

**AN EVALUATION OF THE MEDIA COVERAGE ON CORRUPTION ISSUES IN  
ZAMBIA: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE ZAMBIA NATIONAL BROADCASTING  
CORPORATION (ZNBC TV1) AND MUVI TELEVISION**

BY

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## DECLARATION

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## **ABSTRACT**

There is a growing concern in Zambia over what many media personnel regard as news worthy stories and in particular corruption-related stories. Many argue that the media would rather cover a political story than a news beat on corruption which is of great significance to their audience. Hence one is tempted to wonder as to whether the media deliberately ignore such stories or the ownership of a particular media house has a bearing on the type of news they cover.

The aim of this study was to evaluate the media coverage on corruption issues in Zambia. The study also did a comparison of two media houses namely, the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation TV1 (ZNBC TV1) and MUVI Television to try and establish whether media ownership has any influence in the way corruption stories are covered in Zambia.

A number of both qualitative and quantitative methods were used in this study including in-depth interviews, quantitative interviews and content analysis of corruption-related news and discussion programmes on both MUVI TV and ZNBC TV1 from January to April 2017.

The research findings revealed that the media is a key stakeholder in the fight against corruption. However, regardless of their status as agenda setters, the media especially the state owned ZNBC TV1 have failed to match the people's expectations in the fight against corruption. Being the national broadcaster, the expectations are that ZNBC TV1 should work closely with the Anti-Corruption Commission (ACC) in following up on corruption cases and to provide feedback to the Zambian community. MUVI TV has been an alternative for many local viewers but it also is limited to only those who are able to buy a decoder and can manage to pay subscription fees to access its content. This means that those who cannot afford to buy the MUVI TV decoder have to rely on the National broadcaster for information and if they do not cover any corruption stories then the society will believe that corruption is not an issue in Zambia. According to the findings from this research, ZNBC TV1 only showed corruption-related news when the victim was not a government official or someone who had fallen out of favour with the government like the former Information and Broadcast Minister, Dr Chishimba Kambwili. The research findings also showed a link between media ownership and corruption reporting. It was clearly revealed that the state owned ZNBC TV did not report on any senior government official found wanting because it was government owned and funded by the government for its operations.

## **DEDICATION**

my guardian Mr Kenneth Lungu, who taught me never to leave dirt behind, my wife Silvia Chulu and my brother Francis Chulu for being there for me when I needed a helping hand.

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS**

<b>ACC</b>	-	Anti-Corruption Commission
<b>CAZ</b>	-	Communications Authority of Zambia
<b>CTPD</b>	-	Centre for Trade Policy and Development
<b>FM</b>	-	Frequency Modulation (as applied to radio stations)
<b>IBA</b>	-	Independent Broadcasting Act
<b>JCTR</b>	-	Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflections
<b>ICTs</b>	-	Information and Communication Technologies
<b>ITU</b>	-	International Telecommunications Union
<b>MIBS</b>	-	Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Services
<b>MISA</b>	-	Media Institute of Southern Africa
<b>MMD</b>	-	Movement for Multi-party Democracy
<b>MUVI TV</b>	-	Muvi Television
<b>NWICO</b>	-	New World Information and Communication Order
<b>TIZ</b>	-	Transparency International Zambia
<b>TV</b>	-	Television
<b>SADC</b>	-	Southern African Development Community
<b>UNESCO</b>	-	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation.
<b>USA</b>	-	United States of America
<b>UNZA</b>	-	University of Zambia
<b>ZNBC</b>	-	Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation
<b>ZICTA</b>	-	Zambia Information and Communications Technology Authority

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# CHAPTER ONE

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Overview

There is a growing concern in Zambia over what many media personnel regard as news worthy stories and in particular corruption-related stories. Many argue that the media would rather cover a political story than a news beat on corruption which is of great significance to their audience. Hence one is tempted to wonder as to whether the media deliberately ignores such stories or maybe the ownership of a particular media house has a bearing on the type of news they cover. Therefore, the aim of this study was to evaluate the media coverage on corruption issues. The study aimed at conducting a comparative research on two media houses namely the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC) and MUVI Television.

### 1.2 Background information on Zambia

#### 1.2.1 History

The native occupants of Zambia began to be displaced or absorbed by more advanced migrating tribes about 2,000 years ago. Many argue that this was as a result of the Bantu-Speaking people migrating from their place of origin in search for better land for agriculture and pasture for their animals. Some migrated due to war and traditional disputes. The majority of these came mainly from the Luba and Lunda tribes of southern Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and northern Angola (Bamber, 2001).

“Zambia’s population as captured during the 2010 Census of Population and Housing was 13,092,666. This represents an increase of 32.4 per cent from the population of 9,885,591 captured during the 2000 Census. The population in rural areas increased from 6,458,729 in 2000 to 7,919,216 in 2010, representing an increase of 22.6 per cent between the

two censuses. The population in urban areas grew by 51.0 percent from a population of 3,426,862 in 2000 to 5,173,450 in 2010. Looking forward, with the methodology used in this current set of projections it shows that the country's total population was expected to grow from 13.7 million in 2011 to 17.9 million in 2020 and to 26.9 million by 2035. The population in rural areas was expected to grow from 8.2 million in 2011 to 10.1 million in 2020 and to 14.5 million by 2035 while the population in urban areas was expected to grow from 5.6 million in 2011 to 7.8 million in 2020 and to 12.4 million by 2035" (CSO; 2010).

## **1.3 Background information on corruption in Zambia**

### **1.3.1 Corruption in Zambia**

Corruption in Zambia continues to be one of the top concerns after the cost of living and inflation since independence. The level and patterns of corruption vary remarkably from one sector to the next with bribe frequency ranging between 1 per cent (health) and 29 per cent (police). According to the Transparency International Zambia Bribe Payers' Index (ZBPI) (2014) research which was jointly undertaken together with the Anti-Corruption Commission (ACC), petty corruption is more prevalent in urban areas than in rural areas.

Zambia today faces the problem of public resource mismanagement and unfortunately this is widespread and affecting the performance of the economy from different angles. According to the different publications of the auditor general's reports as well as donor reports, there is no empirical evidence on the causes and drivers of corruption in Zambia meaning that not much research conducted on this subject to conclusively arrive at what exactly is behind the increasing levels of corruption in Zambia. Empirical data available from the different researches conducted on the subject however, does seem to pin point Zambia's change from a one party state to a liberalised economy as one of the major drivers of a 'new culture of corruption' in the country. "A presidential slush fund, infamously used to

obtain political buy-in during Frederick Chiluba's regime and privatisation, supported by the World Bank-led structural adjustment programmes, have allegedly triggered high-level corruption" (Norad, 2011).

A number of organisations that are involved in the fight against corruption in Zambia believe that the campaign to eliminate it is mostly ad hoc. According to Transparency International Corruption Perception Index (CPI) which ranks according to their perceived levels of corruption using different kinds of data, Zambia scored 2.6 every year between 2004 and 2007, improving to 2.8 in 2008 and 3.0 in 2009. It was because of the CPI results under President Levy Mwanawasa that a Task Force on Corruption (TFC) was established to fight grand corruption that existed in the previous regime under President Chiluba. It was however during President Rupiah Banda's regime that the country suffered a major setback in the fight against graft. The abuse of office clause was removed and it eventually saw former President Chiluba being acquitted of public theft and TFC was disbanded. TIZ called it "day light robbery" and advocated for a re-think on the part of government to consider returning the abuse of office clause.

### **1.3.2 Causes of corruption**

There are various factors that are associated to the causes of corruption in Zambia. At petty levels poor conditions of public service are often blamed resulting in service providers extorting bribes from clients. Grand corruption is made possible due to weak mechanisms of financial control combined with ineffective management mechanisms. In addition, TIZ believes that the law enforcement agencies lack the autonomy to work independently hence the limitations in their capacity to perform their duties efficiently and effectively (ZBPI, 2014).

Meagre leadership and abuse of office are seen as major contributors to the failed legislation. Public officials misapply resources and made deals

using their positions and still get away with these crimes. Society was believed to have accepted corruption by opening doors to more exploitation and increased bribery incidences. A culture of using positions of office for personal gain rather than pursuing national interests contributes to a system of patronage and corruption. Political patronage is based on mutually beneficial patron-client-relations that prevent meritocratic systems of employment in the public sectors. Sadly, these relations are driven by careerism and power accumulation between the civil service and by political leaders rewarding loyalty over achievement. These systemic problems are reflected in the lack of political will to tackle corruption which presents one of the foremost obstacles to combating corruption (Norad, 2011)

### **1.3.3 Political corruption**

Political corruption is an endemic problem in Zambia. It is argued that politics play a huge role in shaping up the country's resolve to fight against corruption and unfortunately for Zambia, the politics of the belly have taken precedence over objectivity. This argument was supported by the United Party for National Development (UPND) Vice President Richard Kapita when he said that corruption was endemic in Zambia under the Patriotic Front (PF) government (Lusaka Times, 2013). Despite the push to reduce corruption by the Mwanawasa and Banda administrations, the UPND believed that the country was in the wrong hands under the leadership of the late President Michael Chilufya Sata.

### **1.3. Political corruption in the Third Republic (1991-to date)**

The liberalisation of the Zambian economy came with many things and unfortunately for Zambia the ills outweighed the good side of an open market. Many people lost their jobs as many government-owned companies were privatised while others were shut down completely. It is during the Third Republic under the Movement for Multi party Democracy (MMD) that democracy and freedom blossomed in Zambia and

unfortunately corruption cases also grew rapidly. Corruption became a subject that was not open for debate, aptly demonstrated in 1992 when parliamentary debate on corruption was silenced by a number of influential politicians. As a result, the government ministers were able to haul out huge rents while in office with little oversight to restrict them. Problems regarding political corruption appear to be widely known with good press coverage. Numerous examples provide evidence that political figures have been involved in abuses of power while in office related to drug trafficking, theft and financial mismanagement, looting of commercial banks which resulted in a considerable number of bank closures privatisation of state enterprises which were often sold off to previous owners or to politicians and their associates at highly depreciated values, electoral fraud, nepotism in public appointments and a wider rent seeking behaviour. In short, corruption reached all areas of political and governmental activity.

Dr Chiluba left office in 2001 following an unsuccessful attempt for constitutional reform to allow him to run for a third term as republican president. Since then, there has been a reduction in instances of political corruption. The subsequent administration led by Mr Mwanawasa put anti-corruption as the foremost pillar of government. This largely resulted into holding the former Chiluba administration to account for abuses of office while in power. The immunity that was previously held by outgoing presidents was relinquished and a Task Force on Corruption (TFC) was set up to deal with appropriations from office between 1991 and 2001. Dr Chiluba was brought to trial but was acquitted in August 2009 due to lack of evidence connecting his personal finances to public resources. The TFC has struggled to bring other cases to trial successfully with only three convictions by 2007 (TIZ, 2009: 2014).

### **1.3.5 Public sector corruption**

Petty corruption is a common feature in the public service. Given the poor conditions of service and poor salaries, junior level staffs have strong

incentives to supplement incomes through extracting bribes from service users. This is the most visible form of corruption and one that has immediate consequences for those accessing public services. The scale of the problem is large and abuses of office through the misappropriation of public sector budgets are also prevalent.

In 2007, President Mwanawasa announced that K3 Billion had been misappropriated by the public sector workers over a four-year period, though this figure was later revised to K36 billion. Almost all public sector officials are perceived to be somewhat corrupt. Health workers and teachers and school administrators are thought to be least corrupt. The police and tax officials stand out and are perceived to be the most corrupt (Norad, 2011).

### **1.3.6 Current state of corruption in Zambia**

Despite Zambia ratifying many international treaties on corruption like in 2003 where Zambia agreed to be part of the South African Development Protocol against Corruption. In 2007, the country signed the United Nations Convention against Corruption as well as the African Union Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Corruption. The implementation of these treaties has since then not clearly come out and one wondered whether the people even knew that Zambia was party to these different treaties. However, it seems that these international agreements have not yet been implemented with weak legislative protection for whistleblowers and weak systems against money laundering, asset disclosures, plea-bargaining and access to information.

According to TIZ (2017), state of corruption report in the first quarter, Zambia's corruption fight seemed to have hit a major blockade under president Lungu due to the fact that there are so many cases that are seemingly not being handled. The only time one hears of someone being convicted is when that particular individual is not in good books with the government.

Many people feel that the fight against corruption has been lost due to society accepting it and the media not being bothered about reporting it since they too are believed to be somewhat benefiting from it.

## **1.4 The Media Background in Zambia**

### **1.4.1 Overview**

The Zambian media fraternity is driven by public or state-run and privately owned institutions either print or electronic media. The Media, since independence have been regarded as key stakeholders in maintaining peace, oneness and have been considered to a pillar for promoting the national sustainable development. This section highlights some of the most important aspects of the media environment in Zambia. It will focus mainly on the broadcast aspect as the study is basically a comparison of two television stations.

### **1.4.2 Broadcasting**

Zambia's broadcasting space is suggested to have started during the colonial regime. According to Hamasaka (2008), the development of the broadcast media was directly linked to the objectives of the British Empire of using the media as a tool for communicating and controlling the governed. He argued that in 1941 the British colonial government launched the first radio broadcasting in Lusaka now the capital city of Zambia.

It is reported that when the then Northern Rhodesia now Zambia got independence, the Kenneth Kaunda led government took over the running of the Zambia Broadcasting Services (ZBS) which was then known as the Northern Rhodesia Broadcasting Services (NRBS) and later became known as the Zambia Broadcasting Services (ZBS), (Hamasaka, 2008).

In line with the foregoing, it is argued that, after this takeover ZNBC allowed the government to manipulate and control it and acts as its mouth piece. According to Kasoma (1997), ZNBC came into being as a single-

channel television outlet and was modelled to operate like the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), meaning that it was supposed to be independent, unbiased and objective. In practice, ZNBC rapidly followed in the path taken by other broadcasting outlets in most African countries, it became a state-run institution that tended to report news only from the government's and ruling party's perspective. Opposition views were absent from ZNBC radio and television news. Kaunda and the ruling party saw the broadcast media as handmaidens of the government and United Independence Party (UNIP), which was there to only propagate and spread, uncritically, pro-government views and policies. In the Kaunda view, which was shared by many African leaders, opposition parties were considered to be government enemies whose views were never to be published or spread by the media. What was also clear from the foregoing was that the control of ZNBC was a way of then President Kaunda's ideal process of propagating the philosophy of humanism and for government propaganda

However, with the coming of multi party system under the Movement for Multi party Democracy (MMD), it was anticipated that there would be many changes especially in the media fraternity. The MMD manifesto was clear while in opposition and was to free the public media to encourage checks and balances on the government and to promote freedom of expression and opinion (Chirwa, 1997).

After the MMD came into power in 1991, many people including political players were hopeful that the control of ZNBC by government would be reduced and following the enactment of the Telecommunications Act of 1994 that removed the Corporation's role of issuing radio licenses which led to the establishment of the Communications Authority of Zambia (CAZ). The monopoly reduced and a lot of other private media organisations were established.

Liberalisation of the air waves through the Radio Communications Act (1994) and the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (Licensing) gave birth to radio stations like Radio Phoenix, QFM, and HotFM; the Southern Province based SkyFM, Mazabuka Community Radio, Zambezi FM and Radio Mosi-o-Tunya; the Copperbelt province-based YARFM, Radio Ichengelo and FlavaFM, and many others throughout the country. However, up to date only ZNBC has the monopoly to broadcast nationwide because most of these other radio stations have limited coverage licences to broadcast either only in Lusaka or in a specific region.

Although far from being totally free, the media in Zambia has become more free compared to the time during the 27 years since independence fringing from 1964 to 1991 the famous electoral defeat of Kaunda and his party, UNIP. Zambians now have access to competing and opposing voices. The private press has taken upon itself the role of public watchdog and defender of freedom and the truth. Access to the media has improved remarkably. Criticism of the government is no longer a crime. However, despite these newfound freedoms, access to the media remains limited because of the high levels of illiteracy, poverty, the inability to afford buying newspapers and the radios and television.

Moreover, the lack of electricity has kept the electronic media out of reach of the majority of Zambian citizens. The Information Revolution has led to Internet accessibility in Zambia. Even though poverty levels however, have militated against E-mail and other Internet services to most Zambians (Kasoma, 1997).

The liberalisation of air waves in television also gave birth to many media outlets like MUVI Television, Prime Television, Q-Television and Mobi Television. ZNBC Television 1 has maintained a consistent lead in terms of reaching out to the masses despite the initiative by Muvi Television to use satellite broadcasting facilities to broadcast countrywide.

According to Mambwe (2012), in 2005, ZNBC together with their strategic business investment partners, Multi-Choice Zambia entered into an agreement that saw Multi-Choice Zambia begin to distribute the ZNBC signals via satellite on the Digital Satellite Television (DSTV) bouquet. This proved to be one way of boosting the ZNBC signal as well as a digitalisation process to move from the analogue signal.

Recently in 2017, ZNBC signed another strategic agreement similar to the one signed that with Multi-Choice Zambia with Top Star. All these partnerships are aimed at speeding up the digitalisation process as well as to enable send signals to the rural areas where the signal was weak but could be accessed via Multi-Choice or Top Star (MISA Zambia, 2017).

For the last three years, Zambia was expected to cross over to digital broadcasting and the bench mark was 2014. However, the process has been slow and there has not been much sensitisation on the subject to the people of Zambia who are seemingly ignorant with the introduction of the ZNBC digital boxes. Most citizens are not aware that digital broadcasting is a global standard set by member countries of the International Telecommunications Union (ITU), a United Nations body that looks at telecommunications and related technologies (ZICTA, 2009).

However, despite the deadline given by the Southern African Development Community (SADC) of December 2014 for the region, Zambia was unable to beat this deadline but has requested for time to complete the process (Habeenzu, 2010). Digital broadcasting is seen to be the new way of improving electronic media because it will bring about new dimensions of television broadcasting, improvement in transmission, wider distribution of the signal and which is easy to maintain.

#### **1.4.2 Legislative and regulatory provisions on Broadcasting**

The Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Service (MIBS) oversees all broadcasting in Zambia. This government line ministry is responsible for

policy formulation and regulatory functions of the broadcasting industry. The legal provisions that guide and govern the media include:

- (i) Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC) Act of 1987;
- (ii) Zambia National Broadcasting (ZNBC) (Licensing) Regulations (1993); and
- (iii) Radio Communications Act of 1994.

To date more policies and legislations have been established to facilitate checks and balances on the media in order to ensure that their operations follow the lay down procedures which are:

- (i) Independent Broadcasting Authority Act No 17 of 2010; and
- (ii) Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC) Amendment Act of 2002.

However, despite these legal provisions that have helped to push the liberalisation agenda, Zambia still has no access to Information Law (ATI) despite so many promises made by government.

#### **1.4.4 Independent Broadcasting Authority (Amendment) Act, 2010**

According to Banda (2006), the Amendment Act established the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) with a mandate to regulate the broadcasting industry in Zambia. One of the main functions of the IBA is to issue licenses for public, commercial, community, religious and subscription broadcasting services. The IBA has a more specific function that of ensuring that there is sanity in the broadcast media and to ensure that all media houses abide by the lay down ethical procedures and the codes of practice. Since its establishment, IBA has been following and monitoring media houses to see whether they complied with the stipulated regulations. In 2016, during the election campaign period, a number of media houses had their licences revoked because of being cited in the forefront of instigating political violence between the front runners of the Patriotic Front (PF) and the United Party for National Development (UPND). IBA was criticised by the public and after investigations, the decision to revoke the broadcasting licences was rescinded and the broadcasting licences were given back to the affected media houses. The affected media houses were MUVI Television, Itezhi Tezhi Radio and Komboni Radio.

#### **1.4.5 Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (Amendment) Act, 2002**

The introduction of this Act meant that now ZNBC through liberalisation would be transformed into a national broadcasting service organisation. Through its existence, the Act also made the Television Levy payment mandatory by any person living in Zambia who owned a television set. The Act also redefined the functions and powers of the Corporation to generally provide for the control and regulation of broadcasting and diffusion of broadcasting services in Zambia.

#### **1.4.6 Access to Information Bill (ATI)**

The Access to Information Bill was tabled before the Zambian Parliament when it was then called the Freedom of Information Bill (FOI). The MMD government fourteen year ago had a vision through this Bill to open its hands to the people of Zambia to access information on its dealings and other engagements and to allow the public access to information.

It should be noted here that at the time of conducting this study, government was still making consultations on whether the Bill was ready to return to parliament. Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) Zambia welcomed the pronouncement by Justice Minister Given Lubinda at the 2017 Universal Periodic Review that the Access to Information Bill was ready and that the government was working on systems that would readily avail the information to the public.

#### **1.4.7 Digital Migration Policy**

Digital migration arose from the Regional Radio Communication Conference of 2006 (RRC06) and the subsequent Geneva 2006 Agreement (GE06) of the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) which resolved that all countries in Region 1 (Europe and Africa) signatory to the agreement must migrate by 17 June 2015.

This policy sets out guidelines for seamless transition from analogue to digital and ensures that Zambia meets the ITU deadline of 17 June 2015. However, by June 2015, Zambia had not prepared adequately for this process and to date it is still working towards implementation of the policy. The vision for government under this policy is to develop an Information and Media industry capable of bringing about a well-informed citizenry, motivated to embrace democratic governance, national development and promote continued access to diverse information after migration

Once complete, digital broadcasting will enable the utilisation of the scarce frequency spectrum far more efficiently than analogue technologies and

therefore the first benefit of digital migration will be the freeing up of valuable radio frequency spectrum that is currently used for analogue television transmission. The freed up spectrum could be used for other services (digital dividends).

The migration to digital broadcasting will also create opportunities for the development, use and wide dissemination of local content. It will advance the expression and the efficient communication of the knowledge and experience of all communities and the country as a whole. The creation and use of local content will contribute to the integration of people from all walks of life.

However, for the above to be possible, it will require a concerted effort to increase the pace of generating digital content to utilise the excess capacity to be generated upon migration. The development of digital local content will spur the development of the creative industries and promote job creation.

## **1.5 Statement of the Problem**

Zambia as a country has a lot to do when it comes to the fight against corruption. Many people argue that depending on their affiliation that the country has made some considerable progress in reducing the vice. The much expected reference could be the introduction of the anti-corruption act of 2003 and the introduction and implementation of the anti-corruption policy of 2009 as evidence that the country was making positive change towards reducing corruption.

In spite of progress made, corruption remains a serious issue in Zambia, affecting the lives of ordinary citizens and their access to public services. Corruption in the police and Road Transport and Safety Agency (RTSA) according to TIZ “has become a serious grey area that needs to be addressed as well as the education and health services. There has been an outcry for public institutions to be more open through different platforms of the media. But even

with such efforts, corruption remains notoriously difficult to investigate and prosecute” (Zambia Bribe Payers’ Index, 2014).

However, due to lack of awareness from the media on the effects of corruption, it has become a common practice to see people being bribed to access free services like health care and police reports. Society has widely accepted the concept of “*scratch my back and I will scratch yours*” and this is slowly spilling over to the future generation because there is to a large extent less information from the media on the effects of corruption.

The problem is that there is lack of media coverage of corruption-related stories which is detrimental to the fight against corruption. This study examined why and how to engage media to actively play their role as watchdog institutions. There has not been a study on the subject of corruption in the country except the one by Binga Binga (2017), which is on University of Zambia students. To take back what has been lost through corruption, everyone needs to play a part. The government, civil society organisations, the private sector, the general public and media especially will be required to play a pivotal role in seeing this agenda through so that the future of this country is built on solid and honest foundations.

### **1.5.1 Purpose of study**

The research was aimed at providing empirical data on how the media covered corruption and to explore how to improve coverage. It was set up as a comparative study of the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC TV1) and MUVI Television.

### **1.5.2 Specific Objectives**

The specific objectives for this study were to:

- (i) Ascertain what kind of reporting exists at ZNBC TV1 and MUVI TV on corruption issues;

- (ii) Establish whether the ZNBC TV1 and MUVI TV messages set the agenda for the people's perception on the fight against corruption; and
- (iii) Investigate whether ownership of ZNBC TV1 and MUVI TV had any bearing in the way media houses cover news stories.

### **1.5.3 Research Questions**

Based on the aim and the specific objectives of the study, the following were the questions that the research methodology sought to answer.

- (i) What does ZNBC TV1 or MUVI TV focus on when covering and reporting corruption cases?
- (ii) Are people aware of anti-corruption campaigns in Zambia?
- (iii) Does ZNBC TV1 or MUVI TV coverage affect people's perceptions on the fight against corruption?
- (iv) Does ownership of ZNBC TV1 and MUVI TV influence their reportage on corruption?

## **1.6 Rationale of the study**

There is a serious black out of corruption related stories in the broadcast media (ZNBC TV1 and MUVI TV) content. It is very difficult to find content on corruption on a daily basis, if it is found, it will be in form of pronouncements either by government or the opposition political parties trying to gain political mileage. The media also seem to have categorised what sort of corruption cases they will publish or leave out. The black out of corruption-related stories from the media have contributed to the public losing hope in the fight against corruption. As a result, it is not surprising see corrupt leaders being recycled and given high positions in government.

It is also important to note that due to the lack of media messages on the effects of corruption, a lot of resources which were supposed to benefit the

Zambian people end up benefiting a few individuals hence resulting in serious underdevelopment and increased poverty levels.

The foregoing has exposed the media as one of the main contributing factors that weaken the fight against corruption because the media does not bring out what they see or hear instead they choose to give a blind eye to the effects of corruption that has to a large extent contributed to the underdevelopment of this country.

Therefore, through the findings of the study, it was envisaged that it would provide an opportunity to re-engage the media in order to address the gaps existing on the coverage of corruption-related stories which had negatively affected the fight against corruption. Some of the recommendations that were realised from this study were to re-introduce specialised investigative journalism courses, improve the working conditions and to provide legal protection for practicing journalists.

## **1.7 Significance of the study**

The findings of this study will benefit the media (ZNBC TV1 and MUVI TV) and will also highlight the weaknesses identified by the anti-corruption campaigns which have had serious consequences on integrity, good governance and development of this country.

## **1.8 Scope of the study**

The study was based in Lusaka district and was conducted in Mandevu and Munali Constituencies which have a combined population estimate of 500,000 people.

## **1.9 Conceptual Framework and Theoretical Framework**

### **1.9.1 Introduction**

The conceptual framework in this study was used to define the main concepts and how they were related to the study of media coverage of corruption issues and democratic governance in the broad sense and

directly focused on corruption and the promotion of good governance in Zambia.

The concepts understood here included **corruption**, **transparency**, **integrity**, **mass media** and **media audience**. These concepts helped put the study into perspective.

## **1.9.2 Conceptual and Operational Definitions**

### **1.9.3 Corruption**

This study established that there is no one universal definition of corruption and as such definitions vary from one jurisdiction to another but all bearing similar characteristics. However, according to the Zambian Anti-Corruption Act No. 3 (2012), “corruption in this context means soliciting, accepting, obtaining, giving promising or offering of gratification by way of a bribe or other personal temptation or inducement or misuse or abuse of public office for advantage or benefit for oneself or other person”.

### **1.9.4 Transparency**

Transparency in this study is being open in clearly disclosing information, rules, plans, processes and actions and integrity using public powers for the public good.

### **1.9.5 Mass media**

Mass media is the aggregate of all media that target large populations in the dissemination of their messages. According to McQuail (2005), for a medium to qualify to be called a mass media, it must fulfil the specific criteria of being impersonal in nature, the messages be communicated to a large group of people that is usually heterogeneous in both behaviours, attitudes and needs. There must also be a medium through which the message is transmitted to the targeted audience. Mass media in this study was understood to mean specifically television stations associated with MUVI TV and ZNBC TV1 that are accessed by the population of Zambia

or sub-populations in the areas where the study was conducted were exposed to these as their sources of information.

In line with the above subject matter, this study purposed it to evaluate media coverage of corruption issues in Zambia and to determine whether the media blackout on corruption issues greatly contributed to the worsening of corruption in both the public and private entities.

### **1.9.6 Media audience**

By Media Audience in this context of the study, it meant the total number of viewers reached by MUVI TV and ZNBC TV 1

## **1.10 Theoretical Framework**

This study was based on two theories. The main focus was on the Agenda Setting Theory and the supporting theory was the Cultivation Theory.

### **1.10.1 Agenda setting theory**

The ability and power of the media to set a nation's agenda, to diverge public attention on a few key public issues, is one of the most fundamental works of the media that have been recorded and researched by many scholars of communication. Most scholars argue that what makes the media unique is their ability to intentionally and unintentionally influence an audience in most cases with little effort. By virtue of listening to or viewing media content the audience learn how much importance to attach to a particular issue based on the emphasis is given in the news.

According to McCombs and Shaw (1972), media personnel in the broadcast fraternity play an important part in shaping political reality. Readers learn not only about a given issue but also how much importance to attach to that issue from the amount of information in a news story and its position. In reflecting on what candidates said during campaigns, the mass media may well determine the important issues thus the media may set the "agenda "of the campaign. Therefore, the same can be said on issues to do with corruption because with so much influence and power,

the media can set the agenda on the devastating effects of corruption on any given country Zambia inclusive. Ayodele (2012) argues that the power of the media to expose corrupt acts through the elements of this theory can go a long way in reducing corrupt acts in the country. If public figures know that their corrupt acts will be given a lot of publicity, they are likely to have a rethink before stealing public funds.

Scheufele,(2000), contributed to the discourse and argued that the media is an important and credible source of information that cover different spectrums across the globe. He further argued that it is because of what the media showed to the audience that had a bearing on them to believe whatever was happening around them. More particularly the result of this mediated view of the world is that the priorities of the media strongly influence the priorities of the world.

Agenda-setting in this context seems to be the catalyst that mass media uses to influence public opinion and puts attention on particular event or issues as they agree on the major topics of discussion for individuals and society. So through the arguments placed on the subject above the theory was examined in this study to ascertain its validity.

### **1.10.2 The Cultivation theory**

The Cultivation theory according to Cohen and Weimann (2000) examines the long-term effects of television. "The primary proposition of this theory states that the more time people spend 'living' in the television world, the more likely they are to believe social reality portrayed on television". Under this umbrella, perceptions of the world are heavily influenced by the images and ideological messages transmitted through popular television media.

The theory in this study strengthened the analysis of tailored media that content aired to the public for a sustainable period of time can lead to behavioural change. This is because the theory itself states that heavy

media messages lead individuals to perceive reality in ways that are consistent with the portrayals they get from the media. Therefore the pivotal point of this study was to determine what sort of effect media messages had on individual perceptions of the target audience on corruption as constantly portrayed in the media.

In line with the study, the theoretical framework played a huge role in contextualising this research. It contributed in terms of understanding perceptions and attitudes as they relate to media access, experience and how for example the media can utilise the elements of this framework to influence people to be able to report the incidences of corrupt activities in Zambia through display of headlines, pictures and timing on television.

### **1.11 Ethical considerations and reliability**

In understanding the importance and magnitude of ethics, the researcher in this study, used the ethical principle of research of obtaining informed consent from potential research participants promising anonymity and confidentiality to the participants. All introductory letters were written according to the stipulated ethical guidelines. They were used to explain the purpose of the research and how their identity was to be protected once the participant agreed to be interviewed. This was the same format that was applied to institutions that were selected for this research. All the respondents both for the qualitative and the quantitative components of the study gave consent to their participation in the research and were not coerced. In the entire process, confidentiality was upheld and the respondents were guaranteed of privacy.

## CHAPTER 2

### Literature Review

#### 2.0 Introduction

Having a country that is economically, socially and politically stable is every citizen's dream. Citizens know for sure that if their country is stable then there is likelihood that peoples' needs will be met. However, an unstable country breeds conflict, poverty and high crime rates. Many people argue that for a country to be successful, its leaders have to be people of high moral standing meaning that they should be people who are transparent, accountable and of high integrity nature. However, in most countries across the globe Zambia inclusive, having quality leaders especially those in politics is a far-fetched dream because most leaders do not understand their roles in society. The ideal situation is that leaders from government ministries and civil society are supposed to help win this war against corruption and not to partner in the plundering of resources that should benefit the people. The real situation on the ground is that there is little effort channelled towards this fight.

In line with the above, this literature review seems to suggest that for corruption to be fought head on there is need for an active role of the media to report corruption to the public. In order to understand the foregoing, the literature review analysed the current corruption situation in Zambia in relation to poverty levels and how the media can play their role by reporting on corruption in order to reduce corruption in Zambia. The assumption here is that, there has not been much media awareness on the devastating effects of corruption as seen through the continued destruction of all positive efforts of bringing back the lost values of a decent Zambia.

It is important to note that most scholars who did research on corruption have done so much work on its effects but have not extensively evaluated the role of the media in combating corruption in Zambia. Therefore, this study was

undertaken to fill this apparent research gap and satisfy the resultant knowledge deficit that has occurred. The literature review therefore focused largely on corruption related cases in Zambia, that of Africa and Europe. This meant looking at how the media is used to expose and report corruption from a European perspective in comparison to Zambia and Africa as a whole. The literature review also looked at some examples from the Zambian perspective depending on the available data.

## **2.2 Corruption levels across the globe**

Political scientists and communication researchers have long noted alarming signs of a continued decline of trust in public institutions throughout the Western world. Many of them argued that the reason for this apparent media blackout was caused by the media themselves because they practiced self-censorship in their various organisations (Mair, 2006).

Unfortunately, due to lack of media coverage on public institution, this created a vacuum of information related to public institutions' dealings, expenditures and resource management which resulted in increased levels of corruption worldwide. One of the key arguments that caused the lack of media coverage on corruption in many institutions both private and public was the commercialisation (Shardul, 2014). Shardul argues that despite the global report indicating that a lot of resources which were meant for the well being of people were misplaced, the media had not been very generous in unearthing it.

This is why in countries like Uganda; there was a call for an effective media to spearhead the fight against corruption because they were the agenda setters. The media in Uganda are regarded as critical in the anti-corruption fight because they know and understand what the audience needs as well as how to tailor message (Benderana, 2011).

The same can be said about India where the global business report indicates that recent corruption exposure was unprecedented in terms of scale, depth and hideousness. The report indicated that there was serious tax evasion and trade

mispricing costing India more than \$200 billion (Shardul, 2014). Despite all these revelations, there was little coverage by the media to expose corruption.

What should be noted is the important role of the media in the fight against corruption. The media should play an important role in digging out information as watch dog institutions, they set what is to be discussed or the agenda and they can filter information that they feel should and should not be in public domain. By doing so, media coverage influences norms and cultures, which in turn can influence policy-making and legislative reform. Examples from the Philippines among other places, show that media affects range from public awareness on corruption to massive protests against the abuse of power. Those in the international community whose work is dedicated to the fight against corruption need to be aware of the power of the media to aid in this fight and need to know how to utilise its potential (Arnold and Sumir, 2011).

Another problem that has led to the lack of media coverage on corruption according to a United States of America (U.S.A.) report based Centre for International Media Assistance (CIMA) of the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) had released a report entitled “Cash for Coverage: Bribery of Journalists Around the World”. The report places great interest on world-wide acts of bribing journalists and the disturbing trend of near legitimisation of the culture of journalists exchanging news with material gifts from sources otherwise known as cash for news. It surveys a number of countries, from Pakistan, South Africa, Cambodia, Ukraine, China, Nicaragua, Lebanon and of course other African countries including Uganda. The report discovered different continental and country specific names that journalists use to refer to the practice, from “*Red envelopes*” in China, to “*Brown envelopes*” in many parts of Africa, from “*Soli*” in Ghana to Jeansa in Ukraine, “*Ndalama yamatako*” in Zambia, “*Zakazukha*” in Russia, “*Mermelada*” in Peru, to “*Blocking Papers*” in Cambodia, which is a reference extortionist journalists use to extract money from their victims in exchange for “blocking” (withholding) a damaging story.

Despite this set back, it is accepted that in many countries such as the United States of America, the Great Britain, Russia and Botswana, media coverage of corruption has led to considerable political and social change. In the Philippines, investigative reporting on the president's illegal assets led to his ousting. In India, reporters uncovered deeply entrenched corruption in the defense industry and motivated many other reporters to use similar methods. Currently, a movement against corruption is sweeping through the country which could not possibly be as successful as it is if the media were not covering it extensively. To cement the forgoing, an Econometric research revealed that countries with greater press freedom tended to have less corruption. Greater political accountability and lower corruption were more likely where media story consumption was higher in data from roughly 100 countries and from different states in the USA (Brunetti and Weder, 2003).

In line with the above, empirical evidence revealed that ownership of the media contributed to the dwindling coverage of corruption related stories. The ownership of the media has become increasingly concentrated in recent decades. In the US, a "five-year study of investigative journalism on TV news completed in 2002 determined that investigative journalism has all but disappeared from the nation's commercial airways. Many journalists have moved to "public relations," where they now write "press releases" favoring their clients. In 1960, there was one Public Relations specialist (PR) for every professional journalist in the USA; in 2012, there were four PR specialists for every journalist. Research in the USA, Britain and Australia found that over half of reports in leading newspapers and television "were based solely on press releases", a phenomenon called churnalism. Meanwhile, the average daily audience for television news in the USA fell from 52.1 million in 1980 to 23.2 million in 2010 (Lewis, 2014).

It is as a result of the above that there has been massive cry for media to take up their role as watch dog institutions in the fight against corruption. As agenda setters, media organisations can support anti-corruption movements by bringing

them to the attention of a large audience. When the media act as public forum, they can introduce and spread opinions, solutions, and innovations. The media need to be reminded that many organisations engaged in the fight against corruption need to use them as allies and as vehicle for their work to improve their chances of success, their effectiveness, and their sustainability. In short, the media is very important in the fight against corruption (Arnold and Sumir, 2011).

### **2.3 Corruption in Africa**

Many regard Africa and Asia as most notorious places when it comes to corruption cases. It is argued that because of the breakdown in the rule of law in many African countries for example, corruption thrives in such environments. Due to lack of proper laws protecting the media in many African countries, the media practice self-censorship in order to survive. And unfortunately because of poor economies, media personnel are among the lowly paid in Africa. Skjerdal (2010) noted that poor pay is “devastatingly the main” reason for the brown envelope practice. He further discovered that most of the research in Nigeria, Ghana, Ethiopia, Uganda, Zambia, Cameroon and other countries cite poor salaries for journalists as the cause of the phenomenon.

Mabweazara’s (2010) article “When your take home can hardly take you home: Moonlighting and the quest for economic survival in the Zimbabwean Press” captured this dilemma. Basing on his research on Zimbabwe, he argued that “material deprivation” has the consequence of subverting “conventionalised notions of professionalism and ethical standards. Whereas it can be argued that Uganda’s income levels for journalists have significantly improved, this only applied to a small elite group of permanent employees of mainly capital city based newspapers and television stations. The majority of Ugandan journalists, especially those working for the various radio stations scattered across the country, the many upcountry journalists freelancing for the major newspapers are said to be suffering “material deprivation”.

From the culture’s perspective, there has been strong arguments that the ethical behaviour of journalists reflected the general ethos of the context within which

they practice journalism. According to Kalinaki (2011) today's Uganda is very different from that of the 1990s or even 1996. Cabinet is littered with crooks; businesses compete to evade the highest taxes; parents sell their own children for sacrifice; wives steal from their husbands; and employees steal anything they can lay their hands on from their employers". Kalinaki further wrote that "Many journalists have gone from being skeptical to being cynical. They look in their broken mirrors and see the empty power they wield. Then they look around them at the fat crocodiles whose thick skins no longer feel the brunt of published revelations about their latest scams. And when they turn to God to renew their faith, they discover that the once humble village priests are now Hummer-driving pastors with armed bodyguards".

Therefore, the fight against corruption in Africa needs a strong media supported by well tabulated laws that protect them. Support to the media can further extend to moral and financial help for them to survive the harsh environment in Africa. Many scholars agree that corruption is deep rooted and is a problem in Africa and has affected millions of people. "Many people are not sure what to do if asked for a bribe, forced to buy medicine that should be free, see shoddy work on a road or school building, are denied a job in favour of someone who is less qualified, or even land on information that some public funds have been misappropriated. The media institution plays an important role in investigating and reporting on corruption, its causes, consequences and possible remedies, informing the public about corrupt activities, both within the government and among public officials, as well as within the private sector. The media also promotes anti-corruption efforts of civil groups as well as action by official bodies in charge of investigating or prosecuting corrupt acts like the Judiciary and the Inspectorate of Government. To effectively play these roles however, media practitioners need to have easy access to information, freedom of expression as well as a cadre of professional and ethical investigative journalists" (Melin, 2009).

## 2.4 Corruption levels in Zambia

Scholastic studies have unearthed various devastating effects of corruption in Zambia. These studies indicate that corruption has continued to distort free market competition, reduced the readiness of companies to invest and has generally inhibited entrepreneurship. It has also continued to threaten the legitimacy of the rule of law and lowered public confidence in public institutions. Corruption has been said to undermine important pre-requisites for both economic growth and democratic governance. The worst consequences of corruption in Zambia have been mainly borne by the poor and vulnerable, women, children and differently able-persons. Despite all these devastating results, the media chooses not to bring them out but instead they concentrate on which politician is insulting who, promises of the government and political campaigns and rhetoric for those aspiring to be in government (TI-Z, 2016).

The rate of economic, social and political corruption in Zambia is progressively increasing with an upsurge in the number of cases where apparatus of government has become an instrument for the enrichment of members of political elites. From 1990's to date, political corruption and its attendant problems in forms of vote buying, election rigging and manipulation, outright embezzlement by politicians have negatively affected the lives of Zambians. The foregoing has had serious implications on education, health and poverty eradication programmes have not achieved desired results due to endemic political corruption. As a result of the foregoing, there have been suggestions that in order to reduce poverty, immunities of politicians should be removed, courts of law should be strengthened to adjudicate without fear and favour and public annual declaration of assets of political office holders should be made compulsory (Tumfweko News, 2016).

Corruption is one of Zambia's major challenges. It is clear to every citizen that the level of corruption in the country is high. It is found in every sector of society. Be it a small or big sector, there is every possibility of observing corrupt practices when critically examined. It is evident according to Zambia Bribe Payer's Index

released by Transparency International Zambia (2014) bribe demand increased by 6.7 percent in 2014 when compared to 2012. On the other hand, incidences of bribe offer decreased by 4.7 percent. Notable is that, bribe demand is most prevalent among supervisory and junior staff categories of the public service employees. The ranking of the most corrupt institutions in Zambia are also worrying in that the same institutions one expects to be clean are the most corrupt (Ibid).

All in all, corruption in Zambia has deepened poverty levels; it has led to the undermining of human rights; has caused degradation of the environment; has derailed development, including private sector development and has destroyed confidence in democracy and the legitimacy of the government. According to International Standards of Poverty, a person is said to be poor when he or she lives under \$1.25 per day. There are many poor people in Zambia, and poverty pushes them into corruption. The poverty levels increased in 2011. In 2011, 70 percent of the Zambian population was estimated to be poor. A person can take bribes to commit crime because he or she is poor. It is one of the reasons why the poor youths in the country collect bribes to work as thugs for the Zambian politicians (Good Governance Africa, 2012).

## **2.5 The Role of the media in fighting corruption and promoting inclusive development**

In the present decade, satellites made it possible for the media to go global with their broadcasts no longer being bound to national borders or decisions. Information networks allow private individuals to get information and to communicate directly with one another. It is obvious that in the next century transnational media will be a major factor of connecting people but not one people can necessarily see on the town plan, (Herbert, 1990). Although the media have a distinct presence in our homes today, providing us with a wealth of information on a multitude of channels, Murdock (1992) argues that they are equally well established as parts of the social structures and world of values around us. This makes it imperative that one takes keen interest in the kinds of

values the media promote in their work. It remains to be seen whether market forces can create the Information Society on a global scale without it ending up as the province of selected citizens and selected states. It is further argued by Sussman (1991) that Tele-democracy cannot be implemented until most people have the possibility to exercise their civil rights over information networks.

When the media work well to prevent corruption, they employ investigative journalism to reveal inequities, and violations and, in an educational sense, reinforce social values that reduce the incidences of corruption in government and business. Relying on freedom of speech, the media perform their watchdog function in society as they curb and expose social injustice (Marder, 1999).

In an open society, the media are a particularly effective weapon for exposing and preventing corruption; they are successful at this, because, as Australian scholar Stephen J. Tanner explained in Peking in 1995, corruption cases usually make the news. These cases have interest, currency and clarity. The economic consequences of corruption are generally severe; corruption tends to strike at the heart of the community; it involves a conflict which is deemed a crime; and the suspects and guilty parties are often prominent figures in society (Terttu; 1997).

Therefore, in what way can the media in Zambia learn to unearth corruption so that it can be reduced? Another question to ask here would be who chooses which corruption cases to cover and for what reason when there are so many cases of corruption to report on which can be of significance to the fight against graft and subsequently reducing it.

Because of the forgoing, this study endeavoured to bring out answers for these important questions through using practical examples of the African, Zambian and global experiences. The study further provided a detailed analysis on what sort of information about corruption.

## **2.6 Media coverage of corruption issues**

In order to closely appreciate the role of the media and its coverage of corruption, the goal of this study was to evaluate the media on how much content was

provided to the general citizenry to ensure that they are kept informed on corruption issues. The feeling and subsequent argument is that the evaluation of the media on how they cover corruption issues is a way to help shape a corrupt-free-Zambia for most people usually take what media says as truth.

Scholars like Terttu (1997) who propounded on this subject argue that reporting on investigations of corruption, the media unwittingly or deliberately affect the opinions formed in the courts of law and the decision-making process. One might of course argue that such influence prejudices the chances for an objective trial, but, in modern society, where the public has a right to know and where the media have the impact they do, it is probably impossible to prevent such influence.

Also key to note from the foregoing is that, although the media's role in preventing corruption is indisputable, it is not without its problems. In the best case, publicity and a fair trial go hand in hand, but conflicts may arise between the media's need for information and requirements of a fair, formal and objective criminal trial. The suspects and the accused have a right to a fair trial based on the presumption of innocence. Although public figures should have to put up with closer scrutiny of what they do than private individuals, their honour, too, and that of their families is still protected by law.

Prof. Shauer (1999) added that these debates are common everywhere, and in the case of South Africa, whenever the media exposed someone for corruption, questions were asked about the racial ownership of the medium. This widened the gulf of perception between the so called white press and the black press.

He argued that it was important that the media took the basic principles of Journalism- objectivity, accuracy, fairness and the public interest seriously. "In his opinion, freedom of speech must necessarily take into account, the range of empirical, concrete and legal policies including libel laws and censorship among other things. What is the relationship between these laws and the Press and should the press be assisted when they are exposing corruption? He asked. He said the question might not be whether we should assist the press when they are exposing but the dilemma as to whether we should tolerate falsehood. Prof.

Shauer noted that in a country where freedom of speech and of the press is stifled with protective laws; the media cannot operate freely and effectively in the fight against corruption” (Ibid).

Hence, a study on this subject was important because it revealed a lot of insights about the role of the media in reporting corruption and the content they share with the masses.

However, a closer and analytical view of this suggests that in order to understand the role of the media as an anti-corruption mechanism, it is essential to look at the crisis itself. There is a sizeable and growing body of literature which suggests that corruption is a problem which affects all societies, developing and developed alike (Heidenheimer et al., 1989; Levi and Nelken, 1996; deLeon, 1993).

However, the evidence suggested that what may be corrupt in one country or even at one time in history may not be regarded as corrupt in another country or within the same country at a different time. For example, there can be a considerable divide between western attitudes towards corruption and those in developing countries (Tanner 1999a).

Conduct that is labelled ‘corrupt’ according to western standards is often regarded as acceptable in developing countries and even considered to have a positive role to play in the development process (Johnston, 1986; Dolan et al., 1988; Johnston, 1983). Despite the different attitudes that exist, however, it is clear that the very concept of corruption embodies a moral quality one that journalists tend to seize on. As Peter Hay has observed: “corruption does not refer to a standardized set of activities, but is a term importing a quality of moral condemnation to certain practices” (Hay, 1976).

Much as the media will endeavour to provide necessary pointers on issues to focus, it most often deviates, perhaps as a consequence of the power it has to choose the newsworthiness of an idea. Studies have been carried to examine the U.S.A. media coverage of presidential nominations and campaign process. These have come up with interesting findings and observations. They show that

the media does not always give the public the correct or desired information to make an informed choice. Alger (1989) wrote that, “the game and strategy in the process, along with candidate style and image were heavily covered but issues and candidate qualifications and leadership abilities received comparatively little coverage.” This tended to profoundly affect the whole process and affected outcomes due to the nature of the news coverage.

In Zambia, media organisations have been accused so many times at different fora for not playing their part in the fight against corruption. Instead they focus so much on political stories which they believe sell to their editors. Others like the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC TV1) have for a long time now been labelled as a government mouth piece hence even when a corruption case is given to them, they will shun away and not report it (TIZ, 2017).

According to Press Association of Zambia (PAZA) president Andrew Sakala, the media should not succumb to corrupt people but aim to serve the public interest first. He added that if the media starts to pander to corrupt elements in the country, then its watchdog role will be compromised and society will consequently suffer. Further, he said the media shouldn't succumb to any corrupt people.

“You see, the issue is that the media should aim to serve public interest first. That is the major consideration when doing any story or any article. The media should not succumb to anyone, whether they are powerful politicians or people with big business or religious interests”, said the PAZA president.

In exemplifying this further, the PAZA president stressed that exposing societal wrongs meant the media resisting manipulation, especially something related to corruption. Otherwise, if the media succumbed to corruption, then the public will suffer greatly because the media is supposed to be a watchdog on behalf of society. The media was supposed to be exposing these vices such as corruption but now if the media started to pander to corrupt elements, be it political, business or whatever elements, then their role as watchdogs is highly

compromised and in the end, society would suffer. It is very important that the media resist corruption and not just the journalists themselves [but] even the media managers and media owners. They should also resist this kind of influence. Anyone who worked in the media circle should resist corruption; most importantly, not just resist it, but also fight it. A watchdog of society means that the media should be exposing wrong vices and investigative journalism is one way of exposing and fighting corruption.

Similarly, Transparency International Zambia (TI-Z) President Lee Habasonda reminded the media on their role in the fight against corruption. He said that the media and the people of Zambia should act together against corruption everyday and shine a light on those dark areas where corruption took place, so that as a team they can make a better Zambia.

## **2.7 Conclusion**

It is clear from the forgoing that there seems to be a problem and this was related to how media handled issues of corruption in this country. Perhaps what was important for this study was to arrive at factors that caused this and thereby find out whether the ownership of a particular media (ZNBC TV1 and MUVI TV) had anything to do with the media not adequately covering corruption issues in this country.

## CHAPTER 3

### METHODOLOGY OR MATERIALS AND METHODS

#### 3.1 Introduction

This Chapter looks at the methods used to gather the data and how data was analysed. The methods used include quantitative methods, which are content analysis and quantitative survey and their justification. The other method is qualitative which the in-depth interview is. The other part of this Chapter looked at the sample and its explanation.

#### 3.2 Research Design

##### 3.2.1 This study used a combination of exploratory and descriptive designs.

This study used exploratory designs in order to determine the nature of a problem. It was intended to explore research questions, but its intent was not to offer final and conclusive solutions to existing issues. The purpose was to gain a better understanding of the problem and not for decision making. The study also used descriptive design in order to describe situations through the use of the statistical package and in this cases SPSS. This was relevant to the study because descriptive research is methodically planned, designed and formatted to collect quantifiable data while exploratory is designed to collect qualitative data. Grouping responses into set choices helped the researcher providing statistically conclusive data. This allowed the study to measure the significance of the results on the overall population, as well as track the changes of the respondents' opinions, attitudes and behaviours over time (Patterson, 2015).

##### 3.2.2 Research Methods

This study employed the triangulation method. Triangulation is the use of different research methodologies in a study which are aimed at addressing

a dilemma or a problem. According to Wimmer and Dominick (2000: 49), they defined it as “the use of both qualitative and quantitative methods to fully understand the nature of a research problem. The method was arrived at based on the premise that “By combining multiple observers, theories, methods and empirical materials, researchers can hope to overcome the weakness or intrinsic biases and the problems that come from single-method, single-observer and single-theory studies.

In cementing the foregoing, Alexander (2001) suggested that “often the purpose of triangulation in specific contexts is to obtain confirmation of findings through convergence of different perspectives. The point at which the perspectives converge is seen to represent reality.” Triangulation can cut across the qualitative-quantitative divide. Its importance is to ensure that the undertaken research covers both the inter-disciplinary and holistic aspects. In line with this study, the qualitative and quantitative methods were used and these included the following:

### **3.3 Quantitative Survey**

The first method used under the quantitative methods was audience survey which involved the distribution of 100 questionnaires. This involved the collection of data by the researcher administering questionnaires to a selected sample. The use of this method had its merits. It made possible for this research to allow for greater objectivity and accuracy of results. Generally, this method was designed to provide summaries of data that support generalisations about the phenomenon under study. In order to accomplish this, the audience survey involved few variables and many cases, and employed prescribed procedures to ensure validity and reliability.” (Babbie, 2010).

### **3.4 Content Analysis**

The second quantitative method used was content analysis. Since this study was comparative of two media organisations, there was need for a systematic collection and analysis of the content data coming from these organisations for a

stipulated period of time. The main reason for choosing this method was to clearly identify and calculate the visual elements that were systematic with high standards and principles of social research methods (Bryman, 2004).

### 3.5. Qualitative Research Methods

#### 3.5.1 In-depth Interviews

The in-depth interview method was used in order to place an emphasis on the authenticity and quality of words coming from source rather than the numbers and percentages in the collection of data. The sources in this case were deemed to experts in the field of governance and had a deeper understanding of why media behaved as such and the factors that contributed to it. As Babbie (2010) argued, “this approach of data collection primarily stresses on inductive approach to the relationship between theory and research, in which the emphasis is on the generation of theories.” It focused more on the ways in which individuals interpreted their social world and embodied a view of social reality as a constantly shifting emergent property of individuals’ creation. Therefore the use of this method enabled the researcher to appreciate the qualitative aspect in realising the findings of the study.

### 3.6 Sampling Procedure

For the quantitative survey, the researcher used Simple random sampling to arrive at the expected total sample of 100 households. The researcher believed this sampling method was important in the area of targeting a representative population. The sample comprised of populations in high, medium and low density areas to give a representative picture of the audience. However, before doing this, the researcher used a modified multistage cluster sampling. This phase was done as follows:

**Stage 1: Province** - The researcher conducted the research in Lusaka province, in the city. Lusaka was purposively chosen because of the population density

categories, it encompasses all the different classes and levels of people and it is cost effective for the researcher.

**Stage 2:** from the five constituencies, Munali and Mandevu Constituencies were purposively selected because these are the areas within Lusaka with each one of the two constituencies having all the various population density categories of high, medium and low density areas which were easily accessed to the researcher.

**Stage 3:** the following townships were selected from Munali Constituency; Kalundu and Kalingalinga and Mutendere using the random sampling method. Garden Compound, Olympia were selected in Mandevu Constituency using purposive random sampling because they are densely populated areas and have the correct mix of different classes of people.

**Stage 4:** the following sections were chosen in Mandevu Constituency, Ngwerere Ward, while Munali Ward, Mtendere and Kalingalinga Wards were selected in Munali Constituency using purposive sampling because they are easily located and have well defined structures.

**Stage 5:** the following roads were selected: Katimamulilo Road and Kasangula Road in Mandevu Constituency. From Munali constituency Alick Nkhata Road and Libala Road, while in Kalundu and Roma the researcher used Zambezi, Kaleya, Lwanginga and Lunsenfwa Roads.

**Stage 6:** Side of the road chosen: Sides of roads were randomly selected.

**Stage 7:** Using systematic random sampling, every 3<sup>rd</sup> house was selected and the head of the household or any adult over 18 years was spoken to.

## 3.7 Methods of data collection

### 3.7.1 Structured self-administered questionnaires

A total of one hundred (100) questionnaires were used to collect the data in the field administered by the researcher because this improved the response rate among the subjects. This number was arrived at

considering among other factors such as the economic feasibility in terms of resources likely to be available, time limitations and the ability of the researcher to collect the required data using this instrument.

Further, this instrument was mainly used in order to have a deeper understanding of the subject of research as the sample was divided in half consisting of urban and rural. Due to limited time and resources, the study was conducted in Lusaka district, Mandevu Constituency and Munali Constituency. The reason behind this choice was that both Mandevu and Munali Constituencies have a mix of all economic clusters, lower, middle and upper class.

### **3.7.2 In-depth Interview**

An in-depth interview guide was used to raise questions for the respondents to answer. As such, the researcher used purposive sampling which entailed the choosing of members of the sample deemed by the researcher to be better placed to give valid and relevant responses to the study. The selection was also based on specific organisations that are directly linked to the fight against corruption and those that promoted good governance. These included media experts and specifically the researcher targeted the Anti-corruption Commission (ACC), Transparency International Zambia (TIZ), Centre for Trade Policy and Development (CTPD), Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection (JCTR), Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) Zambia and the Zambia Women's Lobby Group.

### **3.7.3 Content analysis**

Recordings were made of the relevant content from the two media houses. A content analysis coding sheet was used to enter the attributes of the recorded information. Content analysis allowed the researcher to have an opportunity to objectively and systematically identify specified characteristics of the messages that determined the level of media coverage on corruption in Zambia. This section categorically collected

data from ZNBC and MUVI TV who were the primary target sample for this study. The two institutions made up the main content analysis of this study because of their reach, audience and were both easy to access. The sample comprised 48 stories which were monitored for five months from the 1 January 2017 to the 31 May 2017. The study analysis was conducted on ZNBC and MUVI TV based on viewership and their relevance to the Zambian media market. The monitoring of these media entities was strictly on corruption stories carried in their news content.

The total number of all valid stories recorded during the study is shown in the Table below:

**Table 1: Showing a total number of stories captured from both ZNBC TV1 and MUVI TV**

Television Station					
		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
Valid	Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation TV1	6	12.5%	12.5	12.5
	MUVI Television	42	87.5%	87.5	100.0
	Total	48	100.0%	100.0	

### 3.7.4 Data Analysis and Interpretation

For the quantitative survey and content analysis, the researcher analysed the data, using Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) to create tables and charts where necessary and to create measures of central tendency and measures of dispersion. These helped in summarising the

data. For the in-depth interview, the researcher used themes to summarise and analyse the data.

### **3.8 Limitations**

The findings of this study may not be generalised to all media outlets or population in Zambia because it was specifically targeting two television broadcasting institutions and a small sample was used.

## CHAPTER 4

### Presentation of Findings and Analysis

#### 4.1 Introduction

This Chapter presents the findings as analysed from the data collected. The purpose of this study was to compare what messages the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC TV1) and MUVI TV, provided when it comes to covering issues of corruption.

This research was undertaken under the premise that there was a serious blackout in media content on issues of corruption. It was highly anticipated that one would find it very difficult to find content on corruption on a daily basis, if it is found, it would be in the form of pronouncements either by the government or the opposition political parties trying to gain political mileage. The preceding resulted in many people believing that the media (ZNBC TV1 and MUVI TV) in Zambia were only reactive to cover corruption cases and only broadcast stories once press statements were given without follow-ups or detailed investigations.

#### 4.2 Media focus when reporting Corruption cases

The research on this subject was basically to gain insight and to understand what exactly attracted television broadcast media attention when it comes to corruption issues.

From the key respondents' perspective, the media's focus is usually on the abuse of office, bribery and nepotism. However, what was more prominent was the abuse of office especially in the public offices. These were the construction industry, procurement and employment. The key respondents' view was that many public officers only used their offices to make transactions and/or misuse public resources based on their positions in an organisation which was usually captured by the Auditor General's report and ended up in the hands of the media.

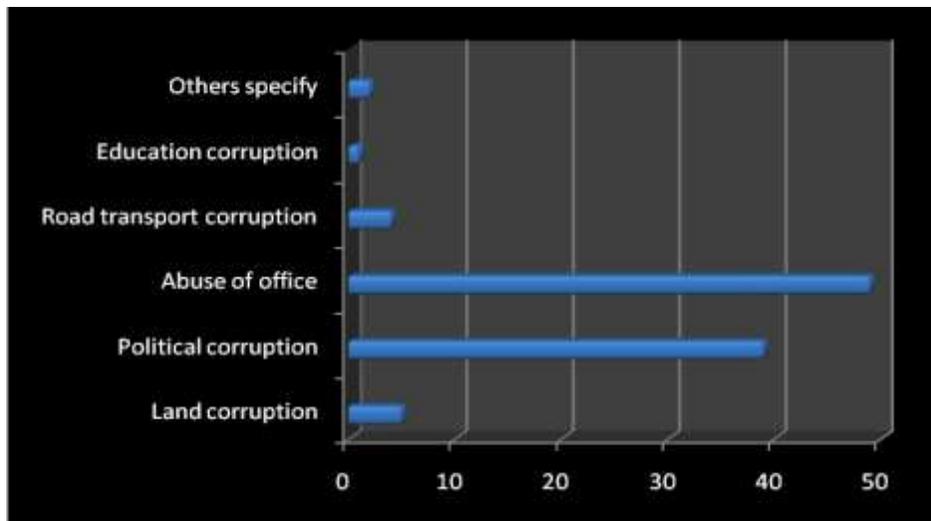
From the public perception, the analysis as indicated in the Table below shows that 49 percent of the media focused on abuse of office which was similar to the

responses coming from the key respondents and the content analysis. Political corruption on 39 percent was second on which the media focused their attention while Land corruption 5 percent and Road Transport corruption had seemingly received less attention.

In relating the above findings to modern literature on media and corruption, Arnold and Sumir (2011) argued that the Media were critical to changing people's beliefs about the prevalence and legitimacy of corruption. The media's ability to change perceptions, norms and behaviour was at the core of their relevance for the fight against corruption. Hence, the above public perceptions were believed to be so because according to the agenda setting theory, the media influenced society through what it covered and set the agenda. However, despite their role as agenda setters or change agents, there was still less coverage of corruption stories by the media in Zambia.

**What do the Media focus on when covering corruption issues?**

**Table 2: Showing different percentages of media focus**



At an individual level, the analysis showed that the majority of the key respondents interviewed (TIZ, JCTR, ACC, and CTPD) defined corruption as the abuse of entrusted power for private gain which was similar to the responses coming from the general public as indicated in Table 3 below. From the analysis the majority of the respondents 48 percent chose the abuse of entrusted power for private gain while the rest were abuse of government property and/or resources for private gain was at 10 percent, bribing someone in exchange for a favour 9 percent and abuse of office was at 8 percent.

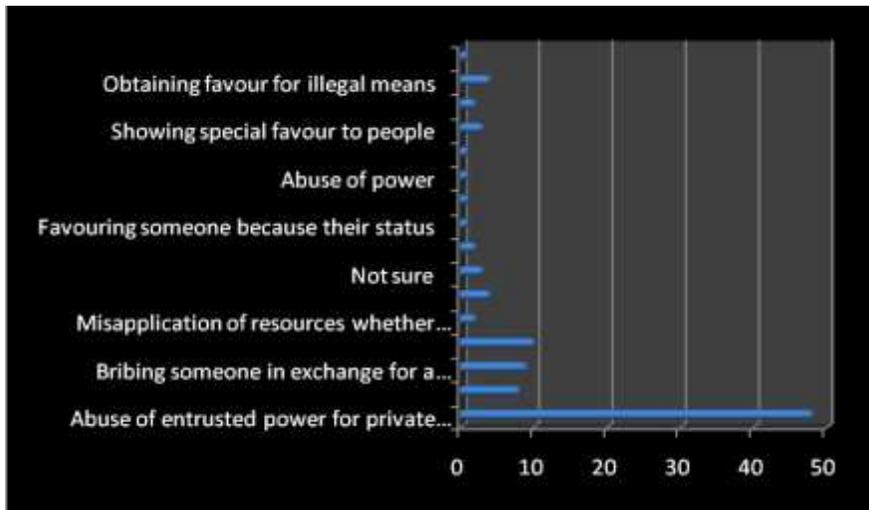
The above findings meant that there was more coverage on abuse of office stories as a result of what the Auditor General's report revealed. Because the media were the Agenda Setters as well as behavioural change agents, it could be possible that most public perceptions on the definition of corruption were associated to abuse of office and government resources and because society was believed to be shaped by what it watched and deemed it as reality with regards to the cultivation theory, it was possible that people defined corruption based on what they watched on ZNBC TV1 and MUVI Television stations. Therefore based on how people defined corruption, it was safe to say that many people especially those along the line of rail were aware of the campaigns to end corruption, what seemed to be of major concern was mainly the type of corruption they were aware of because of media prominence.

On the source of information, the majority of stakeholders who are experts in this field suggested that the media was usually reactive to corruption stories and depended on press statements, results from the auditor general's report and commemorations of an important day and media releases from the Anti-Corruption Commission (ACC). One of the key respondents interviewed, TIZ came out strongly and suggested that it was difficult for people to follow the anti-corruption fight because it was very hard to trace stories on corruption from media houses especially the state-owned ZNBC TV1 because of its situation as a government funded institution, and usually stories on corruption affect a lot of senior government officials who the national broadcaster were unable to expose. Since a blind eye was cast on such information, it could not become an agenda in society about the agenda-setting theory which pointed to the media as debate setters in society.

The sentiments were shared by MISA Zambia and ACC who believe that there was less investigative journalism in Zambia. This had caused the two media houses to be more reactive to corruption stories than being investigators themselves. Kantumoya (2004) cemented the sentiments coming from the key respondents and said there was usually a misunderstanding on what was termed investigative journalism and what was to be investigated. Kantumoya argued that in investigative journalism dealt with the process of reporting rather than event reporting. In other words, investigative reporting usually dealt with issues and conditions rather than incidents and events. An investigative reporter should feel free to probe the ethicality, efficiency, legality or fairness of certain business practices a thing which the two media houses in Zambia hardly did.

Despite negative sentiments on the awareness levels, all the key respondents and 86 percent of the public audience indicated that MUVI TV played a more important role in making people aware of corruption related issues than ZNBC TV1 which received only 14 percent.

Table 3: Showing corruption definition



#### 4.4 Media Campaigns

On media campaigns, the general feeling from the key respondents was that since the media organisations in Zambia specifically ZNBC TV1 and MUVI Television did not adequately cover corruption issues with the former being pointed out as being the most passive. TIZ, JCTR, MISA, and CTPD indicated that ZNBC TV1 did not adequately cover corruption when compared to MUVI TV. This was however refuted by the two media houses who felt that they did not get so much credit for what they gave out to the public. The perception was that MUVI Television tried their best to let the community understand the corruption issues while ZNBC Television hardly published these stories because the majority of those found wanting were senior government officials. From the quantitative survey, 20 percent of the respondents said the media adequately covered corruption issues while 44 percent of the respondents said the media did not cover corruption issues adequately and 36 percent of the respondents said to a lesser extent media do cover corruption issues as indicated in Table 4 below:

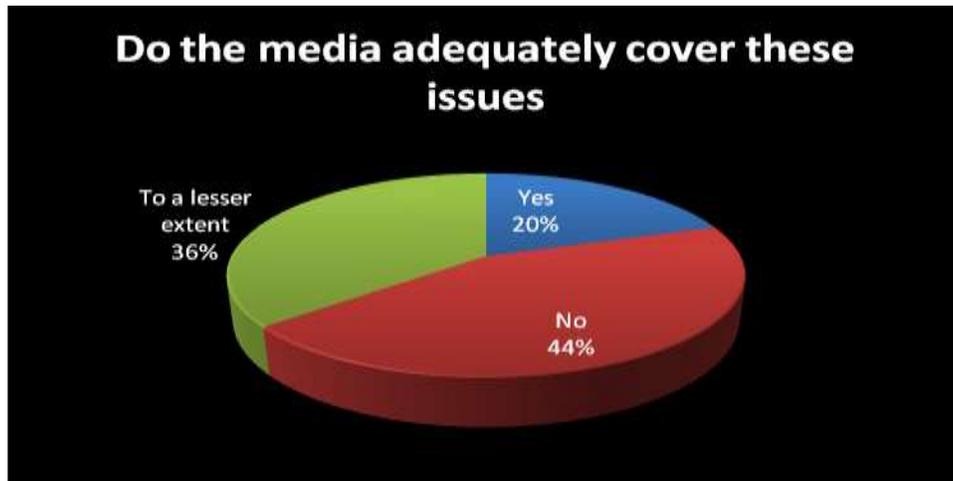
On the part of the ACC, they believed that ZNBC TV1 being a national broadcaster should have been more active to drive the agenda on corruption and should have been the one to do more investigations. ACC was very strong on this subject as suggested that it was very difficult to weigh the media's interest on corruption stories because very little was covered and hence society easily forgot about corruption cases because of the media attitude towards corruption case coverage. Since most media houses had little interest in covering corruption stories, it did not become an agenda, and hence they did not see the need to get feedback either from society or the news makers themselves.

“There is no close collaboration between the media and the law enforcement agencies and so some success stories are never captured, TI-Z”.

MISA Zambia, on the other hand, responded by saying that there was a need to revisit the investigative journalism aspect if media campaigns on corruption were to be meaningful. Kantumoya (2004) also verified the need to have good

investigator journalists for successful campaigns. This was why it was always important to thoroughly prepare oneself before embarking on an investigation that should yield positive results for society.

**Table 4: Showing percentages of media coverage of corruption issues**



#### **4.5 Media coverage and the fight against corruption**

On media coverage, the analysis from the key respondent's point of view suggested that since the media set the agenda according to the Agenda Setting theory and then what was reported generated interest from the public. They also responded by indicating that sometimes what people saw on television determined how they perceived reality according to the Cultivation Theory and hence if the media would carry objective stories on corrupt public officials, then the public would deem them as corrupt. Arnold and Sumir (2011) added to the discourse and said that whether people accepted corruption, going along with it or stood up against it depended on whether they were aware that corruption was wrong and whether they believed that other people thought that corruption was wrong too. If they assumed that most people did not mind paying a bribe to a local official or that most people thought that there was nothing they could do against government corruption, then they would tend just to accept it and not do anything about it. If on the other hand, they got the impression that many people

were against corrupt practices and were willing to challenge them, then they would also be more likely to do something about corruption.

Media coverage is a major factor in shaping society's perception of norms. For instance, the ACC and MISA Zambia suggested that local news on television (ZNBC TV1 and MUVI TV), could pay particular attention to instances of corruption and give voice to people who complained about it. That way they could create the impression that corruption occurred often and that people were upset about it.

The media acted as watchdogs, agenda setters and a public forum for a diverse set of voices. In their function as watchdogs, the media acted as monitors of government behaviour and guarded the public interest by highlighting cases of his-administration, abuse of power and corruption. By covering such cases, they helped ensure accountability and transparency of governments and other powerful factions. The watchdog function of the media is perhaps the most obvious about corruption, and one could draw on many examples where the media acted as a catalyst for policy change by highlighting malfeasance. As agenda setters, the media put corruption on the public and the political agenda. Agenda setting was one of the media's most crucial democratic functions. By discussing issues and putting them on the public agenda, the media drew attention to problems in society (Arnold and Sumir, 2011).

“Corruption is often not publicly discussed, either because it is perceived as a social norm or because people are afraid of repercussions should they engage in public discussion about it. Media attention legitimises corruption as a problem in the eyes of the audience: if the media think corruption was problematic, the public would pay more critical attention to it. Furthermore, politicians would be compelled by media pressure to reconsider existing legislation and policies. This was particularly efficient in democracies, where politicians needed to be concerned about election outcomes. The media also provided a public forum for citizens to voice their opinions on and their experiences with corruption. This

mechanism goes back to the idea of the public sphere, which posited that communication flows between the state and citizens formed a space where accountability and legitimacy were exchanged between both sides. In this ideal democratic public sphere, the media had a responsibility to reflect the plurality of viewpoints and political persuasions in society. This way they maximised the diversity of perspectives and arguments in the public sphere which then would inform public debate, deliberation and policy-making. By reflecting a range of perspectives the media could help introduce innovative solutions to the problem of corruption and provide a wide range of suggestions and arguments that citizens can use in their particular circumstances” (Ibid).

The above existing literature could be supported further by the results collected from the audience survey. The results indicated that 63 percent of the respondents said that media messages on corruption influenced the way they perceived the vice while 37 percent said media message did not affect them as indicated in the Tables below:

**Table 5: Showing percentages on media influence**



## 4.6 Media ownership

Concerning media ownership influence and the way reporting on corruption were tailored, the analysis from the research from the stakeholders revealed that media ownership played a huge role in determining how or whether a corruption story should be aired. The analysis also revealed that people thought that depending on who owned the media house, the media house could decide to practice self-censorship or completely shun away from covering that particular story either for fear of job losses or victimisation.

One of the Key respondents, TIZ indicated that it was one of the main reasons why they believed that ZNBC TV1 differed from MUVI. TIZ believed that many reporters could not report objectively on corruption stories because they were scared of losing their jobs which were their only source of income.

MISA Zambia also supported the sentiments by TIZ that ZNBC TV1 was unable to report objectively on corruption matters because their content was controlled by the state through the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Services and this resulted in a total black out of corruption matters associated to government officials. A good example of this was the Maize Gate Scandal that involved Malawi and Zambia implicating the Zambian President Mr. Edgar Chagwa Lungu and the then Minister of Agriculture Ms. Dora Siliya.

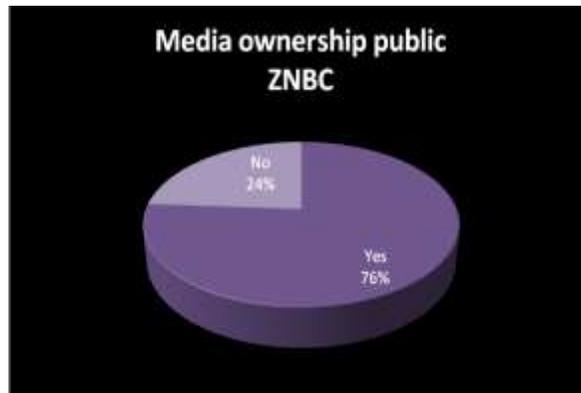
TIZ seemed to agree with Arnold and Sumir ( 2011) who indicated that in India, reporters uncovered deeply entrenched corruption in the defense industry and motivated many other reporters to use similar methods. To date, a movement against corruption was sweeping through India which could not possibly be as successful as it should be if the media were not covering it extensively.

TIZ, however, said this was not the case with Zambia because it was evident with the country failing to register any significant progress in the fight against corruption as captured by 2013, 2014, 2015 Transparency International Corruption Perception index where Zambia has been stagnant on the same ranking position for the last three years. Out of the 170 countries captured, Zambia is number 38 in the world and number 12 on the African continent. The scale was measured in such a way that number one represented the most corrupt country while number 100 represented the least corrupt country. The organisation attributed this stagnation to media owners' failure to play their role in encouraging their media houses to join the fight against corruption to satisfy their own agendas.

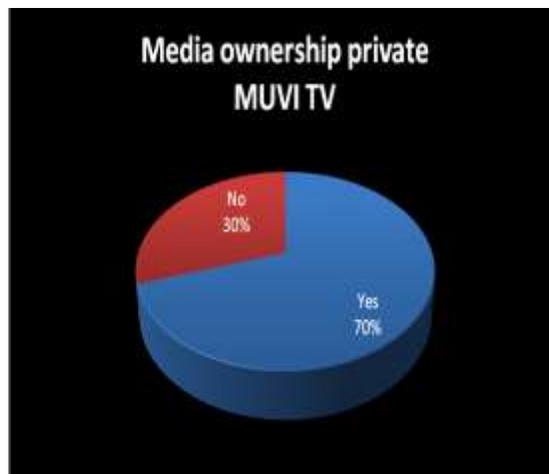
However, respondents from both ZNBC TV1 and MUVI TV said their media organisations were not influenced by their owners and they both covered corruption news objectively without siding with anyone.

But the quantitative survey analysis revealed that from the public media (ZNBC TV1) 76 percent of the respondents said media ownership had a huge role in influencing the way reports on corruption were covered while 24 percent of the respondents said ownership did not influence in the way public media covered corruption issues. On private media (MUVI TV), 70 percent of the respondent revealed that the private media ownership influenced media coverage on corruption issues while 30 percent of the respondents said media ownership had no influence on the media as indicated in the Tables below.

**Table 6: Showing influence of media ownership in the public media ZNBC TV1**



**Table 7: Showing influence of media ownership in the private media MUVI TV**



## CHAPTER 5

### Discussion of Findings

#### 5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this study was to compare the messages the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC) and MUVI TV provided on the coverage of corruption issues. The study further investigated whether media ownership had any influence in the way the media organisations covered corruption issues and whether or not their messages influenced the way people perceived the corruption vice. This Chapter presents the discussion on findings and interpretation. It also incorporates the research objectives and questions about the findings documented in the Literature Review and the Theoretical Framework respectively.

#### 5.2 Discussion

##### Objective 1

Research question 1: What does ZNBC TV1 or MUVI TV focus on when covering and reporting corruption cases?

Based on the findings, it is valid to say that the media in Zambia played a huge role in shaping the agenda of society because of the stories they aired on television. This means that both ZNBC TV1 and MUVI TV set their agenda to a particular audience that watched their channels. For example, Figure 2 showed that out of the 100 respondents interviewed, 49 percent of those said that the media focused their attention mainly on the abuse of office stories while political corruption was 39 percent followed by land corruption at 10 percent.

The results meant that people attached great importance to what the media (ZNBC TV1 and MUVI TV) aired and it became important information and an agenda in their respective communities which was in line with the Agenda Setting theory.

McCombs (2003) came up with a similar conclusion and argued that in choosing and displaying news, editors, newsroom staff, and broadcasters play an important part in shaping political reality.

Audiences learn not only about a given issue but also how much importance to attach to that issue from the amount of information in a news story and its position. In reflecting what political candidates said during an election campaign, the mass media would well determine the important issues that is, the media might set the “agenda “of the election campaign. So this only means that if the ZNBC TV1 and MUVI TV gave prominence to corruption issues, then society would take keen interest and would speak about it and report on it.

What is striking here is that many principle respondents seemed to agree that the media (ZNBC TV1 and MUVI TV) played a vital role in information dissemination which then formed public opinion. Transparency International Zambia (TIZ) said that “the media was an important stakeholder in the fight against corruption because it set the agenda on what was discussed in society. Without the media, information dissemination would be very poor”. MISA Zambia also agreed with the preceding and urged ZNBC TV1 and MUVI TV to rethink their strategies and put the interest of the public first on the way they covered issues of public concern.

In cementing the above findings, Arnold and Sumir (2011) agreed to the notion that the media were critical players in changing the culture towards more transparency and accountability. By changing perceptions of what was right and wrong, the media would affect the norms on which society was built on. Changes in norms would, over time, initiate changes in behaviour. This, in turn, could lead to less tolerance for corruption, stronger vigilance and stronger participation in anti-corruption efforts.

The media as watchdogs could create a broad coalition against corruption and be a catalyst for reform by uncovering grand corruption and forcing politicians into making changes (TIZ, 2017). As agenda setters, media organisations could support anti-corruption movements by bringing them to the attention of a large audience. When the media acts as a public forum, they could introduce and spread opinions, solutions, and innovations (Arnold and Sumir, 2011). What was more interesting was that many of the respondents were aware of what corruption was and able to define it as exemplified in Figure 3. The same could be said of the principle respondents who said that many people who had access to a television set knew a thing or two about corruption.

The Anti-Corruption Commission (ACC) said that “Information was there, it only depended up on the media to share it. The ACC argued that many people knew what corruption was but what it was noticed was that the media practitioners especially from ZNBC TV1 seemed uninterested to push the agenda of exposing corruption because they were a public broadcaster and hence in their quest to protect their jobs they remained mute on important stories and only carried small news stories on corruption especially when they discovered that they were dealing with a senior government official”.

## Objective 2

Research question 2: Are people aware of anti-corruption campaigns in Zambia?

The study showed that the overall public perception of media organisations was that they did not adequately cover corruption issues regardless of whether the public-owned ZNBC TV1 or privately-owned MUVI TV. Figure 4 clearly showed that the majority of the respondents 44 percent were of the view that both ZNBC TV 1 and MUVI TV did not adequately cover corruption issues while 20 percent agreed out-rightly that the media did adequately cover corruption issues with 36 percent believing that it was only to a lesser extent that they did it.

From a principle respondent's view, the majority said that to some extent, MUVI TV covers corruption issues more than ZNBC TV1 did. This was also evident from the analysed content from both media houses which revealed that from the five months of monitoring, MUVI TV aired 42 stories on corruption while ZNBC TV1 recorded and aired only six stories. This was acknowledged by MISA Zambia who said that "the fight against corruption was very difficult because of lack of media awareness especially from the national broadcaster ZNBC TV1 who practiced self-censorship especially when they discovered that the people cited for corruption were senior government officials".

MISA revealed that it was quiet unfortunate that the national broadcaster did not champion the fight against corruption hence a lot of people were not sensitised on the vice and this caused people to give less value to the fight against corruption because of the media.

TIZ cemented the findings by saying that, “the public broadcaster is very selective when it comes to airing corruption”. TIZ believed that one only heard a corruption story or saw it on ZNBC when the one being reported on had fallen out of favour with the government like former Information and Broadcasting Services Minister Dr. Chishimba Kambwili. Therefore, the selective coverage of corruption stories by the national broadcaster created a serious information gap between those who lived in the urban areas and had access to MUVI TV and other channels and those in the rural areas whose primary source of information was ZNBC TV1 making the fight against corruption a less important agenda.

Therefore, one concluded from these findings that due to lack of prominence of corruption stories from the two television stations especially ZNBC TV1, many people regarded the fight against corruption as just mere rhetoric aimed at de-campaigning those in ruling party or government by those wishing to take over power.

## **Objective 2**

Research question 3: Does ZNBC TV1 or MUVI TV coverage affect people’s perceptions on the fight against corruption?

The study revealed that the media coverage of corruption-related stories affected people’s perceptions of the fight against corruption. Figure 5 showed that out of the 100 participants who participated in the survey, 63 percent said they were influenced by what they viewed on television while 37 percent were not influenced by what they saw on television. On a positive note Figure 13 shows that the general audience still had faith in both ZNBC TV1 and MUVI TV. This means that with improved coverage of corruption related stories, it might result in a positive response from the community to realise the importance of reporting the vice.

Scholarly literature on this suggests that it could be because the country had not invested more into investigative journalism from the time of independence up to date. In supporting this notion, Kantumoya (2004) suggests that investigative reporting was relatively new to Zambia, meaning that the country lacked an entrenched culture of hard-nosed, muck-raking journalism and Zambian media practitioners had no historical or existing frame of reference to serve as a guide when it came to undertaking this kind of enterprise. They were forced to grope in the dark and learn the nuts and bolts of the trade by trial and error in the field. As a result, many had churned out half-baked stories in the name of investigative reporting and quite often, with serious legal consequences for them and their media organisations. It was believed that because they wanted to avoid legal consequences, most journalists did not adequately cover corruption-related stories.

However, the ACC believed that it was not about legal issues but the passiveness of the media practitioners. ACC believed that the media in Zambia was very reactive to stories and very few if any took up the initiative of following up cases. The institution believed that if the media took a keen interest in following up corruption cases especially ZNBC TV1, it would have been possible to have at least a corruption story every day on their bulletin but this was not the case as they only reported when a press statement was issued. As a result, it made it very difficult for people to know whether the country was making progress in bringing those found wanting to book or if the national broadcaster was deliberately blacking out corruption stories.

Regarding believability, the study revealed that out of the 100 respondents, 65 per cent said that they believed more in the content given by MUVI TV and not ZNBC TV1 while 35 per cent said they believed in the content produced by ZNBC. From the principle respondent, MISA Zambia, TIZ, JCTR, ACC and CTPD all felt that MUVI TV was marginally ahead of ZNBC TV1 on the subject of believability.

### **Objective 3**

Research question 4: Does ownership of ZNBC TV1 and MUVI TV influence their reportage on corruption?

From the study, it could be said that media ownership had its role in determining what should and what should not be covered by the media. Figures 6 and 7 clearly illustrate this view point. From the survey, out of the 100 respondents, 76 percent of those said ZNBC TV1 ownership had a huge bearing on the organisation's programming and news content, the same could be said of MUVI TV which had a similar score of 70 percent. Only 24 percent and 30 percent of the respondents believed that the former and the later were not influenced by the owners. Many of the principle respondents agreed to the fact that huge influence of what the media covered came from those who provide the bread and butter to the media employees.

TIZ in its submission said that "it was a well-known fact that ZNBC TV1 content was influenced by the state because it was the state that paid the journalist and so should any news on corruption be on any state actor then one can be assured that ZNBC TV1 will not cover the story." The only difference with MUVI TV was that the private media depended on sponsorship and goodwill to survive hence if one of their big advertisers was caught up in a legal battle, they would be at pains to negatively cover such a story. As a result, many stories worthy to be told are never covered because journalist fears for their jobs in the public sphere while in this private sphere, media owners wanted to make a profit and survive.

Therefore, based on the results of the study, the media ZNBC TV1 and MUVI TV campaigns on the fight against corruption were dependent on their ownership. The Centre for Trade Policy and Development (CTPD) said a perfect example of this was the recent “Maize-gate scandal” that rocked Malawi and Zambia media airwaves. CTPD pointed out that while the story was dominant on MUVI TV, one hardly saw any coverage by ZNBC TV1 simply because those implicated were senior government officials (the President and the Minister of Agriculture). CTPD believed that “it was such acts of self-censorship that reduced the fight against corruption to a mere academic exercise because the major stakeholders, who were supposed to take the lead, were the ones taking the back seat role.

In conclusion, it is the researcher’s view that television broadcast media had an important role to play in the fight against corruption because the media were not only informants but also role models of change because society viewed them as such. However, from the discussion above, there is serious need to address the issues of media content on corruption-related stories especially from the public broadcaster ZNBC TV1 because unlike MUVI TV, the majority of Zambians in the rural areas depended on it for news and current affairs.

## **CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **6.1 Introduction**

This Chapter presents a conclusion and key recommendations arising from the study. It first gives the recommendations made by the researcher based on the findings of the study to the relevant organisations and the media that can help change the way corruption campaigns and reporting were done. The Chapter also provides a brief discussion on some areas that might call for further research in line with the research topic.

### **6.2 Conclusion**

The study evaluated the television broadcast media coverage of corruption in both the private media (MUVI TV) and public media (ZNBC TV1). The study revealed that the television broadcast media in Zambia was very reactive to covering corruption issues. The findings of this study from both the qualitative and quantitative surveys revealed that ZNBC TV1 was more reactive in their news coverage on corruption compared to MUVI TV whom the study revealed to have been the better one of the two television stations in as far as investigating corruption stories are concerned. This can further be exemplified by the content analysis Table 1 which indicated that out of the total of forty-eight stories monitored for 6 months, forty-two were covered while only six stories were covered by ZNBC TV1.

From both the qualitative and quantitative research, the study also revealed that both ZNBC TV1 and MUVI TV had a lot of influence when it came to setting the agenda for society. Majority of the respondents said that they were influenced by what they saw in the media, meaning that whatever information was availed on corruption by the two media houses, society picked it and debated on it. However, regarding believability, the study revealed that majority of the respondents 65 percent had more faith in MUVI TV content than the 35 percent who picked on ZNBC TV1.

The study further revealed that most of the respondents were aware of corruption and could easily define it but what was missing was an efficient and effective television broadcast media house that provided well-researched corruption stories to foster the anti-corruption campaign. This was seen as a major contributing factor to the increased levels of corruption because the national broadcasters ZNBC TV1 continued practicing self-censorship to avoid conflicts with the state at the expense of the Zambian people especially those in rural areas which were the majority.

The study further revealed that the media owners had a heavy hand in deciding what their news room aired. Both the qualitative and quantitative research revealed that ZNBC TV1 hardly covers corruption stories citing senior government officials and a good example of this was a running story on the Malawi and Zambia Maize-gate scandal that implicated the former Minister of Agriculture Dora Siliya and President Edgar Chagwa Lungu. MUVI TV covered this story and made follow-ups, but there was a complete black out of this story by ZNBC TV1

It was clear from the research findings that the broadcasting media were key stakeholders in the fight against corruption. However, regardless of their status as agenda setters, the media especially the state-owned ZNBC TV1 had failed to match with the people's expectations in the fight against corruption. Being the national broadcaster, the expectations were that ZNBC TV1 would work closely with the ACC in following up corruption cases and provide feedback to the Zambian community. MUVI TV was an alternative for many local viewers but was limited to only those who were able to buy a decoder and were unable to pay the subscription fees to access its content. This means that those who would not afford to buy the MUVI TV receiver had to rely on the national broadcaster for information and if did not cover any corruption stories then society would believe that corruption was not an issue in Zambia. The only time that ZNBC TV1 showed corruption news according to the findings of this research was when the offender was not a government official or when the person or organisation involved had fallen out of favour with the government like former Information and Broadcast Minister Dr. Chishimba Kambwili.

In line with the research findings, it could be said that the fight against corruption can only make considerable progress in Zambia if the media (ZNBC TV1 and MUVI TV) took the lead in the drive. Many people depended on the media findings to make informed decisions on what exactly was happening in the country. However, a media blackout on corruption stories especially from the national broadcaster did not help matters at all. It only contributed to people losing faith in the media and to seek unorthodox ways of gathering information. The study findings can also be used to suggest the reason why Zambia had remained stuck on the same position on the Corruption Perception Index released by Transparency International which ranked countries according to the perceived corruption levels. All in all, there is need by the media to take up their role as watchdogs for the people if any progress has to be made in the fight against corruption in Zambia. As things stood, there was a serious gap and lack of information coming from the media to the Zambian population. Despite the presence of MUVI TV in providing an alternative view on the corruption subject, there was still a big gap that exists in terms of media campaigns against corruption and the public institutions like ZNBC TV1 were doing very little to help reduce this gap.

### **6.3 Recommendations**

Following the findings of this study and the discussion on the result, the researcher believes that there is urgent need to remind the media of their role in the fight against corruption in Zambia. It is in line with the above that the following recommendations were made:

1. There is need for deliberate programmes in the education system to deal with developmental issues of governance with a specific focus on corruption so that when these issues are taught, journalists using their investigative training can follow them up.

2. There is need to strengthen laws to protect media practitioners from been harassed by those in authority. One such law that can help in changing the fate of journalists is the enactment of the Access to Information Bill that has been shelved by government for fear on the unknown. In addition, the media both public and private must be reminded of their public service broadcasting values and ethics and their duty to serve society with utmost good faith.
3. There is also need to improve the working conditions of media (ZNBC TV1 and MUVI TV) personnel in Zambia because this was cited as a major contributing factor to journalists writing stories that pleased their paymasters even without intimidation or harassment.
4. For the journalists already practicing the profession, there is urgent need to further their capacity on the subject of corruption. It is imperative to have journalists who can specialize in the field. This coupled with ethical code of conduct will clearly yield results.
5. Finally, based on this study, ZNBC TV1 and MUVI TV must be encouraged to remain professional, fearless and impartial in their reporting. They are human and hence they need constant checks by different stakeholders and the people themselves. It is also important that the creation of a media self-regulatory body which would strengthen internal self-regulatory systems such as relevance of editorial and debate guidelines, within media outlets is realised. This will greatly change the profession and how media houses are run in this country.

#### **6.4 Further research**

Further research on the subject of corruption in relation to the media will add value to what already exists on this subject matter. As is the case with this research, it is possible that the findings of this research to warrant more

extensive research that can add to the knowledge that this research has unearthed. What could be more interesting would be further research on whether high learning institution meant to teach journalist on investigative reporting are adequately providing the training or not. It would also be of great use if further research is done on how citizen journalism can be tapped into to fight corruption.

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## APPENDICES

### 7.1 Time Line

Activity	2015				2016												2017			
	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A
Problem identification & topic formulation	×	×																		
Literature review			×		×	×														
Consultations with Coordinator	×	×	×		×	×	×													
Writing and typing proposal			×		×															
Corrections & Additions to proposal						×	×				×	×	×							
Pre-testing questionnaires													×							
Replication of questionnaires & interview guides														×						
Data collection															×	×	×	×		
Dissertation writing & typing																	×	×	×	
Consultations with the Supervision over final report																	×	×	×	×
Final dissertation production & binding																				×
Submission of Dissertation																				×

## 7.2 Budget

**K37, 000**

## 7.3 Instrument of Data Collection

### 7.3.1 Content Analysis Coding Sheet

<b>Content Analysis Coding Sheet</b>	
1. Serial number	
2. Coder	
3. Television story	
4. Story headline	
5. Story length (video)	
6. Source (s) quoted in the story	1) The President 2) Government Official 3) Opposition Leader/official 4) Civil Society/NGO official 5) Diplomat 6) Traditional Leader 7) Ordinary Citizen 8) Other (Specify) -----
7. Number of sources	-----
8. Story direction	1) Pro-government 2) Pro-opposition/non-state actor 3) Critical of government 4) Critical of opposition/non-state actor 5) Neutral
9. News Placement	1) Main news story (headlines) 2) Story
10. Headline treatment	1) Headline 2) No headline
11. Use of Pictures/dominant art	1) Dominant picture/Video portraying a positive image of the leader 2) Dominant picture/Video portraying a negative image of the leader 3) Dominant picture/Video (neutral)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>4) Non-dominant picture/Video portraying a positive image of the leader</li> <li>5) Non-dominant picture/Video portraying a negative image of the leader</li> <li>6) No picture/Video</li> </ul>
12. Subject of the story	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Leaders' performance on corruption</li> <li>2) Leaders' accused of corruption</li> <li>3) Accusations of abuse of office( public officers/private)</li> <li>4) General corruption story</li> <li>5) Education against corruption</li> <li>6) Other (Specify) -----</li> </ul>
13. Story framing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Critical of government in the fight against corruption</li> <li>2) Approves of/praises to government in the fight against corruption</li> <li>3) Critical or private individuals accuse of corruption</li> <li>4) Approval of praises to private individuals fighting corruption</li> <li>5) Neutral (unclear)</li> </ul>
14. Status of story	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Contains defamatory allegations (prima facie/apparent/per se)</li> <li>2) Does not contain defamatory allegations</li> <li>3) Not clear</li> </ul>
15. Portrayal of the Government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Story portrays government as champions in the fight against corruption</li> <li>2) Story portrays Government as failures/incompetent in the fight against corruption</li> <li>3) Story has mixed/multiple portrayals</li> <li>4) Neutral</li> </ul>
16. Fairness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Contains fair &amp; balanced multiple view points on corruption</li> <li>2) Unfair/single sided/single sourced</li> <li>3) Not-applicable</li> </ul>

### 7.3.2 In-depth Interview Guide

#### INTERVIEW GUIDE

<p>Good morning/afternoon. My name is _____ and I am a student at the University of Zambia.</p> <p>This interview is being conducted to get your input for an academic research on the Evaluation of the media coverage of Corruption issues in Zambia: A comparative study of the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC) and MUVI Television. I am especially interested in your views regarding corruption in Zambia your experience and any recommendations you may have on the subject.</p> <p>If it is okay with you, I will be recording our conversation. The purpose of this is to get all the details accurately but at the same time be able to carry on an attentive conversation with you. I assure you that all your comments will remain confidential as this research is purely for academic purposes in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the attainment of a degree of Master of Mass Communication. I will be compiling a research report which will contain all comments without any reference to individuals unless you expressly permit me to do so. If you agree with these terms may we proceed?</p> <p>I'd like to start by having you briefly describe your organisation, your work, position and your responsibilities.</p>	
QUESTION	PROBE/FOLLOW-UP
1. What do you understand by the term corruption?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Do you know any of the types of corruption?</li><li>• In your view would you say corruption is a problem in Zambia?</li><li>• Have you ever experienced corruption?</li></ul>

<p>2. In what institutions is corruption more rampant in Zambia?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What do you think about the Zambia police?</li> <li>• Why?</li> <li>• Education?</li> <li>• Why?</li> <li>• Ministry of lands?</li> <li>• Why?</li> <li>• RTSA?</li> <li>• Why?</li> </ul>
<p>3. In your view how do you rate media coverage of corruption issues in Zambia?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Do you think both MUVI and ZNBC TV houses adequately cover corruption issues?</li> <li>• How often do you see or hear anything on corruption when you turn on your Television set?</li> <li>• Do you think media ownership plays a role in covering corruption issues?</li> </ul>
<p>4. What is your perception on the ZNBC TV1 in terms of their coverage of corruption?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Is it keen on following up on corruption cases?</li> <li>• Does it over cover in-depth stories that explicitly expose corrupt individuals?</li> </ul>
<p>5. What is your perception on the MUVI TV in terms of their coverage of corruption?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Is it keen on following up on corruption cases?</li> <li>• Does it over cover in-depth stories that explicitly expose corrupt individuals?</li> </ul>

6. In your own view, do you think people who work in big organisations, e.g. government, or UN follow corruption issues on TV easily than those who work in smaller organisations?	
7. Do you think someone's income plays a role in them being interested in following corruption news?	
8. How often do people at your organization comment on corruption issues?	
9. Should journalists be protected if we are to see improved coverage of corruption issues?	How about their ethical code of conduct do journalists abide by them?
10. Do you think the enactment of the access to information into law will give media houses more freedom to undertake investigative journalism?	How about penalties for corruption are people aware of these? Does your organisation explicitly cover such issues?
11. Do you think that the people will also demand for proper accountability in public offices?	How about the Public Accounts Committee, do you think media adequately covers their proceedings?
12. Do you have any other comment which you feel we have left out?	

13. What are your recommendations?	For journalists? For the judiciary? Police? For the advocacy organisations? For the government?
------------------------------------	--

Thank you so much for having this interview with me?

### **7.3.3 Structured Questionnaire**

**THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA**  
**SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES**  
**DEPARTMENT OF MASS COMMUNICATION**

#### **Questionnaire for audience survey**

**Topic: An Evaluation of the media coverage of Corruption issues in Zambia: A comparative study of the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC) and MUVI Television.**

Dear Respondent,

The researcher is a student at the University of Zambia. As part of the requirement, the researcher is conducting a survey on the above-mentioned topic. You have been randomly selected to participate in the research as a respondent. Please answer questions in this questionnaire as accurately as possible. The information you will give will be treated with utmost confidentiality and will solely be used for academic purposes. To this effect, you are NOT required to provide your name on this questionnaire. Please answer accordingly and where space is given, write your answer in full giving as much information as possible. The researcher appreciates your cooperation in advance.

Yours faithfully,

Charles Emmanuel Chulu

SECTION A: **GENERAL INFORMATION** (please fill in the space provided)

1. What was your age as of your last birthday .....

2. Sex

1) Female.....

2) Male.....

3. Marital status (**please circle one applicable option**)

1) Single

2) Married

3) Divorced

4) Widowed

4. Which residential Area do you reside in (name) .....

1) High density area

2) Medium density area

3) Low density area

5. What is your Religion?

1) Catholic

2) Seventh Day Adventist

3) United Church of Zambia

4) Pentecostal Assemblies

5) Reformed Church of Zambia

6) Islam

7) Hinduism

8) Buddhism

9) Other (s) Specify.....

6. Highest education qualification attained (please circle one applicable option)

- 1) Primary level
- 2) Secondary level
- 3) College level
- 4) University level
- 5) Other (s) specify .....

7. Are you in employment now?

- 1) YES
- 2) NO

8. What job do you do? .....

9. How much money do you earn?.....

**SECTION B: ACCESS AND EXPOSURE TO MEDIA**

10. Do you have access to a Television set?

**(If NO skip to Q14)**

- 1) YES
- 2) NO

11. Where do you access it from?

- 1) Home
- 2) A friend
- 3) From relatives
- 5) At work
- 6) Members club
- 7) Other(s) specify

12. Do you have access to ZNBC TV1 and MUVI TV?

1. MUVI- YES, NO

2. ZNBC 1- YES, NO

13. How often do you tune to TV?

- 1. Very frequently (daily)
- 2. Frequently (almost every day)
- 3. Often (twice in a week)
- 4. Rarely (once in a week, or less)
- 5. Never

**SECTION C: MEDIA COVERAGE OF CORRUPTION ISSUES**

In this section you are required to rate how ZNBC TV1, TV2 and MUVI TV cover corruption issue. **Please Indicate the applicable number to the box provided for each media house**

14. In your own understanding, how do you define Corruption?

.....

.....

.....

.....

15. How do you rate media coverage of corruption issues in Zambia on the scale below?

	Very Good	Good	Not sure	poor	Very poor
ZNBC TV1					
MUVI TV					

16. What do the media focus on when covering corruption issues?

- 1) Land corruption
- 2) Political Corruption
- 3) Abuse of office
- 4) Road transport corruption
- 5) Education corruption

6) Others (s) specify

17. Do the media adequately cover these issues?

1) YES

2) NO

3) To a lesser extent

18. **IF YES** in Q17, Do these corruption messages reach rural areas?

1) YES

2) NO

19. Do media messages about corruption influence the way you perceive the vice?

1) YES

2) NO

20. How do you rate this media coverage on corrupt public officials?

**a) ZNBV TV1**

	Excellent	Very Good	Good	Not sure	Fair	Poor
ZNBC TV1						

**b) MUVI TV**

	Excellent	Very Good	Good	Not sure	fair	poor
MUVI TV						

21. In your opinion, do media follow up on corruption cases, arrests or convictions?

1) YES

2) NO

22. Do you think Public Media/private owners influence media content on corruption?

1) YES

2) NO

23. If YES/NO on question 22, state the reason for your answer

.....  
.....  
.....

24. Do you think Private Media owners influence media content on corruption?

1) YES

2) NO

25. If YES/NO on question 24, state the reason for your answer?

.....  
.....  
.....

26. For the following institutions, rate your perception of their involvement in corruption

	Very clean	Clean	Not sure	Corrupt	Very corrupt	
Zambia police						
RTSA						
Ministry of health						
Ministry of						

Lands						
Ministry of justice						
Others specify						

27. **If yes in 17**, in your opinion do you think media ownership influence has contributed to the escalating levels of corruption?

1) YES

2) NO

Thanks you for responding to this questionnaire. Should you have any comments or questions you can contact me on **0977129648** or email on **chaliechu@yahoo.com?**