. Housewife

4. Student

5. Farmer

6. None of the above

5. Level of Education

1. Primary

2. Secondary

3. Tertiary

4. Never

6. Do you own a radio set?

Yes ( ) No ( )

7. Is there a radio set nearby your house that you listen to? Yes ( )  
No ( )

8. Have you heard of Parliament Radio? Yes  
( ) No ( )

9. If yes from whom?

1. Friends

2. Newspapers

3. ZNBC TV or Radio

4. Other stations

10. I listen to parliament radio

1. Daily

2. Once a week

3. Twice weekly

4. Rarely

5. Never

11. If yes what kind of programmes?

1. Debates

2. News

3. Entertainment

4. Developmental

5. Others specify

12. If no, give reasons

1. Boring

2. Too technical

3. Poor presentation

4. Irrelevant

5. Less informative

6. Non applicable

13. Do you think the problems you face like poor water reticulation are addressed by the station?

Yes ( ) No ( )

14. Do you think the radio station helps you to know how the government uses your money from taxes?

Yes ( ) No ( )

15. If yes, which programme?

1. Debates

2. Oral Questions and Answers

3. Ministerial statements

4. News

5. Others specify.....

16. Does the radio help you to know what to do about corruption?

Yes ( ) No ( )

17. Do you think the radio helps you to know how government is run? Yes ( ) No ( )

18. Have you ever listened to your MP on the radio Yes ( )  
No ( )

19. Have you ever participated in a call-in or text in programme?  
Yes ( ) No ( )

20 If yes how often?

1. Once
2. Twice
3. many times
4. Never

21. The programmes on parliament radio reflect important issues of our community

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Do not know
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree

22. What should parliament radio do in order to allow for more participation by the community?

1. Introduce more interactive programmes
2. Introduce open forum
3. Conduct visits to communities
4. Improve programming
5. Do not know

Thank you for taking time to respond to these questions.

**APPENDIX 2**  
**FREQUENCY TABLES**

**Sex of respondents**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Male	37	37.0	37.0	37.0
	Female	63	63.0	63.0	100.0
	Total	100	100.0	100.0	

**Age of respondents**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	18-24	23	23.0	23.0	23.0
	25-34	24	24.0	24.0	47.0
	35-44	14	14.0	14.0	61.0
	45-54	23	23.0	23.0	84.0
	55-64	14	14.0	14.0	98.0
	65 and above	2	2.0	2.0	100.0
	Total	100	100.0	100.0	

Table Caption

#### Marital status

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Married	38	38.0	38.0	38.0
	Single	43	43.0	43.0	81.0
	Divorced	3	3.0	3.0	84.0
	Widow/widower	16	16.0	16.0	100.0
	Total	100	100.0	100.0	

#### Occupation of respondents

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Formally employed	22	22.0	22.0	22.0
	Self-employed	28	28.0	28.0	50.0
	Housewife	20	20.0	20.0	70.0
	Student	21	21.0	21.0	91.0
	Farmer	1	1.0	1.0	92.0
	None of the above	8	8.0	8.0	100.0
	Total	100	100.0	100.0	

#### Level of education

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Primary	23	23.0	23.0	23.0
	Secondary	51	51.0	51.0	74.0
	Tertiary	24	24.0	24.0	98.0
	Never	2	2.0	2.0	100.0
	Total	100	100.0	100.0	

#### Do you own a radio?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	81	81.0	81.0	81.0
	No	19	19.0	19.0	100.0
	Total	100	100.0	100.0	

#### Is there a radio set in your neighbourhood?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	65	65.0	65.0	65.0
	No	35	35.0	35.0	100.0
	Total	100	100.0	100.0	

**I listen to Parliament Radio**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Daily	10	10.0	10.0	10.0
	Once a week	13	13.0	13.0	23.0
	Twice weekly	5	5.0	5.0	28.0
	Rarely	28	28.0	28.0	56.0
	Never	44	44.0	44.0	100.0
	Total	100	100.0	100.0	

**If yes, what kind of programmes?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Debates	44	44.0	44.0	44.0
	Entertainment	4	4.0	4.0	48.0
	Developmental	4	4.0	4.0	52.0
	Others	1	1.0	1.0	53.0
	Not applicable	47	47.0	47.0	100.0
	Total	100	100.0	100.0	

**If no, give reasons**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Boring	1	1.0	1.0	1.0
	Too technical	3	3.0	3.0	4.0
	Less informative	8	8.0	8.0	12.0
	Not applicable	88	88.0	88.0	100.0
	Total	100	100.0	100.0	

**Does station address 'hot issues' of your community like poor water reticulation?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	26	26.0	26.0	26.0
	No	37	37.0	37.0	63.0
	Not applicable	37	37.0	37.0	100.0
	Total	100	100.0	100.0	

**Does station inform you how money from your taxes is used?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	36	36.0	36.0	36.0
No	19	19.0	19.0	55.0
Not applicable	45	45.0	45.0	100.0
Total	100	100.0	100.0	

**Does station about corruption?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	34	34.0	34.0	34.0
No	22	22.0	22.0	56.0
Not applicable	44	44.0	44.0	100.0
Total	100	100.0	100.0	

**Have you ever listened to you MP on the radio?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	28	28.0	28.0	28.0
No	28	28.0	28.0	56.0
Not applicable	44	44.0	44.0	100.0
Total	100	100.0	100.0	

**Does station empower you about grz operations?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	32	32.0	32.0	32.0
NO	24	24.0	24.0	56.0
Not applicable	44	44.0	44.0	100.0
Total	100	100.0	100.0	

**If yes, how often?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Once	2	2.0	2.0	2.0
	Twice	1	1.0	1.0	3.0
	Many times	10	10.0	10.0	13.0
	Never	87	87.0	87.0	100.0
	Total	100	100.0	100.0	

**Have ever called/text the station?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	9	9.0	9.0	9.0
	No	47	47.0	47.0	56.0
	Not applicable	44	44.0	44.0	100.0
	Total	100	100.0	100.0	

**Programmes on station reflect important communal issues?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	14	14.0	14.0	14.0
	Agree	15	15.0	15.0	29.0
	Do not know	55	55.0	55.0	84.0
	Disagree	12	12.0	12.0	96.0
	Strongly disagree	4	4.0	4.0	100.0
	Total	100	100.0	100.0	

**What should station do to allow more community participation?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Introduce more interactive programmes	13	13.0	13.5	13.5
	Introduce open forum	8	8.0	8.3	21.9
	Conduct visits to communities	54	54.0	56.3	78.1
	Improve programming	5	5.0	5.2	83.3
	Do not know	16	16.0	16.7	100.0
	Total	96	96.0	100.0	
Missing	System	4	4.0		
Total		100	100.0		

**APPENDIX 3: CROSSTABULATIONS**

**Sex of respondents \* Have you heard of Parliament radio?  
Crosstabulation**

Count

		Have you heard of Parliament radio?		Total
		Yes	No	
Sex of respondents	Male	31	6	37
	Female	33	30	63
Total		64	36	100

**Sex of respondents \* I listen to Parliament Radio Crosstabulation**

Count

		I listen to Parliament Radio					Total
		Daily	Once a week	Twice weekly	Rarely	Never	
Sex of respondents	Male	5	7	2	14	9	37
	Female	5	6	3	14	35	63
Total		10	13	5	28	44	100

**Sex of respondents \* Have ever called/text the station? Crosstabulation**

Count

		Have ever called/text the station?			Total
		Yes	No	Not applicable	
Sex of respondents	Male	4	24	9	37
	Female	5	23	35	63
Total		9	47	44	100

**Sex of respondents \* Does station about corruption? Crosstabulation**

Count

		Does station about corruption?			Total
		Yes	No	Not applicable	
Sex of respondents	Male	19	9	9	37
	Female	15	13	35	63
Total		34	22	44	100

Age of respondents \* Have ever called/text the station? Crosstabulation

Count

		Have ever called/text the station?			Total
		Yes	No	Not applicable	
Age of respondents	18-24	1	14	8	23
	25-34	6	8	10	24
	35-44	1	5	8	14
	45-54	1	13	9	23
	55-64		6	8	14
	65 and above		1	1	2
Total		9	47	44	100

Level of education \* Have you heard of Parliament radio? Crosstabulation

Count

		Have you heard of Parliament radio?		Total
		Yes	No	
Level of education	Primary	9	14	23
	Secondary	33	18	51
	Tertiary	21	3	24
	Never	1	1	2
Total		64	36	100

Level of education \* I listen to Parliament Radio Crosstabulation

Count

		I listen to Parliament Radio					Total
		Daily	Once a week	Twice weekly	Rarely	Never	
Level of education	Primary		4		6	13	23
	Secondary	7	6	5	9	24	51
	Tertiary	3	3		13	5	24
	Never					2	2
Total		10	13	5	28	44	100

Age of respondents \* I listen to Parliament Radio Crosstabulation

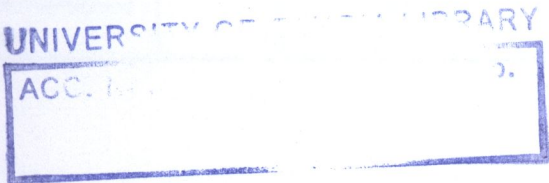
Count		I listen to Parliament Radio					Total
		Daily	Once a week	Twice weekly	Rarely	Never	
Age of respondents	18-24	1	6	1	7	8	23
	25-34	3	3	2	6	10	24
	35-44	1	2		3	8	14
	45-54	5	1	1	7	9	23
	55-64		1		5	8	14
	65 and above			1		1	2
Total		10	13	5	28	44	100

Age of respondents \* Have you heard of Parliament radio? Crosstabulation

Count		Have you heard of Parliament radio?		Total
		Yes	No	
Age of respondents	18-24	17	6	23
	25-34	17	7	24
	35-44	6	8	14
	45-54	16	7	23
	55-64	7	7	14
	65 and above	1	1	2
Total		64	36	100

Level of education \* Have ever called/text the station? Crosstabulation

Count		Have ever called/text the station?			Total
		Yes	No	Not applicable	
Level of education	Primary	3	7	13	23
	Secondary	4	23	24	51
	Tertiary	2	17	5	24
	Never			2	2
Total		9	47	44	100



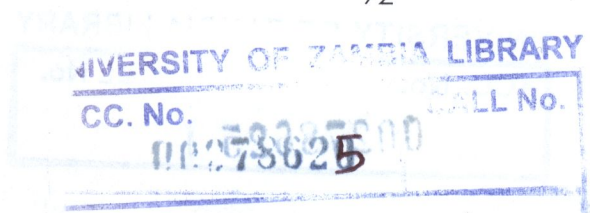
**Level of education \* Does station about corruption? Crosstabulation**

Count		Does station about corruption?			Total
		Yes	No	Not applicable	
Level of education	Primary	6	4	13	23
	Secondary	22	5	24	51
	Tertiary	6	13	5	24
	Never			2	2
Total		34	22	44	100

**APPENDIX 4  
CONTENT ANALYSIS FOR RADIO**

**Rule of law**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	once	4	40.0	40.0	40.0
	Twice	2	20.0	20.0	60.0
	Not mentioned	4	40.0	40.0	100.0
	Total	10	100.0	100.0	



### Accountability

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid once	4	40.0	40.0	40.0
Twice	3	30.0	30.0	70.0
Not mentioned	3	30.0	30.0	100.0
Total	10	100.0	100.0	

### Transparency

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid once	3	30.0	30.0	30.0
Not mentioned	7	70.0	70.0	100.0
Total	10	100.0	100.0	

### Consensus Building

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid once	3	30.0	30.0	30.0
Not mentioned	7	70.0	70.0	100.0
Total	10	100.0	100.0	

### Participatory

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid once	3	30.0	30.0	30.0
Twice	3	30.0	30.0	60.0
Not mentioned	4	40.0	40.0	100.0
Total	10	100.0	100.0	

### Responsiveness

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid once	6	60.0	60.0	60.0
Twice	2	20.0	20.0	80.0
Not mentioned	2	20.0	20.0	100.0
Total	10	100.0	100.0	

### Efficiency and effectiveness

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid once	7	70.0	70.0	70.0
Trice	1	10.0	10.0	80.0
Not mentioned	2	20.0	20.0	100.0
Total	10	100.0	100.0	

## APPENDIX 5

### LISTS OF PEOPLE INTERVIEWED

Mr C.J Banda	- Chief Research Officer
Mr H.E Phiri	- Projects Coordinator
Mrs. Y. C Fundafunda	- Senior Parliamentary Radio announcer
Miss M. Simate	- Parliamentary announcer
Mr. J Musumali	- Library Clerk