

**PERCEPTIONS OF PUBLIC BROADCASTING IN ZAMBIA: A
STUDY OF THE ZAMBIA NATIONAL BROADCASTING
CORPORATION.**

By

Romel Charles Banda

A dissertation submitted to the University of Zambia in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Mass Communication (MMC).



The University of Zambia

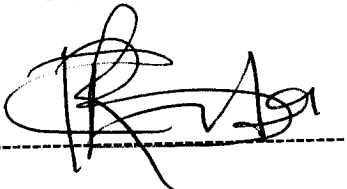
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DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation represents my own work, and that it has not previously been submitted for a degree, or diploma or other qualification at this or any other University.

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APPROVAL

This dissertation of Romel Charles Banda has been approved as fulfilling the partial requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Mass Communication by the University of Zambia.

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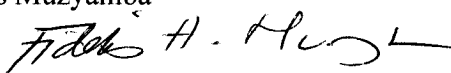
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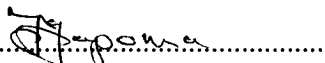
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ABSTRACT

The study examines the public perceptions of the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC), Zambia's national broadcaster which is supposed to operate as a public broadcaster as opposed to being a state broadcaster. The study has found that despite the enactment of the ZNBC (Amendment) Act 2002, which has been understood as a piece of legislation that should give ZNBC the autonomy to operate freely without partisan political influence from the state, it has still continued to be seen as a mouth piece for the government.

There were 150 questionnaires distributed proportionally to Kitwe on the Copperbelt, Chipata in the Eastern province, Choma in the Southern province and Lusaka, the capital city of Zambia. The cities and towns were chosen purposefully for this study due to their locations and population statuses. A total of 148 questionnaires, representing 96 percent of the total 150 questionnaires were responded to and returned. The study also includes in-depth interviews which were carried out in Lusaka. The processing of the data was through the Statistical Package of Social Sciences (SPSS).

The findings of the study confirm the perceptions that a free ZNBC would be conducive for the democratic governance and fair electioneering in Zambia. It has further been found that the respondents' perception is that the ZNBC (Amendment) Act 2002 and the Electoral Act no. 90, 2006 should be revisited and amended to compel ZNBC to be non-partisan.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this study to my dear wife Jane and my sweet children Malingose, Lindila, Lumbiwe and Jordan without whose support and understanding, this assignment should have been too heavy to bear. Thanks to them all for enduring my long hours of absence from home during this period of study.

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ACRONYMS

ANC	African National Congress
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BCCSA	Broadcasting Complaints Commission of South Africa
BSA	British South African Company
CABS	Central African Broadcasting Services
CSO	Central Statistical Office
FBC	Federal Broadcasting Corporation for Rhodesia and Nyasaland
IBA	Independent Broadcasting Authority
ICASA	Independent Communications Authority of South Africa
LEGCO	Legislative Council
MIBS	Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Services
MISA	Media Institute for Southern Africa
MMD	Movement for Multi-party Democracy
NRBC	Northern Rhodesia Broadcasting Corporation
PF	Patriotic Front
SABA	Southern African Broadcasting Association
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
UPND	United Party for National Development
UNESCAP	United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific.
UNESCO	United Nations Education and Scientific Commission
UNIP	United National Independence Party
ZBC	Zambia Broadcasting Corporation

ZBS

Zambia Broadcasting Services

ZNBC

Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This chapter provides the general background to the problem which this study addresses. After drawing on comparisons and examples from other countries, it places the problem in a specific perspective to the Zambian context. The chapter further advances the statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research assumptions, and the significance of the study.

1.1 Background to the Study

Broadcasting is a very important tool for communication in Africa. Most people in Africa and Zambia in particular, receive their information, entertainment and education largely through radio and television. Because of its perceived power to influence opinion and decisions, broadcasting has been the most controlled medium of communication in Africa (Moyo, 2005:135). Article 20 of the Zambian Constitution provides the normative basis of arguments for media freedom which includes broadcasting in Zambia. It clearly provides for the protection of the individual's right to freedom of expression, including the freedom to hold opinions without interference, and freedom to impart and receive information without interference. Considering the role that broadcasting plays in the dissemination of information in Africa, and Zambia in particular, it is essential that its accessibility to citizens be guaranteed (Ibid).

The role of national broadcasters in both colonial and post colonial Africa, Zambia inclusive, has been mainly to support the ideology of the government and party in power and to generally play the propaganda role for the government (Matibini,2006:37). However, Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states as follows:

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression, this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

The Zambian government like most governments in the SADC region is a signatory to various international, continental, and regional instruments which guarantee freedom of expression. These include the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), The UN International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966), the African Charter on Human and People's Rights (1988), Declaration of Principles on Freedom of Expression (2002), and the SADC Protocol on Culture, Information and Sport (2001).

According to the Association of European Parliamentarians for Africa (AWEPA) public broadcasters are said to be hobbled by stringent laws, monopolistic ownership and sometimes, the threat of brutal force. The task of the democratic engineers is therefore to construct systems in which these avoidable conflicts can be managed, not by determining, through fighting or display of force, who is the most powerful, but by as best as possible, reflecting the will of the people (AWEPA 2001:14) .

Officially, the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC) is Zambia's public broadcaster. Parliament in Zambia enacted the ZNBC (Amendment) Act 2002 and Section 7 of this Act is so explicit to provide for among other things the following;

1. Varied and balanced programming for the entire population,
2. Serve the public interest,
3. Contribute to equal treatment of men and women
4. Meet high professional quality standards,
5. Offer programmes that provide information, entertainment and education,
6. Contribute to the development of free and informed opinions thereby be an important element of the democratic process,
7. Reflect the range of opinions and of political, philosophical, religious, scientific and artistic trends,
8. Reflect and promote Zambia's national culture, diversity and unit
9. Respect human dignity and human rights and freedoms and contribute to the tolerance of different opinions and beliefs,
10. Further international understanding and the public's sense of peace and social justice, defend democratic freedoms, serve the protection of the environment, contribute to the legislation of equal treatment between men and women.
11. Broadcast news and current affairs programmes which must be comprehensive, unbiased, and independent, as well as commentary which shall be clearly distinguished from news.

12. Promote productions of Zambian origin
13. Carry on or operate such other services including diffusion services and undertakings as in opinion of the Board are conducive to the exercise of its functions under the Act.

However, it is perceived that ZNBC operates in such a manner that it favours the government of the day in the way it treats and portrays political coverage against the opposition. This makes it questionable whether the public does perceive ZNBC as delivering according to Section 7 of the ZNBC (Amendment) Act, 2002. In fact, to the contrary, it appears that ZNBC is not a public broadcaster par excellence. This study examines these perceptions.

1.1.2 Country Profile

Zambia is a landlocked country in Africa South of the Sahara sharing boundaries with the Democratic Republic of Congo and Tanzania in the north, Angola in the West. Namibia borders Zambia in the south-west, while Malawi and Mozambique border Zambia in the east and Zimbabwe and Botswana in the south.

Zambia covers a land area of 752,612 square kilometres which is 2.5 per cent of the area of Africa and is located between 8 and 18 degrees latitude south of the equator and longitudes 22 and 34 degrees east. About 58 percent of Zambia's total land area of 39 million hectares is classified as having medium to high potential for agricultural production, but less than half of potential arable land is cultivated. At the time of writing this report, the country was divided into nine provinces and 72 districts.

Zambia's population is estimated to be 13,272,553 people with a population growth rate at 2.9 percent per annum (CSO Monthly, February, 2010:22).

The Copperbelt Province has the largest population at 2,088,014 followed by Lusaka Province at 1,768,205. Lusaka is followed by the Eastern Province which has a population of 1,797,787. The Northern Province is at 1,662,241 and Southern Province at 1,706,468 while Central Province has a population of 1,386,628. North-Western Province has a population of 808,046 followed by Western Province with a population of 989,345 and Luapula Province whose population is at 1,064,422, (ibid).

There are 73 officially recognized ethno-linguistic groups in Zambia, each with distinct culture and customs. However, there are only seven recognized ethno-linguistic groups representing clusters of similar languages region by region of the country which ZNBC broadcasts. These are Bemba, representing the ethno-linguistic groups of Northern, Luapula and parts of Copperbelt and Central Provinces, Kaonde, Lunda and Luvale representing the ethno-linguistic groups of North-western province, Nyanja, representing the ethno-linguistic groups of Eastern and part of Lusaka provinces. Lozi represents the ethno-linguistic groups of Western Province while Tonga represents the ethnic groups of Southern Province and part of Lusaka and Central Provinces. English is the official language spoken by 26 percent of the population (CSO, 2000:5).

1.1.3 Zambia's Brief Political History

Zambia got her independence from Britain on October 24th, 1964, making her Africa's 35th independent state and like most of its sister nations in Africa, Zambia's transition to independence had been rapid and dramatic. For the ten years preceding independence, Northern Rhodesia, as it then was called, had been part of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, a federation created and governed by white people, but resisted and ultimately destroyed by black Africans (Mulford, 1967:1).

1.1.4 The Economy Of Zambia

At independence in 1964, Zambia's rich mineral resources were well developed and during the first ten years, world market conditions were favourable, making the country one of the wealthiest and most industrialised countries in Africa South of the Sahara(Moyo, 2005:120).

However, from the 1970s, Zambia experienced an economic crisis linked to shifts in the global economy and to internal contradictions in its political economy. The quick succession first in 1973 when the price of oil quadrupled and next in 1974 when copper prices dropped drastically, marked the beginning of Zambia's protracted economic decline. Within two decades, Zambia had slipped to become one of the continent's poorest countries (Moyo, 2005:120; Saasa, 1996:5).

Due to the worsening economic climate, the donor organizations put pressure on the Zambian government to attempt to restructure the economy through the introduction of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP). Attempts to follow these reforms were met with internal resistance such as the food riots objecting to the cutting back in food subsidies. The SAP was abandoned in 1987. However, in 1989, the UNIP government under Dr. Kenneth Kaunda went back to the SAP. When the MMD took power in 1991, a liberalised economy was introduced in Zambia. This saw government dismantling the parastatal organisations which included the mining companies and selling them to private hands (Saasa, 1996:5).

1.2 Statement of the Problem

ZNBC is Zambia's national broadcaster and is expected to operate as a public broadcaster. However, even after the enactment of the ZNBC (Amendment) Act 2002, to give ZNBC the autonomy to operate freely without partisan political influence from the ruling party, it is still operating as a state broadcaster under the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Services (MIBS). The scenario is that MIBS is in complete control of the institution, creating the impression that it a mouth piece of government and not as one that is serving the interest of the citizens of Zambia at large.

Asante (1997) argues that one of the ways in which government can directly control and manipulate the media is through the appointment and dismissal of staff, or reward for "exemplary" behaviour.

ZNBC's autonomy is often called into question during elections and there is a need for a clear policy that takes into account all the various political and other opinions in the country to avoid complaints or accusations of bias against the ruling party (Macha, 2000:2) .

Under both regimes, UNIP and MMD, the ZNBC has never enjoyed the autonomy of a public broadcaster. The ruling parties, UNIP during its time and MMD which is in power at the time of writing this thesis constantly interfered and continue to interfere with its programming and directly influence the appointment of its managerial staff (Kasoma, 2001; Moyo, 2005:128).

1.3 Research Assumptions

There is a generally held assumption by the people that the governing system in the country since independence has continuously held on to the notion created by the colonialists to control the popularly ascribed state owned broadcaster as a deliberate move to suppress the opposition (Kasoma and ZIMA, 2001:18; Banda, 1998; Makungu, 2001). The generally held assumption is that public broadcasting in Zambia, in this case ZNBC, would be more conducive in a democratic dispensation where it is expected that without undue interference, it would dedicate its activities to serving the function of informing citizens about matters of public interest if it were free from government control (Matibini, 2008:36).

1.4 Objectives of the Study

1.4.1 General Objective

This study is based on the hypothesis that despite the government statements that ZNBC has been liberated from government control, in line with the enactment of the Z N B C (Amendment) Act 2002, to turn ZNBC into a public broadcaster, the government has deliberately not implemented the Act. As a result of this, ZNBC has continued to operate as a government mouth piece.

Zambia's transition to multiparty politics in 1991 has not led to significant changes in state-media relations. There was a brief period just before and soon after 1991 when it appeared that the media, including ZNBC would become an independent influence in a democratic environment but that any movement in that direction has been thwarted by the continued state control of the country's largest broadcaster, ZNBC (Phiri, 2001:53).

There was optimism that the state run ZNBC would stop serving as the mouthpiece of the ruling party and become a vibrant forum for the objective discussion of public affairs. This optimism was fuelled by statements and publications generated by the leadership of the MMD who argued that the freedom of the media including ZNBC was essentially constitutive of democracy itself, since through it is that people's wishes can be discerned (Ibid). The proposition is that it is the general public's perception that ZNBC favours the ruling party against the opposition political party's candidates and activities.

The same perception holds when it comes to democratic processes, governance and electioneering in Zambia. The perception is that the scenario gives undue advantage at all times to the state especially during elections and therefore undercuts the very essence of democratic governance in Zambia.

1.4.2 Specific Objectives

1. To assess the public perception of ZNBC as a public broadcaster.
2. To examine the perceived relationship between the role of ZNBC as a public broadcaster and governance.
3. To examine the perceived relationship between the role of ZNBC as a public broadcaster and elections.

1.5 Research Questions

1. ZNBC by law is a public broadcaster, but does the public perceive it as such?
2. Does the public see ZNBC to be advancing good governance?
3. Does the public perceive ZNBC to be advancing free and fair competitive electioneering?
4. Do the people see ZNBC to be advancing the core elements of democratic processes?

1.6 Significance of the Study

In 1991 Zambia became a democracy and promised free media, including turning ZNBC into a public broadcaster. Until then, ZNBC was a state broadcaster. The MMD leaders at their movement's very first public press conference in May, 1990, championed freedom of speech and criticized the one party state for failing to foster an environment conducive to a free media (Phiri,2001:54).

Remmy Mushota, who became Minister of Legal Affairs when MMD eventually came to power, identified freedom of the media as 'one of the most significant freedoms in the process of establishing and sustaining a free and democratic society', and Sikota Wina who also became a national leader in the MMD government as Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly, lamented during the campaigns the state control of the media in Zambia, especially ZNBC. "One of the most disturbing aspects of our society is the way in which the mass media has, unashamedly, been manipulated to the exclusive monopoly of a small clique of the leaders at the top and how the views of the ordinary citizen who wishes to constructively criticize our policies are blacked out (Phiri,2001:54).

However, despite the government statements and eventual enactment of the ZNBC (Amendment) Act 2002, what is the people's perception of ZNBC since it continues to operate as a state broadcaster under the direct control of government through MIBS? This is contrary to the public expectations of a public broadcaster to be free of political bias in reporting and coverage of important issues of public interest.

Chapter 2

BACKGROUND TO POLITICS AND BROADCASTING IN ZAMBIA

2.0 Introduction

This chapter provides the political and broadcasting background of Zambia. This forms the major part of the research undertaken in this study. This historical background of politics and broadcasting situates the study in a specific context capturing the Zambian scenario.

2.1 Colonial History

British protection was first extended to Zambia, then Northern Rhodesia, by the Barotse Treaty of 1890 which was concluded between the British South African Company (BSA) and King Lewanika of Barotseland. The BSA assumed general control over the area of Northern Rhodesia until 1899/1900. In those years the BSA established separate administrations in the western and eastern regions of the territory. The two territories were amalgamated in 1911, forming the Territory of Northern Rhodesia, which the BSA continued to administer until 1924 (Mulford, 1964:1). Northern Rhodesia came under the direct administration of the British Government in 1924.

European demands for responsible government were first raised during the period of the BSA's rule. In 1918 the formation of an Advisory Council composed of five elected members, four from North Western Rhodesia and one from North Eastern Rhodesia, provided the settlers with a limited voice in the Territory's administration (Mulford 1964:1).

The country's first Legislative Council (LegCo) was established in 1924 and contained nine official members and five unofficial elected members. The numbers of members in the Legislative Council kept rising due to demand for equal strength between official and unofficial members in to LegCo. Further changes were introduced in 1948 when elected unofficial and official members were equalized with 10 seats apiece and two African members were appointed to represent African interests. Between 1948 and 1958 Northern Rhodesia evolved towards a system of ministerial government (Mulford, 1967:1).

The organizations now known as the African National Congress (ANC) and the United National Independence Party (UNIP) started in a humble way in 1946 (Roberts 1976:196-197). In the preceding years immediately before 1946, there existed a number of African Welfare Societies in towns along the line of rail and in a few administrative centres in the country such as the Mwenzo Welfare Society in Isoka district formed by Donald Siwale, a schools inspector at Mwenzo and David Kaunda, father of Zambia's first President. In 1953, the Rhodesias and Nyasaland *were joined to form the Central African Federation (Sikalumbi, 1979).*

This ironically greatly stimulated the growth of African nationalism in both Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. As a result, the federation collapsed on 2nd December, 1963, when Nyasaland was allowed by the British government to secede from the Federation (Mulford, 1964).

2.1.1 The Emergence of Zambia

It was agreed at the London Constitutional Conference in October, 1963 that Zambia's independence would come at the same time as the republican status. On 24th October, 1964, Zambia became an independent republic within the Commonwealth. On January 23rd, 1964, UNIP's President Kenneth Kaunda was appointed Prime Minister with a full UNIP cabinet of ministers for the first time (Makasa, 1985:159). A motion was moved in the Legislative Assembly demanding the formal withdrawal of Northern Rhodesia from the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. On 25th August, 1964, the Legislative Assembly meeting in Lusaka elected Kenneth David Kaunda unopposed as Executive President and Head of State Designate of the Republic of Zambia. The new state of Zambia came into being on 24th October, 1964, this being also the United Nations Day, symbolized Zambia's commitment to the ideals of the United Nations Charter (Roberts, 1976:222). The last LegCo before independence was formed after elections of the 28th January, 1964. It provided for a total of seventy five (75) seats in the house.

The main parties in that contested the elections were UNIP, ANC and the whites only NPP. The results of the election were that UNIP won fifty-five (55) of the sixty-five (65) main roll seats and the ANC won the remaining ten (10) seats while the NPP secured all the ten (10) reserved roll seats. On 24th October, the LegCo was renamed the National Assembly of Zambia.

Zambia was a multi-party republic from 1964 to 1973 when the Constitution of Zambia Act was passed by Parliament as Act No. 27 of 1973 to usher in the one-party state. Under this arrangement, the National Assembly had one hundred and twenty-five (125) elected and ten (10) nominated Members in addition to the Speaker and the President. This Parliamentary set up continued up to 1990 when Article 4 of the 1973 Republican Constitution was amended and replaced with Act No. 20 of December, 1990 and Zambia reverted to a multi-party political system (Parliamentary Guide 2001:3).

The Act also amended Article 64 concerning the composition of the National Assembly. It provides for one hundred and fifty (150) elected and eight (8) nominated Members of Parliament by the President. The inclusion of the Speaker and the President bring the total number of Members of Parliament to one hundred and sixty (160). On 31st October, 1991, Presidential and Parliamentary elections were held and the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy, MMD, won 125 of the 150 seats. The ruling United National Independence Party won the remaining 25 seats (Parliamentary Guide, 2001:3).

At the time of writing this thesis, the distribution of seats in the National Assembly is as follows: Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD 75), the Patriotic Front (PF 42), The United Party for National Development (UPND 22), the United Liberal Party (ULP 3), the Forum for Democracy and Development (FDD 2), the National Democratic Focus (ZRP 1), the United National Independence Party (UNIP 1) and Independents (3). There was one vacant seat due to a death of an MMD Member (Parliamentary Guide, 2001:4).

2.2 Broadcasting History in Zambia

2.2.1 Emergence of Radio Broadcasting in Zambia

The earliest form of broadcasting in Zambia was the initiative of Harry Franklin, Director of Information in the colonial administration of Northern Rhodesia in 1941. This was after a series of amateur broadcasting activities on the Copperbelt by European amateur wireless clubs that conducted experimental broadcasts twice a week starting from 1939 (Kasoma and ZIMA, 2001; Banda, 2001; Makungu, 2001)

The Information Department (1946:7) stated in an official report on the development of broadcasting by the Director of the Information Department which was under the office of the Chief Secretary, as there was no ministry of Information and Broadcasting Services that time, that an embryo broadcasting station was set up in Lusaka. The station was transmitting for an hour, three times a week to Africans and once a week to Europeans.

There was no broadcasting staff as broadcasting work was being done by the Information Officer with European volunteers and the African newspaper staff who were paid overtime. Like in many parts of the world, broadcasting in Zambia coincided with the Second World War, and it became a useful medium for conveying news messages to African families of members of the Northern Rhodesia Regiment as well as a means of alerting people in the event of an emergence arising from the war (Frankael, 1959 ; Moyo, 2005:117).

Most importantly, broadcasting in Zambia, as in many other British colonies, followed the structure of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), which also enjoyed monopoly status at that time. In fact, the British Colonial Office promoted the establishment of these institutions through grants from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund, technical support, as well as seconding BBC staff to assist in the establishment of these institutions as will be elaborated later in this chapter (Armour, 1984; Franklin, 1949; Moyo, 2005:11).

Between March, 1942 and August, 1945, broadcasting increased to a daily programme of two and a half hours and audience distribution was improved by placing 100 wireless listening facilities at different suitable places throughout the territory. There was also the encouragement of the provision of the same wireless sets by large employers such as the mining companies in their labour compounds.

During the same period proposals were submitted by the Director of Information to the Central African Council through the Public Relations Committee for a regional broadcasting service in which all African broadcasting for the territories should be undertaken from Lusaka by the Information Department and all European broadcasting from Salisbury by the Southern Rhodesia Broadcasting Service were approved by the Council and ratified by the three governments (Information Department, 1946).

The number of African listeners was, of course dependent upon the listening facilities available to Africans, and was still the greatest problem before the Information Department of Northern Rhodesia. Some advance was made during 1947 towards solving the problem. In the search for a suitable dry-battery receiver cheap enough for the Africans to buy, several prototypes were offered by South African manufacturers but were tested and rejected (Information Department, 1947:4).

For a long time researchers in the United Kingdom, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand in an endeavour to interest manufacturers in the production of a cheap and suitable set for Africans had met with no success and it began to look as though the problem would not be solved for several more years (Information Department 1948:5).

A solution to providing a radio receiver that Africans could afford was found. The first Director of the Department of Information, Harry Franklin, designed a radio set called the 'Saucepan Special' (Kasoma 2001:6). However, Information Department (1948:5) indicates that it was due to personal contact between the head of a leading manufacturing firm in London and the Director of Information Franklin, who was on leave in London in 1948, that the idea of a cheap type of dry-battery receiver was sold and the firm accepted and acted remarkably quickly. Three prototypes were produced in a few weeks.

With the help of a Mr. W.E.C. Varley of the BBC who had been working in close collaboration with the Department of Information in Northern Rhodesia and also with help from the Colonial Office Broadcasting Advisor, one prototype was chosen and modifications were suggested and made. Within five months of the original approach by the firm, twenty sample sets were sent out to Northern Rhodesia. The Information Department (1949:4-5) states that in African broadcasting, the advent of the 'saucepan special' had made colonial broadcasting history. The affordable dry-battery receiver proved a great success among Africans. In 1949 through the rate of sales were nearly 300 sets a month until stocks ran out and new supplies were unable to keep pace with the demand.

All progress had been made in the Northern Rhodesia Broadcasting Services with an eye to the future concentration on African broadcasting for the three territories from Lusaka.

The broadcasts for Northern Rhodesia were in Chitonga, Chinyanja, Chibemba and Silozi (Information Department, 1949:5). The language issue in the mass media in Zambia did not begin with radio broadcasting in 1941, but that it had started earlier with the colonial Africans newspaper called the *Mutende* which was published in four local languages namely Chibemba, Chinyanja, Chitonga and Sikololo (Silozi). When the colonial government introduced broadcasting, the same four languages also became broadcast languages (Kasoma and ZIMA 2001:7).

Following the introduction of the 'saucepan special' in 1949 the first popular mass produced radio set in Africa and later the invention of the transistor, nearly half the African households along the line of rail had radio sets; in the urban areas, eight out of 10 Africans had become listeners (Mytton 1983: 36,53). By 1950, broadcasting hours were increased from fourteen hours per week in 1949 to twenty-four and a half hours per week and that the quality of African programmes was further improved. A five year propaganda campaign was launched in 1950. This was a campaign conducted through the broadcast media on the following subjects:

- (a) Fixed cultivation with improved methods of agriculture and soil conservation
- (b) Increased cattle production with improved quality
- (c) Early burning of the veldt and prevention of bush fires
- (d) Improved hygiene
- (e) Education of girls
- (f) Hard work.

Africans showed interest in this campaign by writing and discussing the various subjects of their concerns (Information Department, 1950:6).

The full implementation of the Central African Broadcasting Service (CABS) came in March, 1950 and involved the cessation of the European broadcasting from Lusaka. The programme staff at Lusaka were almost entirely responsible for the compilation of programmes to be broadcast to Africans in Southern Rhodesia in Sindebele and Chishona (Information Department, 1950:6).

The Central African Broadcasting Service provided such a framework that African programmes, in particular the proportion of speech to music, remained constant throughout the year in all the vernacular languages that were used in the broadcasts for the Northern Rhodesian listeners (Information Department, 1955:9). Lunda and Luvale had been added to the original four of Chibemba, Chinyanja, Silozi and Chitonga upon a written request to the Director of the Information Department, Harry Franklin by Chief Inshindi of the Lunda people in Northwestern Province in 1950 (Kasoma and ZIMA, 2001:8).

2.2.2 Federal Broadcasting Corporation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland

After a series of negotiations with the governments of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the Federal Government announced its intention to establish a corporation on 1st July, 1957.

This decision gave a definite direction to the government policy, although by the end of the year, there was no draft legislation (Information Department 1956:9-10). At the end of January, 1958, the Central African Broadcasting Services (CABS) station was handed over to an independent Corporation; the Federal Broadcasting Corporation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (FBC) (Information Department, 1958:16).

As the writings of Maja-Pearce, (1995:114); Zaffiro (1984:55) in Moyo (2005:119) indicate, right from the beginning, broadcasting in Zambia was characterised by a strong racial divide, with the white settler population listening to the BBC, the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) or the Federal Broadcasting Corporation in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia. The CABS station in Lusaka was therefore meant to serve the Africans, to whom it broadcast in six African languages as has been mentioned earlier in this chapter. Although most broadcasters were African, CABS was not independent of colonial authorities, who used it as a tool for countering 'hostile' foreign broadcasts (Maja-Pearce, 1995:114; Zaffiro, 1984:55; Moyo, 2005:119).

Godfrey Banda is a veteran Zambian Journalist and broadcaster who first worked as a clerk/translator on the *Mutende* newspaper from 1948 to 1952 when *Mutende* newspaper ceased publication. He was then transferred to the African Listener broadcast the forerunner to Z Magazine now produced by the Zambia News and Information Service (ZANIS) after this he became a Chinyanja radio announcer in the FBC in 1960 after a sectional transfer (Interview, 12th September, 2009).

He continued to work in broadcasting after independence and became head of the Nyanja section in 1970 until 1987 when he retired. In a personal interview, Banda said that in 1959, Shona and Ndebele broadcast services were moved to Harare relay studio in Salisbury and Luveve relay studio Bulawayo respectively from Lusaka.

Banda further confirmed the writings of Kasoma (1986) that when the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was dissolved in 1963, there were further changes in broadcasting. In January, 1964, the FBC became the Northern Rhodesia Broadcasting Corporation (NRBC) and that when Zambia attained her independence in October 1964, NRBC became the Zambia Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC) (Personal interview, 12th September, 2009) ”.

2.2.3 Broadcasting under the UNIP Regime: 1964-1991

The predominance of government broadcasting in Zambia is a characteristic feature of both colonial and post-colonial eras. During the colonial era, both the territorial and federal government used broadcasting as an administrative tool, informing the people about the activities of the government and educating them on matters that the government decided they needed to be informed about (Moyo, 2005:118). It was a government-centred, top-bottom information set-up in which what the various political and other representatives of Africans said and did hardly made any news. Riots and demonstrations by African politicians were almost invariably given biased coverage (Kasoma, 2001:12).

Soon after independence in 1964, the UNIP government predictably began to tighten its hold on broadcasting (Banda, 2006:97). Radio broadcasting was put under the charge of the new Ministry of Information and Postal Services. Previously broadcasting was under the office of the Chief Secretary, as there was no Ministry of Information in Northern Rhodesia, except for the Information Department. The Ministry's name was later changed to the Ministry of Information, Broadcasting and Tourism in 1965 (Ministry of Information Annual Report, 1965). Kasoma and ZIMA (2001:14) state that like the colonial government, the Kaunda government saw radio and television as tools for communicating government information and activities in the same top-down manner.

During the UNIP Regime, broadcast media reflected the government's thinking and focused on nation building as well as spreading government propaganda. Kaunda viewed radio and television as instruments to unite all the 73 ethno-linguistic groups of Zambia, facilities for political consolidation, instruments for development and organs for telling people positive news about mainly, what government officers, particularly the President were saying and doing (Chirwa, 1996:7, Moyo, 2005:122).

According to some studies, a Broadcasting Act was passed in 1966 to allow for the dissolution of the Zambia Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC) and paved the way for the establishment of the Zambia Broadcasting Services (ZBS). ZBS radio broadcasting was put under the direct government control (Banda, 2006:97).

However, a search for a copy of this Act yielded no positive results; it could not be found at the National Archives of Zambia, the Government Printers, the Ministry of Justice and the Parliament Library.

According to Banda in response to the query by email on Monday, September 21st, 2009 to Dr. Isaac Phiri of the Department of Mass Communication at the University of Zambia and to this author, a copy of the Act may not be found at all due to the fact that Zambia had just attained her independence that time and there was no proper system of keeping important records in the country. He further lamented the lack of professional competence in government institutions in keeping track of critical public records. (See appendix E for this communication).

Television in Zambia was introduced in 1961 in Kitwe by a private firm called the London Rhodesia Company (Lonrho) owned by a British business tycoon, Tiny Rowland. The station primarily served the white mining and commercial community on the Copperbelt. At independence in 1964, the government bought off the television station in Kitwe and put it under the charge of the Ministry of Information, and Postal Services. In 1967, television broadcasting moved from Kitwe to Lusaka incorporating it into the Zambia Broadcasting Services (ZBS) together with radio broadcasting under the charge of the Ministry of Information and Tourism. Commentators saw this as a step by the Kaunda government to tighten its grip on broadcasting in order to enhance itself politically (Mensa, 1998:163).

Radio and Television broadcasting under Dr. Kaunda, were used as facilities to consolidate the UNIP government, particularly during the one-party political era. This was confirmed when in between 30th June and 3rd July, 1975, Dr. Kaunda in his watershed speech to the UNIP National Council held at the Mulungushi International Conference Centre in Lusaka told the delegates that radio and television were clearly there to reflect the official thinking of the party and government:

ZTV must apart from disseminating information, express in depth the various cultural aspects of this nation apart from entertainment. Radio to continue disseminating information, providing entertainment and education in all its important aspects. Any pressman or woman who does not see the role of the mass media worker as being what I have just defined should be honourable enough to resign, for if he or she does not, then the Central Committee will help ease him or her out of the job (Watershed speech, June30-July 3, 1975:35-36).

As Kaunda's political grip on the country tightened, Radio and Television Zambia became virtually a UNIP station used to broadcast all forms of political propaganda (Kasoma and ZIMA, 2001:18). Broadcasting was moved from the Ministry of Information, Broadcasting and Tourism to the new Ministry of Information and Broadcasting (MIB) in 1973 (MIB Annual Report, 1973).

In 1987, the Zambian Parliament passed the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation Act and constituted the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC) as a body corporate. This establishment of ZNBC partially delinked the operations of ZNBC from government and placed it under a board of directors appointed by the minister of Information and Broadcasting Services.

Through this Act, both public radio and television broadcasting under ZBS subsequently became ZNBC on April 1, 1988 (Matibini, 2006:38).

All this did not come without consequences as it enhanced the continuation of suppression of dissent in the broadcasting media which started in 1964 and saw the introduction of a state of emergency and repressive laws such as the State Security Act which had replaced the Official Secrets Act of 1911 (Moore 1991:23). The station regarded news about Kaunda as being so important that all news bulletins started with it. What Kaunda's colleagues said then followed in descending order of hierarchy (Kasoma and ZIMA, 2001:18).

In the continued strategy by UNIP to control and indoctrinate the nation, ZBS was transferred from the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Services in 1988 to the new Ministry of National Guidance, Information and Broadcasting Services. The perception from various Zambian authors is that the UNIP government had positioned itself in such a manner that it would use the broadcasting services to enhance the one party ideals and perpetuate its stay in government hence the formation of such a ministry and the delegation of broadcasting under it (MNGIBS Annual Report, 1988).

2.2.4 Broadcasting under the MMD Regime.

The advent of the prodemocracy party, MMD, demonstrated how an opposition political party campaigning on a liberal ticket could easily become intolerant of freedoms it espoused once it acceded to power (Phiri, 2001:56).

The nature of broadcasting in Zambia from 1991 to date reflects the tensions between the ruling party and the opposition. The shift to multi-party politics from the one-party state has done very little to change the radio and television broadcasting scenario in Zambia (Banda, 2006:113). The MMD pledged in their manifesto that the state owned radio and television would serve as vehicles to promote national unity, reconstruction, development and that individuals would have the right to own and operate their own electronic radio and television facilities (MMD Manifesto 1990:22).

Immediately the MMD took over government, the Ministry of National Guidance, Information and Broadcasting Services was renamed to become the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Services (MIBS) in 1991 (MIBS Annual Report, 1992).

The government of the Republic of Zambia through the MIBS formulated what it called the first ever comprehensive Information and Media Policy in Zambia.

According to the policy, the role of the ZNBC was to inform, educate and entertain the public through radio and television. The functions of ZNBC were spelt out as follows:

1. To promote the production of local television and radio programmes
2. To broadcast news, current affairs and information to the public
3. To procure and broadcast entertainment programmes,

4. To broadcast educational and civic programmes (Information and Media Policy, 1996:23).

Radio and Television broadcasting by the ZNBC under the MMD government was not very different from what it was under the Kenneth Kaunda's government. ZNBC under Chiluba only temporarily abandoned the hierarchical news-play of the Kaunda regime. By the mid- 1990's there was growing disillusionment with the MMD government, as people accused Chiluba of following in the Kaunda's footsteps. Hope for a free media that would promote 'democracy and development' was dashed, as the MMD retained control of the state owned media and even perpetuated intimidation of the private media (Moyo, 2005:117).

The revised MMD Manifesto of 1996 spells out some minor adjustments to the 1990 manifesto and says that a media policy whose mission was to promote a lean professional, efficient and self motivated media, capable of delivering objective and timely information to all Zambians was a necessity in order to increase the media outreach throughout the country and also to promote and safeguard press freedom (MMD Manifesto 1996:27).

The MMD government however did as a result, only facilitate for more privately owned media as opposed to opening up the government owned media, especially the ZNBC radio and television services as per the people's expectations. Instead of privatising the ZNBC, as it had done with other state enterprises, Chiluba's government decided to deliberately not implement both the ZNBC (Amendment) Act,

2002 and the Independent Broadcasting Authority Act, 2002. As a result of this, for the most part, the station gave priority to news concerning Chiluba. Like under the Kaunda regime, what the other ministers said was widely publicized by ZNBC, usually as lead stories (Phiri, 1999:54; Kasoma and ZIMA 2001:18).

This was so in the Mwanawasa government which like the Chiluba government did not consider reforming ZNBC as a matter that needed urgent attention and this has continued in the Rupia Banda's government despite the several campaign promises that the MMD made to the people in 1991 that ZNBC would be given the autonomy to operate as a public broadcaster in order to serve all political parties and other groupings equally and fairly (Moyo, 2005:172).

Phiri (2001:54) states that in the run up to the election, MMD politicians criticised UNIP's manipulation of the mass media as captured in the euphoria that characterised the transition period, which can be linked to the promises the MMD made:

Within Zambia, particularly in media circles, the transition was thought to mark the end of the repression of the media and the beginning of an era in which the media would be an autonomous contributor to the country's social, political, and economic life.

There was optimism that the state run ZNBC would stop serving as the mouthpiece of the ruling party and become a vibrant forum for the objective discussion of public affairs.

It is also against the background that Parliament passed the ZNBC (Amendment) Act, 2002 to broaden the functions of ZNBC to allow for it to operate as a public broadcaster, and the enactment of the Independent Broadcasting Authority Act 2002 (IBA) to regulate broadcasting in Zambia. Unfortunately, this and the other

manoeuvres have not changed much in the way ZNBC has been operating (Matibini, 2006:50-60).

The perception is that this is contradicting the promises the MMD gave during the campaigns in the run-up to the multi-party elections that the ZNBC would be given the autonomy to operate as a public broadcaster once MMD was elected. Instead, MMD uses ZNBC for biased publicity against the opposition parties and painting MMD in favourable light (Phiri, 2001:54).

It is further argued that through the state appointment of media heads, as was the case in the Second Republic, it was possible even in the Third Republic for the government to influence the orientation of the news and programme content on both national radio and television. Government still retains ownership of ZNBC although the reforms provide for it at the same time to operate independently (Makungu, 2004:44).

Chapter 3

LITERATURE REVIEW

3.0 Introduction.

This chapter explores available relevant literature on public broadcasting. It includes works that refine the concept of “public” broadcasting and addresses its relevance to Africa. The chapter also evaluates studies about Zambia.

3.1 Defining Public Broadcasting

3.1.1 Public Broadcasting

It has been noted by many authors, that the public overwhelmingly wants to believe the public broadcaster, and that it will use this credible information to actively and reasonably conduct their public affairs:

This though has a direct relationship between access to electronic media, participation in governance and democratization in Africa and that the general belief holds that representative government is the only form of democracy that is feasible in today's sprawling heterogeneous nation-states.....to make it possible for tens of millions of widely dispersed citizens to receive the information they need to carry out the business of governing themselves, gain admission to the political realm, and retrieve some of the power over their own lives and goods that many believe their elected leaders are squandering (Ott, 1994:125).

The perception therefore is that the role of the public broadcaster is critical. It is a tool for practicing free will and change by the citizens. The public broadcaster holds a very prominent position both in terms of its necessity for governance ideas to be transmitted and replicated, and as a tool by which political actors seek to ensure the predominance of their ideas (Ibid).

McQuail points out that there is no absolute definition of public service broadcasting. However, the Peacock Commission into broadcasting in 1986 came up with eight principles of the 'public broadcaster':

Geographical universality of provision and reception; the aim of providing for all tastes and interests; catering for minorities; having a concern for national identity and community; keeping broadcasting Independent from government and vested interests; having some element of direct funding from the public (thus not only from advertisers); encouraging competition in programmes and not just for audiences; and encouraging the freedom of broadcasters (1994:126).

UNESCO (2000:1) Article 1 defines public broadcasting as a meeting place where all citizens are welcome and considered equals. It is an information and educational tool, accessible to all and meant for all, whatever their social or economic status. Its mandate is not restricted to information and cultural development. Public broadcasting must appeal to all imagination and entertain. But it does so with a concern for quality.

In a similar way, the European Broadcasting Union defines public broadcasting as broadcasting made for the public, financed by the public and controlled by the public (CBA Conference, 2004:1). According to Kantumoya (2006:5) SADC and the Southern African Broadcasting Association (SABA), state that public broadcasting should always strive to get all the voices on the airwaves regardless of how unpopular the viewpoints may be.

What is critical is the way the public broadcaster operates. Whose side are the public broadcasters on? There could be many answers to this, depending on which public broadcaster is under discussion.

However, it has been noted that most theory seems to again support the view that public broadcasters, more often than not, by commission or omission, do tend to serve the interests of those who already have disproportionate, political and economic power in society (McQuail, 2004:53).

The perception is that the public broadcaster is being used more for control, to communicate propaganda and also to manage and manipulate the social environment on behalf of the ruling political party, in the quest for national power. There is need to recognize right from start the fact that, with the aforesaid in perspective, public broadcasting is in permanent association and intercourse with political, social, cultural and economic characteristics of society (McQuail, 2004:156).

By empowering ordinary citizens to participate more directly in their political system, communication through public broadcasting increases the role of citizens in the policy making process at the expense of the political 'middlemen' who have historically provided the forum through which ordinary citizens could make their interests on specific issues known through interest aggregation and representation (Grossman, 1966). It has been augmented, too, that if the public broadcasters could be free and accessible, millions of people could be exposed to a medium in which they have an active role or interest and could influence good governance as well as other outcomes (Gerbner et al. 1977:173).

The general rationale for their operating is that they should serve the public interest by meeting important communication needs of the society and citizens, as decided and reviewed through the democratic political system. A country is a political body which if successful makes it possible for a people to make good collective decisions. This can be accomplished in part through a public broadcaster that operates on the principles of 'equal opportunity' and the 'fairness' which could in turn protect them and also help them share common values (Barrow, 1968; Simons; Rowan, 1984; Powel, 1987; Lichtenberg, 1990; McQuail, 2004:51).

The persuasion according to the above arguments, is that the rigid view that the truth must be controlled is to maintain status quo, or to take from Lenin's dictum that "truth is partisan," the result is the abuse of public broadcasters just as history has demonstrated time and again (Gerbner et al. 1977:14). The perception by the people therefore is that the ultimate of democracy in this respect is that public affairs should no longer be based on "the right of the strong" but on the "rights of everybody" and that there should be the development of systems for democratic governance and largely the development of means for free and equal access to public broadcasting among other things (McQuail, 2004:51).

3.1.2 The BBC as a model of Public Broadcasting

The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) is the largest broadcasting corporation in the world. The BBC is a quasi-autonomous public corporation operating as a public service broadcaster incorporated under a royal charter.

The mission of the BBC is to inform, educate, and entertain. The BBC is a nominally autonomous corporation, independent from direct government intervention. The further argument is that the most important thing that should come out of a liberated and truly free public broadcaster that is serving its market is non-bias and credibility. The BBC was created in 1927 through the Royal Charter as a publicly funded organization. Its sole responsibility was the provision of broadcasting in the United Kingdom and the British Empire. Being publicly funded also brought a responsibility for the BBC to establish an implicit contract with every household in the nation that BBC will set standards of quality and diversity (Crisell, 1994:21).

The charter states that funding the BBC is primarily through government-set television license fees, and that the BBC operates independently, based on the provision that it be free from both political and commercial influence. Motivated, at least in its early development, by quality not profit, the BBC has become the most respected source of news in the world, praised for its unbiased and balanced reporting (BBC Guidelines, 2006:117). The BBC answers only to its viewers and listeners. The BBC's current global reputation is based on its editorial integrity and independence. The audiences are confident that the broadcaster's decisions are not influenced by political or commercial pressures, or by personal interests (Ibid).

The guidelines are explicit on the point that the station must not undermine these values by any actions which could bring the BBC into disrepute (BBC Guidelines, 2005:117). The principles relating to the political impartiality are set out in the BBC's Charter and Agreement and are central to their coverage of politics. Over time they have aimed to give due prominence to all the main strands of argument and to all the main parties. Although the government of the day will often be the primary source of news, the voices and opinions of opposition parties must also be routinely aired and challenged (Ibid).

The BBC Editorial Guidelines call for editorial integrity and independence. There are editorial principles which have been designed to help guide the operations of the BBC as a public broadcaster:

- i. We must be independent of both state and partisan interests.
- ii. We must not endorse or appear to endorse any other organisation, its products, activities or services.
- iii. We should not give undue prominence to commercial products or services.
- iv. There must be no product placement in programmes.
- v. We should ensure that on air and online credits are clearly editorially justified (BBC Editorial Guidelines,2006:10).

The agreement accompanying the BBC's Charter demands that the station produces comprehensive, authoritative and impartial coverage of news and current affairs in the UK and throughout the world to support fair and informed debate. It specifies that they should do all they can to treat controversial subjects with due accuracy and impartiality in their news services and other programmes dealing with matters of public policy or of political or industrial controversy (BBC Editorial Guidelines, 2006:10).

The issue of whether a free public broadcast media is the best communications solution in a democracy is critical at the close of this century. It needs to be examined dispassionately and must be acknowledged that what causes the public broadcaster to become an instrument for democratic decision making is the variety of voices that find their way to the people (McQuail, 1994:126). This study is a contribution to the literature on this critical issue.

3.1.3 Public Broadcasting in Africa

The African Charter on Broadcasting (2001:2) adopted in Windhoek, Namibia, acknowledges the enduring relevance and importance of the Windhoek Declaration to the protection and promotion of freedom of expression and of the media. It notes that freedom of expression includes the right to communicate and access to means of communication, and recommends the need for independence and pluralism in radio and television broadcasting.

It affirms the fact that for the vast majority of the peoples of Africa, the broadcast media is the main source of public communication and information. It therefore recommends that:

1. All State and government controlled broadcasters should be transformed into public service broadcasters, that are accountable to all strata of the people as represented by an independent board, and that serve the overall public interest, avoiding one-sided reporting and programming in regard to religion, political belief, culture, race and gender.
2. Public service broadcasters should, like broadcasting and telecommunications regulators, be governed by bodies which are protected against interference.
3. The public service mandate of public service broadcasters should clearly defined
4. The editorial independence of public service broadcasters should be guaranteed.
5. Public service broadcasters should be adequately funded in a manner that protects them from arbitrary interference with their budgets.
6. Without detracting from editorial control over news and current affairs content and in order to promote the development of independent productions and to enhance diversity in programming, public service broadcasters should be required to broadcast minimum quotas of material by independent producers.
7. The transmission infrastructure used by public service broadcasters should be made accessible to all broadcasters under reasonable and non-discriminatory terms.

The Declaration by the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights on Freedom of Expression (2002) also known as the Banjul Declaration concurs with the African Charter on Broadcasting. It declares that a state monopoly over broadcasting is not compatible with the right to freedom of expression. In a democracy, it is expected that the citizens are entitled to the liberty of playing their part in shaping an effective and meaningful democratic system and that this requires the provision of a free and objective public broadcaster:

State and government controlled broadcasters should be transformed into public service broadcasters, accountable to the public through the legislature rather than to the government.

The public broadcaster should serve the population in its entirety, regardless of cultural backgrounds, political convictions, sexual orientations, religious beliefs, languages or skin colours. It is by its definition non-discriminatory. State controlled broadcasting is, by its definition, biased in favour of the authorities and cannot provide a debate. In many African countries, state broadcasters have been used as a tool of the elite class who rule over the others to help mobilize the masses for themselves in the name of economic and social development of the particular country. What transpires is that the state broadcasters are used to help the ruling parties remain in power perpetually. In such and many circumstances, the governments take total control of state broadcasting and make it a rule that government propaganda takes precedence (2002:1)

Jonah states that, democracy in Africa must be supported by a civic culture of openness and toleration. An informed and educated population is most likely to be capable of maintaining and respecting democratic norms in Africa. The understanding given is that people in Africa want to know and they want to share what they know with other people. A free public broadcaster becomes critical in this aspect. Two groups of people will emerge as a result. The two groups being:

1. those that will be communicating
2. those that will be communicated to (1992:4) .

3.1.4 Public Broadcasting in the SADC region.

Kantumoya (2006:5) states that freedom of the media is considerably hampered by the absence of laws enshrining freedom of information in the SADC region.

The exception is South Africa which is the only country to have an operative Freedom of Information Act and official support for media pluralism and diversity institutionalized in the Media Diversity and Development Agency. South Africa remains the only country to have transformed its previously state owned broadcaster, SABC, into a public broadcaster, governed by and answerable to an independent board.

The SABC's mandate as a public broadcaster comes from the Charter, which is laid down in chapter IV of the Broadcasting Act No. 4 of 1999. The Act requires SABC to encourage the development of South African expression by providing, in the official languages, a wide range of programming that:

- Reflects South African attitudes, opinions, ideas, values and artistic creativity
- Displays South African talent in educational and entertaining programmes
- Offers a plurality of views and a variety of news, information and analysis from a South African point of view
- Advances the national and public interest.

The SABC's powers and functions, as well as its rights and obligations, are derived from a number of sources: legislation, the Charter, the licence conditions of each SABC station and channel, and regulations issued by ICASA from time to time, including the Code of Conduct for Broadcasters set by the BCCSA.

South Africa's broadcasting legislation provides for a three-tier licensing structure for broadcasting services: public, commercial and community. The SABC is South Africa's only public broadcaster, and for public accountability purposes consists of two separate divisions controlled by the Board: a public service division and a commercial service division. Each of these runs a number of radio stations and television channels.

Each has a set of licence conditions that impose obligations, including quotas for local content, and requirements for geographical coverage and language services. These are laid down by ICASA, which is responsible for monitoring compliance with the licence conditions and with the objectives of the Charter.

This is against the background that editorial policy and decision-making in all broadcasting institutions should be free from interference by government or the governing board. The editorial policy of public broadcasting should follow agreed standards of political fairness and impartiality. However, these should not be set down in such detail as would interfere with editorial independence. Editorial independence means the right of journalists and editors to make decisions on the basis of professional criteria consistent with international standards, such as the respect for human rights and privacy, the newsworthiness of an event or its relevance to the public's right to know and in accordance with international codes of ethics for journalists (MISA-SA, 2009:1).

Other SADC states in the region provide “public service” broadcasting though at different levels. Pereira states that in Angola, all radios stations were closed at independence and were replaced by the new Angola National Radio (RNA) which is the only information medium which covers the whole country, with provincial broadcasting stations in each of the 18 provinces transmitting in Portuguese and 12 local languages. The structure and journalistic practices of the station have always reflected the ways that political power is exercised where government or ruling party actions were never questioned (Pereira, 2006:15).

In Botswana, Mosaka states the public broadcasters, Botswana Television and Radio Botswana; share a national audience with two commercial TV stations and two commercial radio stations which both broadcast in English and Setswana.

Radio Botswana broadcasts two channels on shortwave, medium wave and FM on a non-profit making basis 24hrs daily, within a radius of 1,000 Kilometres from the capital Gaborone (Mosaka, 2006:25). The government is the sole owner of Radio Botswana and decides what to air, unlike a genuine public broadcaster, which is run under a legislated mandate and by an independent board. Botswana Television like Radio Botswana is also a free service run by the Department of Broadcasting and Information and transmits both terrestrial signal and digital broadcasts via satellite (Ibid).

In the Democratic Republic of Congo, the National Radio and Television station (RTNC) is owned by the Congolese Broadcasting Corporation. During the Mobutu regime, RTNC was initially controlled by the Movement for Popular Revolution (MPR), Mobutu's party, and today. Now, it is controlled by the People's Party for Reconstruction and Development (PPRD)- the party of President Joseph Kabila. The RTNC has the advantage of covering the whole country through provincial centres, which have a limited degree of autonomy in the choice of local programmes (Tsimanga, 2006:107).

In Malawi, the government has kept control of the public broadcasters, the Malawi Broadcasting Corporation (MBC) and the Television Malawi (TVM) which broadcast in the major languages of English, Lomwe, Yao, Nkhonde, Tumbuka, Sena, Tonga and Chichewa. In that country, the need for a true public broadcaster is not officially acknowledged.

The MBC and TVM, as state broadcasters depend on government subvention for 40 percent of their revenue and meet resistance from the advertising market because much of their programming is seen to be unappetizing propaganda (Chitsulo 2006:33).

Mozambique has made considerable strides through the enactment of legislation toward greater freedom of public broadcasting and the right of the citizens to impart receive and share information and knowledge freely. Statutory Instrument 18 of 16 June 1994 turned Radio Mozambique and Mozambique Television into public service broadcasters funded directly from state budget. The scenario is quite relaxed in Mozambique, where under the Electoral Act, public broadcasters are required to give equal airtime to all contesting parties and candidates in the 45- day lead-up to any election (Fernando, 2006:47).

The Namibian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) has 11 frequencies for listeners in English and nine indigenous languages. It remains the largest radio service, covering all the eight regions of the country. Programming at NBC has at times fallen victim to direct official interference (Kandjii, 2006:57).

In Zimbabwe, the state is the only broadcaster. The Zimbabwe Broadcasting Holdings (ZBH) is wholly owned by the government. It is regulated by the Broadcasting Authority of Zimbabwe (Chari, 2006:127, 131).

The country does not have a comprehensive policy framework to guide the broadcasting industry. Hints are found scattered in statutes, official documents or ministerial statements. It seems that the colonial history and recent political developments have informed the drafting of the existing policies and legislation (Chari, 2006:127,131).

The desire to protect national identity, national interest and national sovereignty appear to be the key values underlying policy formulation for broadcasting. The perception by people is that the major challenges public broadcasters are facing have to do with democratization and development bordering on ensuring equitable access to all the political players in the run-up to elections and maintaining good governance.

3.1.5 Public Broadcasting in Zambia

An African Commission on Human Rights and Peoples' rights workshop in Lusaka, Zambia (2005) stated that, "unlike the state broadcaster, the public broadcaster will serve public interest, to inform, educate and entertain the citizens. The public broadcaster would offer plurality of views and to constitute an important element in the democratic process". Broadcasting in Zambia is a reflection of the political ideologies of the day. "Before independence in 1964 it reflected the imperial and colonialist designs of Britain. After independence, it served the narrow interests of a nationalist government intent on consolidating its hold on power, but reflected official policy to integrate the different tribal groupings into 'one Zambia one nation' (Banda 2006:113).

A critical evaluation of state broadcasting in ZNBC and recommendations for future transformation campaign direction indicates that state control of broadcasting was a feature of authoritarian and communists regimes up to the late 1980s and that it has fizzled out with the winds of change that have blown across the world, Africa included (Muzyamba & Nkunika, 2006).

The decline in countries subscribing to dictatorial philosophical and ideological systems and the shift in the power equation in favour of democracy has led to people questioning the need to maintain the government grip on the mass media. ZNBC is a government enterprise which is also the only broadcasting house with the capacity to reach all corners of Zambia in English and the seven official local languages namely: Bemba, Nyanja, Lozi, Tonga, Lunda, Luvale and Kaonde. Three bills were presented to Parliament in 2002, two of them concerning the ZNBC directly. These three bills were;

1. The Independent Broadcasting Authority Bill, 2002, which was subsequently passed into the IBA Act 2002.
2. The ZNBC Amendment Bill 2002, which was also passed as the ZNBC Amendment Act 2002
3. The Freedom of Information Bill 2002. This was withdrawn and not brought back to parliament up to the time of writing this dissertation. (Muzyamba and Nkhunika, 2006).

Makungu says like in many other African countries, the state broadcaster in Zambia has functioned as a tool of the ruling party to help mobilize people, purportedly for the economic and social development of the country, but in reality, to help it remain in power. The justification used for the control by the post colonial government is that public broadcasting with its wide reach, is an important tool for forging national unity, promoting development and fostering a national identity and protecting national culture (2004:5):

Unfortunately, there have been both written and unwritten laws which do not avail the use of the national broadcasting station by all freely. The post colonial governments have been relying on the penal code and the oppressive media laws to prevent other players from advancing their political agendas on fair and equal, democratic terms (Makungu, 2004:9).

Matibini says it is generally acknowledged that most African countries inherited national broadcasting institutions at independence created for propaganda purposes, during the colonial era, but elected to retain their monopoly over the airwaves. This is viewed as the genesis of the conflict that has persisted between the ruling parties and those that are fighting to democratize the airwaves in Zambia, especially the state media (2006:37). Muzyamba and Nkunika (2006) revealed that the station continues to be hierarchical with prioritization of content approximating the political leadership hierarchy in power and that ZNBC is not free to report independently on the news of the day; and government, through MIBS, which funds the station, controls it completely. The ZNBC Act has unfortunately not helped any matters towards the change from the state controlled media characteristics into what could be generally accepted as public broadcasting media.

The ZNBC (Amendment) Act as pointed out in the study provides that programmes will reflect the range of political, philosophical, religious, scientific and artistic trends. This part of the mandate is unfortunately not yet being implemented, as the following list shows:

- Certain types of political programmes are not allowed, and, in 2003, ZNBC banned a programme which reviewed the front pages of newspapers on the Kwacha Good Morning Zambia show (MISA, So this is Democracy).
- In 2006, "Mwe Makufi," a top religious song by Nathan Nyirenda had reportedly been banned by ZNBC on the grounds that a certain opposition politician had used it in a campaign advert urging voters to register (Malumo, 14th January, 2006, *Zambian Entertainment and Music*)
- MISA's television phone-in programme "Media and the Public" which discussed media issues was being denied airtime by ZNBC management after approval and allocation of air time.
- Refusal to air on television the Oasis Forum programme on the Constitutional demonstrations of 2005, (Ibid).

The National Seminar on the Media and Democracy in Zambia: The Way Forward (1991) identified legislation hindering press freedom and sought to chart the way forward for public broadcast reforms in 1993 recommended that ZNBC moves from government control and become a public corporation accountable to parliament (PAZA, 1991).

The above literature review reveals three key factors relevant to this study. First, public broadcasting is critical to building democratic society. Second, in Africa, except South Africa, public broadcasting has not developed to delivering to the public due to extensive legal and political constraints. Thirdly, the role of ZNBC as a public broadcaster remains dismal despite the 2002 Amendment Act.

Chapter 4

METHODOLOGY

4.0 Introduction

This chapter is about the methods that were used to collect data for this study. The chapter provides descriptions of the quantitative, qualitative and in-depth interview approaches. The use of multiple methods or triangulation provides more valid results than a simple research strategy. Triangulation therefore assists in constructing a more encompassing perspective on specific analysis. This is also known as ‘holistic work’ or ‘thick description’ (Jankowski et al. 1993:62)

4.1 The Quantitative Data Collection

In the quantitative approach, the respondents were identified through the purposive approach and the systematic random sample. The reasons for the combination of these methods were that effectiveness of data collection would be enhanced and that “what” and “why” research questions could be best answered by using the selected methods. The following instruments were used:

- a. Questionnaire
- b. Structured interviews

This is a systematic and scientific approach widely applied in both the natural and social sciences research. Quantitative data collection helped to develop and employ mathematical models, theories and hypotheses of phenomena. The process of measurement was central to the quantitative approach because it provides the fundamental observation and mathematical expression of quantitative relationships.

It is actually an inquiry into a social or human problem, based on testing a theory composed of variables, measured with numbers, and analyzed with statistical procedures, in order to determine whether the predictive generalizations of the theory hold true.

The questionnaire in this approach was the instrument that was used to gather information for the study. The questionnaire asked the relevant questions whose answers helped to discuss the perception under study. The study was carried out in Chipata, Choma, Kitwe and Lusaka.

4.2 Document Based Research

Data was collected by going through documents of the colonial and present time eras. The University of Zambia Library and the National Archives of Zambia were used extensively to supplement the search for relevant information on broadcasting development in Zambia. Other areas that were extensively used include the University of Zambia's Institute for Economic and Social Research, the Government Printers, the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Services Headquarters.

4.3 Sampling Procedure

There were 150 questionnaires distributed equally to the areas that were selected for the study. A minimum of 140 questionnaires were expected to be returned. However, 148 questionnaires were answered and returned.

There was a purposive and random sampling approach to this study to select towns where the sample was drawn. Lusaka, Kitwe, Chipata and Choma were the towns that were selected. Lusaka and Kitwe were selected because of their big populations and also high political activities and the political diversity that exists at all levels in these two cities and that the major parties which include the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy, the Patriotic Front, the United Party for National Development, the Forum for Democracy and Development, the United National Independence Party, all have a considerable presence each in these two cities. The levels of literacy in these two big towns are presumably very high.

The study was extended to Choma and Chipata in the Southern and Eastern Provinces respectively because of the need to include views of people who live outside the major cities of Zambia. These two towns are considered major urban centres in their respective provinces and have relatively high populations whose literacy levels are also comparably high.

Four enumerators were engaged and trained to distribute the questionnaires on behalf of the researcher. The four enumerators, one each were selected from Kitwe on the Copperbelt, Chipata in the Eastern province, Choma in the Southern Province and two from Lusaka and were closely supervised by the researcher in order to maintain strict adherence to the guidelines and aims and objectives of the study.

To determine how many questionnaires would go to each of the cities and towns which were selected for the study, the population figure of the selected city or town was divided by the total population of all the cities and towns under study and then multiplied by the total number of the questionnaires in the study. This is what is known as the stratified random sample.

According to the CSO population summary (2000:5), Chipata in the Eastern province has a population of 367,539 people, Choma in the Southern province has a population of 204,898 people, and Kitwe on the Copper-belt has a population of 376,124 people while Lusaka has a population of 1,084,703 people.

4.4 The Sample

The total study population in this research is therefore: 2,033,264 people. There were 150 questionnaires in this study. This study population has been arrived at by adding the total population figures of Lusaka, Kitwe, Choma and Chipata. The distribution of these questionnaires is proportionate to the population figures of each city and town that has been selected for the purposes of this study.

See table 4.8 for distribution figures to selected cities and towns.

City/Town	Total Population	Number of questionnaires.
Chipata	367,539	27
Choma	204,898	15
Kitwe	376,124	28
Lusaka	1,084,703	80
TOTALS:	2,033,264	150

Source of population figures: CSO 2000 National Census.

Table 4.8

Number of questionnaires distributed for the study and the cities/towns

The selection of areas where the questionnaires were administered in the chosen cities and towns was arrived at through the multi-stage cluster sampling method. This technique helps to group the population according to either social or economic classes such as high, medium and low density areas. Constituencies were found to be the most appropriate clusters for this study.

This study relied on the households and population distribution by Province, District, Constituency and Ward of the 2000 Census of population and housing to select the constituencies to include in the sample. This was followed by the stratified random sampling method to determine how many questionnaires would be distributed to each of the selected constituencies. Two constituencies were purposefully selected for this study in Chipata. The selected constituencies were; Chipata Central and Luangeni. Chipata Central was chosen to represent the urban population of Chipata while Luangeni was chosen to represent the rural population of the district.

The total population of the two selected constituencies is 185,788. To arrive at the number of questionnaires for each of the two constituencies, the total of 27 questionnaires was multiplied by the population of each of these selected Constituencies.

The total number of the questionnaires was then divided by the total population of the two selected Constituencies. See table 4.9 for the distribution figures of questionnaires to the selected constituencies.

Chipangali Constituency	100,633	
Chipata Central Constituency	117,342	17 questionnaires
Kasenengwa Constituency	81,118	-
Luangeni Constituency	68,446	10 questionnaires
Total	367,539	27 questionnaires

Source of population figures: CSO 2000 National Census.

Table 4.9

The Constituencies population and distribution of questionnaires in Chipata

There is only one constituency in Choma district and it was purposefully selected for this study because of its high political activities since the pre-independence era. The total population of Choma Constituency is 204,898. All the 15 questionnaires were administered in Choma Constituency. See table 4.9.1 for the figures of distribution of questionnaires in Choma.



Choma constituency	204,898	15 questionnaires
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Source of population figures: CSO 2000 National Census

Table 4.9.1

The Constituency population and distribution of questionnaires in Choma

Three constituencies were randomly selected for this study in Lusaka. The selected constituencies were; Lusaka Central constituency, Kabwata constituency, and Mandevu constituency. The total population of the three selected constituencies is 1,273,690. To arrive at the number of questionnaires for this population, the total of 80 questionnaires was multiplied by the population of each selected Constituency and divided by the total population of the three selected Constituencies. See table 4.9.1 for distribution figures of the questionnaires to the selected constituencies.

Chawama Constituency	139,998	-
Kabwata Constituency	89,556	17 questionnaires
Kanyama Constituency	170,803	-
Lusaka Central Constituency	99,431	19 questionnaires
Matero Constituency	189,480	-
Munali Constituency	176,150	-
Mandevu Constituency	219,285	43 questionnaires
Total	1,084,703	80 questionnaires

Source of population figures: CSO 2000 National Census

Table 4.9.2

The Constituencies, population and distribution of questionnaires in Lusaka

Three constituencies were randomly selected for this study in Kitwe. The selected constituencies were; Chimwemwe constituency, Nkana constituency and Kamfinsa constituency.

The total population of the three selected constituencies is 207,568. To arrive at the number of questionnaires for this population, the total of 28 questionnaires was multiplied by the population of the Constituency and divided by the total population of the three selected Constituencies. See table 4.9.3 for the distribution figures of questionnaires to the selected constituencies

Chimwemwe Constituency	87,671	12 questionnaires
Kamfinsa Constituency	55,454	7 questionnaires
Kwacha Constituency	97,633	-
Nkana Constituency	64,443	9 questionnaires
Wusakile Constituency	70,923	-
Total	367,124	28 questionnaires

Source of population figures: CSO 2000 National Census.

Table 4.9.3

The Constituencies, population and distribution of questionnaires in Kitwe

4.5 Coding Data

After the data was gathered, a coding sheet was designed for coding the data in order that it could be analyzed by computer. The coding was done by assigning numbers to the various responses.

In some cases, the coding had to be extended to the actual number of responses as appearing on the questionnaire in order to allow for some questions more than one option in the responses. The reason behind this decision was that some questions begged for more than one response.

This finally means that variables were given numerical values which were in turn coded and entered into the programme for analysis.

4.6 Pre-testing

Pre-test as in research helps the study to confirm that the research instrument will be understood by the respondents and that it will bring out the intended results. Wimmer and Dominic (1994:120) indicate that “the best way to discover whether a research instrument is adequately designed is to pre-test it”. The questionnaire in this study was pre-tested before the actual distribution in Lusaka, Kitwe, Chipata and Choma. The pre-testing was done in Lusaka’s Kalingalinga compound using 20 questionnaires. The satisfaction got from the pre-test encouraged the researcher to proceed with the distribution of questionnaires as intended.

4.7 The Qualitative Data Collection

The qualitative method involved the collection of information from structured and open ended interviews. Through triangulation, the research attempted to make sense of or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people brought to them. Within the questionnaire for the quantitative method in this study, there were structured questions to which the respondents gave responses.

There were structured questions on the adequacy of information on elections, governance and democracy on ZNBC's television to which many of the respondents said that news was the main source of such information on ZNBC's television since there were no structured programmes dealing with issues of governance, democracy and elections per- se.

4.8 The In-depth Interviews

An in-depth interview is defined as "essentially a hybrid of the one-on-one interview approach. In-depth interviews are unique because among many reasons, generally they use smaller sample, provide detailed background about reasons, why respondents give specific answers, elaborate data concerning respondents opinions, values, motivations, recollections, experiences and feelings obtained (Seidman, 1991).

For purposes of getting in-depth information regarding the matter under study, this qualitative approach was also used. There was the purposive selection of interviewees for in-depth interviews in order to benefit from peoples experiences and opinions about the perception under study.

4.9 Limitations

The findings of this study are within the framework on which the researcher based the judgment in the analysis. The study though, had its limitations. The first limitation was on finances which made it impossible to cover the whole country as could have been expected. However, the sample presented was adequate enough to come up with the perception people have over ZNBC as a 'public broadcaster'.

The second limitation was the reluctance by government officials to be interviewed on this matter. There could have been a very interesting discussion with former Ministers of Information and Broadcasting Services on this matter, except, none of them were willing to be interviewed. Requests to three former Ministers of Information and Broadcasting Services namely Vernon Johnson Mwaanga, MP and Parliamentary Chief Whip, Mike Mulongoti, MP and Minister of Works and Supply were not responded to while Sikota Wina, who always spoke through his wife Princess Nakatindi Wina was usually busy each day the appointment would be reactivated.

It was difficult to use some of the interviews obtained from members of the civil society and clergy as they really did not want to commit themselves to any substantive statements about ZNBC as a state broadcaster and why the shift to a public broadcaster.

Some of these men and women decided to walk a tight rope where they showed to believe that ZNBC was both a state broadcaster and public broadcaster at the same time. According to the researcher, these were time wasters who were trying to be clever for nothing or indeed had political inclinations and did not want to offend their organizations.

Chapter 5

CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL DEFINITIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the conceptual and operational definitions which constitute the core of this study. The conceptual definitions include those of democracy, governance and elections. The chapter also discusses the Normative Media Theory, the Democratic Participant Theory and the Agenda Setting Theory. The chapter links these concepts and theories to the observed operations of ZNBC.

5.1 Conceptual Definitions

5.1.1 Governance

According to the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific ((UNESCAP) the terms "governance" and "good governance" are being increasingly used in development literature. Bad governance is being increasingly regarded as one of the root causes of all evil within our societies. Major donors and international financial institutions are increasingly basing their aid and loans on the condition that reforms that ensure "good governance" are undertaken. The concept of "governance" is not new. It is as old as human civilization. Simply put "governance" means: **the process of decision-making and the process by which decisions are implemented (or not implemented)** (Sheng, 2009:6).

Governance can be used in several contexts such as corporate governance, international governance, national governance and local governance. Since governance is the process of decision-making and the process by which decisions are implemented, an analysis of governance focuses on the formal and informal actors involved in decision-making and implementing the decisions made and the formal and informal structures that have been set in place to arrive at and implement the decision (Sheng, 2009:6.)

Government is one of the actors in governance. Other actors involved in governance vary depending on the level of government that is under discussion. In rural areas, for example, other actors may include influential land lords, associations of peasant farmers, cooperatives, NGOs, research institutes, religious leaders, finance institutions political parties, the military etc. The situation in urban areas is much more complex. At the national level, in addition to the above actors, media, lobbyists, international donors, multi-national corporations, etc. may play a role in decision-making or in influencing the decision-making process (Ibid).

Government is the custodian of public good and public interest and ensures that the acquisition, control and use for example, of public broadcasting communication is carried out freely, fairly, and equitably for the good and in the interest of the society in general (Needs, 2007:72) .

5.1.2 Good Governance

Good governance had 8 major characteristics. It was participatory, consensus oriented, accountable, transparent, responsive, effective and efficient, equitable and inclusive and followed the rule of law. It assured that corruption was minimized, the views of minorities were taken into account and that the voices of the most vulnerable in society were heard in decision-making. It was also responsive to the present and future needs of society (Sheng, 2009:7):

- 1. Participation**

Participation by both men and women was a key cornerstone of good governance. Participation could be either direct or through legitimate intermediate institutions or representatives. It was important to point out that representative democracy does not necessarily mean that the concerns of the most vulnerable in society would be taken into consideration in decision making. Participation needed to be informed and organized. This meant freedom of association and expression on the one hand and an organized civil society on the other hand.

- 2. Rule of law**

Good governance required fair legal frameworks that were enforced impartially. It also required full protection of human rights, particularly those of minorities. Impartial enforcement of laws required an independent judiciary and an impartial and incorruptible police force.

- 3. Transparency**

Transparency meant that decisions taken and their enforcement are done in a manner that followed rules and regulations. It also meant that information was freely available and directly accessible to those who would be affected by such decisions and their enforcement. It also meant that enough information was provided and that it was provided in easily understandable forms and media.

- 4. Responsiveness**

Good governance required that institutions and processes tried to serve all stakeholders within a reasonable timeframe.

- 5. Consensus oriented**

There were several actors and as many view points in a given society. Good governance required mediation of the different interests in society to reach a broad consensus in society on what was in the best interest of the whole community and how this could be achieved. It also required a broad and long-term perspective on what was needed for sustainable human development and how to achieve the goals of such development. This could only result from an understanding of the historical, cultural and social contexts of a given society or community.

6. Equity and inclusiveness

A society's well being depended on ensuring that all its members felt that they had a stake in it and did not feel excluded from the mainstream of society. This required all groups, but particularly the most vulnerable, to have opportunities to improve or maintain their well being.

7. Effectiveness and efficiency

Good governance means that processes and institutions produce d results that met the needs of society while making the best use of resources at their disposal. The concept of efficiency in the context of good governance also covered the sustainable use of natural resources and the protection of the environment.

8. Accountability

Accountability was a key requirement of good governance. Not only governmental institutions but also the private sector and civil society organizations must be accountable to the public and to their institutional stakeholders. Who was accountable to whom varies depending on whether decisions or actions taken are internal or external to an organization or institution. In general an organization or an institution was accountable to those who would be affected by its decisions or actions. Accountability cannot be enforced without transparency and the rule of law (UNESCAP, 2009:2).

From the above discussion it should be clear that good governance is an ideal which is difficult to achieve in its totality. Very few countries and societies have come close to achieving good governance in its totality. However, to ensure sustainable human development, actions must be taken to work towards this ideal with the aim of making it a reality.

Governance on the other hand, conveys the administrative and process oriented elements of governing rather than its antagonistic ones. This argument continued to assume the possibility of the traditional separation between "politics "and "administration" (Needs, 2007:72).

Tawana says that because of the enormous influence that the public radio broadcasting has on the country's population, it creates an evidently intrinsic relationship with governance. While it is perceived that it is possible to have technically successful elections, it is also perceived that the same would not be democratic especially if there would be no full participation through the use of public radio and television broadcasting of the citizens who are the major stakeholders (2006:2).

5.1.2 Elections

Election is a process by which people vote for the candidate or proposal of their choice. The basis of democratic government is that citizens have the right to choose the officials who will govern them. Elections thus rank as one of the most important political activities and serve as a means of peaceful transfer of power from one person or group to another.

The authority of the government in democracies derives solely from the consent of the governed. The principal mechanism for translating that consent into government authority is the holding of elections. It is envisaged that elections should be free and fair (The World Book Encyclopedia, 1991:156).

Tawana (2006:4) says that elections are decision making processes by which a population chooses an individual or individuals to hold formal offices. This is the usual mechanism by which modern democracy fills offices of republican president, *the legislature and in the local government. By this definition, it follows therefore that elections are to be about a choice. Therefore elections are high stake events.*

Matibini observes that the role of the public broadcaster in this context, ZNBC becomes critical as a conveyer that brings to the door step of the country's population, issues concerning governance in the country in order to allow them make informed choices especially in elections; who to elect and why elect them In Zambia, it is usually seen that closer to elections, largely through the sponsorship of the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ), a few debating programmes on political party policies and programmes are broadcast on ZNBC radio and television (2006:50-60).

However, the ban on live shows on television imposed by the Minister of Information and Broadcasting Services in 2005 remains in effect and this detracts from richness of the debates as the programmes may be subjected to prior censorship (Muyoyeta, 2006:191).

Using the 2006 tripartite elections and the 2008 Presidential by-election scenarios in Zambia, it is stated that ZNBC had a very important task of covering all political parties in a fair and objective manner and give information to help people make informed choices. However, little was done by ZNBC as a main duty bearer to ensure that enough information was disseminated about what the different parties had to offer in terms of policies and programmes (Muyoyeta 2007:190; Nkandu, 2009:2).

However, election coverage in Zambia will not improve for many years to come if media houses themselves do not take deliberate steps to come up with in-house policies to provide guidance on how to report elections. Even in the event that such guidelines are drawn, media practitioners must commit to adhere to them. Adherence is vital because pronouncements are in vain if they are not put into practice. For example, ZNBC had even published the principles and guidelines on covering the elections but was found to have given more coverage to the ruling party and President Banda in particular (Nkandu, 2009:17).

SACCORD (2006:11) observes that in much of television and radio coverage during the 2006 pre-campaign and nomination period, the ruling party benefited from positive and extensive coverage on ZNBC. While the opposition television and radio programmes were labelled ‘political adverts,’ the ruling party used news coverage as an opportunity to campaign using ZNBC radio and television freely and extensively.

In Zambia, it is seen that closer to elections, largely through the sponsorship of the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ), a few debating programmes on political party policies and programmes are broadcast on ZNBC radio and television. However, the ban on live shows on television imposed by the Minister of Information and Broadcasting Services in 2005 remains in effect and this detracts from richness of the debates as programmes may be subjected to prior censorship (Muyoyeta, 2006:191).

5.1.3 Democracy

According to the Universal Declaration on Democracy, adopted by the Inter-Parliamentary Council at its 161st session in Cairo, Egypt:

Democracy is both an idea to be pursued and a mode to be applied according to modalities which reflect the diversity of experiences and cultural particularities without derogating from internationally recognized principles and standards.

Democracy is also defined as a form of government, a way of life, a goal or ideal, and a political philosophy. The citizens of a democracy take part in government either directly or indirectly. The word democracy means rule by the people, hence the definition by United States President Abraham Lincoln who described such self-government as “government of the people, by the people, for the people” (The World Book Encyclopedia, 1991:126).

The characteristics of democracy vary from one country to another. But certain basic features are more or less the same in all democratic nations:

- i. Free elections. These give the people a chance to choose their leaders and express their opinions on issues. Elections are held periodically to ensure that elected officials truly represent the people.
- ii. Majority rule and minority rights. In a democracy, a decision often must be approved by the majority of voters before it may take effect. This principle, called majority rule, may be used to elect officials or decide a policy.
- iii. Political parties. These are a necessary part of democratic government. Rival parties make elections meaningful by giving voters a choice among candidates who represent different interests and points of view.
- iv. Controls on power. Democracies have various arrangements to prevent any person or branch of government from becoming too powerful. *In all democratic countries, government officials are subject to the law and are accountable to the people.*
- v. *The communications media help keep elected officials sensitive to public opinion (Ibid: 127).*

The government of the republic of Zambia on April 26, 1999, made a public pronouncement which set out the national capacity building programme for democratic governance, the government stated that freedom of the media was a facilitator of the democratic process and that a country needed an informed public in order to make informed choices :

In paragraph 3.1, under the heading 'political broadcasts', the document stated that the government took note of the fact that the political opposition was concerned that the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation did not provide equal time to all political parties participating in the election. It suggested a number of steps to remedy this, including the observation of electoral conduct regulations(PAZA & PAZA,2002:5).

Against what has been stated above, this study has found that democracy is key in the way the public media must operate because of its role to make elections meaningful because of participation by all interested parties who represent different opinions and interests. It also allows for checks and balances in that elected officials are kept informed about what the public want.

5.2 Theoretical Definitions

This study relied on three theories in order to discuss the public perception of ZNBC.

The three theories selected because of their relevance to this study are:

- a. The Normative Media theory,
- b. Democratic Participant Theory
- c. Agenda Setting Theory.

5.2.1 Normative Media Theory

According to McQuail, the Normative Media Theory is a high measure of agreements on the basis of how the media should contribute in the working of a democratic society (2000:160).

The media are expected to promote the maintenance of a constant surveillance of events, ideas and persons active in public life, leading both to a flow of information to the public and exposing violations of the moral and social order. This includes providing an independent and radical critique of the society and its institutions, encouraging and providing the means for access, expression and participation by as many different actors and voices as is necessary or appropriate and contributing to shared consciousness and identity and real coherence of the community as a whole as well as its component groups (McQuail, 2000:161).

The idea is that the absence of public interest leads to lack of sharing of some notion of an ultimate good, towards which all should aspire in their own ultimate best interest. This is because there would be a tendency of curtailing of freedom of the public broadcaster by the state, favouring certain viewpoints or state propaganda. In the context of this study, the focus is on how ZNBC fares on matters of democratic governance in the country. The citizens throughout the country would benefit greatly if they were all allowed to be free to debate and receive information about their affairs through a competent and free national broadcaster such as the ZNBC (Makungu, 2004:63).

Siebert et al. interpretation of social responsibility locates it under a concept of positive liberty, 'Freedom for' rather than 'freedom from'. 'Social responsibility promotes it...when necessary; therefore, the government should act to protect the *freedom of its citizens* (1956:9).

The essence of government should be that of promoting interaction and debate with its citizens on matters of interest and concern to the country, such as democracy, elections, change and good governance. Democracy is about choice. All the citizens must have a free will to participate in the process of change. This will be meaningful if the citizens are well informed about the state of affairs in their country through a well balanced public broadcaster as opposed to a biased state controlled broadcaster (Siebert et al, 1956:9)

5.2.2 Democratic Participant Theory

This theory found expression in the 1960s and 1970s in pressure for local and community radio and television. It challenged the dominance of centralised, commercialised, state controlled and even professionalised media. It favoured media that would be small in scale, non commercial and often committed to a cause.

Participation and interaction are the key concepts (McQuail, 2000:160). This theory places particular value upon horizontal rather than vertical modes of authority and communication. It stands for defence against commercialisation and monopoly while at the same time being resistant to the centrism and bureaucracy so characteristic of public media institutions (Media Communication, 2009:92).

The relevance of the above theory to this study is that it challenges the dominance of state controlled broadcasting and favours participation by all.

ZNBC, has a wider reach with obvious influence on the country's population as opposed to smaller commercial and community broadcasting media which have limited coverage. Most Commercial FM radio stations are in urban and semi urban areas. The stations include Radio Phoenix, 5 FM, Q FM, all in Lusaka, SKY FM in Monze, Radio Icengelo in Kitwe, Radio Breeze in Chipata, Radio Explorer in Petauke. Others are Radio Mosi-O-tunya in Livingstone and Flava FM in Kitwe.

There are also several Community radio stations in Zambia located throughout the country. Notable are: Radio Maria in Chipata, Radio Chikaya in Lundazi, Radio Pasmé in Petauke, Radio Mano in Kasama, Radio Yangeni in Mansa, Radio Lyambai in Mongu, Radio Chikuni in Monze, Radio Oblates Liseli in Mongu, Mazabuka Community Radio Station and Radio Yatsani in Lusaka, Friends Committed to Caring (FCC) Radio in Solwezi, Mphangwe Community Radio in Katete, Radio Maranatha in Kabwe, Radio Mkushi in Mkushi, UNZA Radio and Hone FM both in Lusaka .

The most similar deficiency that all these commercial FM and Community radio stations have is that of restricted and regulated coverage as opposed to the wider coverage the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation enjoys (Nkandu:2008).

5.2.3 Agenda Setting Theory

The agenda setting theory explains how individual people receive, accept and appreciate events and situations which they encounter through news reports as more important than others (DeFleur et al, 1994:506).

Agenda setting theory implies a relationship between the treatment of issues or events in the broadcast media and the beliefs about their importance or significance on the part of individuals who form the news audience. For example the importance of democracy and elections to society (McCombs and Shaw, 1972, 1993). Dearing and Rogers (1996) define the process as an ongoing competition among issue protagonists to gain the attention of public broadcast media professionals, the public and policy elites. Governance and elections become critical in this argument as they form the bedrock of people's day to day exchange of communication both at immediate and large extent of reach.

The ZNBC is potentially a critical partner in these processes in Zambia, hence the need to apply an open approach policy to the distribution of information. In fact, it is possible to have technically successful elections but not achieve democracy, if it is agreed that democracy entails the active involvement of citizens not just as voters but in the governance of their country.

In other words, the state of democracy can be measured in terms of the extent to which citizens, whatever their gender or political persuasion are able to access and influence public policy. The role of the public broadcaster therefore becomes critical (Tawana, 2006).

Chapter 6

RESULTS AND INTERPRETATIONS

6.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses and interprets the results of this study. The research included statistics on radio and television ownership, radio and television listening hours, frequencies of programmes on governance, democracy and candidates during election periods. In summary, it was found that ZNBC is not perceived as operating as a public broadcaster serving the citizens of Zambia. It does not respond to the needs of the public; it does by not air enough programmes on governance, democracy and about candidates during election periods.

The study confirms that both ZNBC's Radio and ZNBC Television are biased towards the ruling party whose candidates are popularised during election periods at the expense of opposition parties and their candidates. The results show that ZNBC's radio and television do not broadcast enough programmes on governance and democracy, hence denying the people the opportunity to make informed decisions and choices. It comes out very clearly that what is needed is legislation to make ZNBC responsible for fairness to all political parties and their candidates during election periods since the Electoral Code of Conduct is not equally clear with guidelines which can ZNBC to operate as a public broadcaster.

6.1 Quantitative Findings

6.1.1 Radio Ownership

The research found that out of the total of 148 respondents to the questionnaire in this study, 140 (94.6 percent) from the four areas where the study was carried out, evenly indicated that they had functioning radios in their homes, while only 8 (5.4 percent) said they had no functioning radios in their homes. See table 6.1 and figure 6.1 for the distribution figures of the respondents to radio ownership.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	140	94.6	94.6	94.6
	No	8	5.4	5.4	100.0
	Total	148	100.0	100.0	

Table 6.1
Distribution of figures of respondents on radio ownership

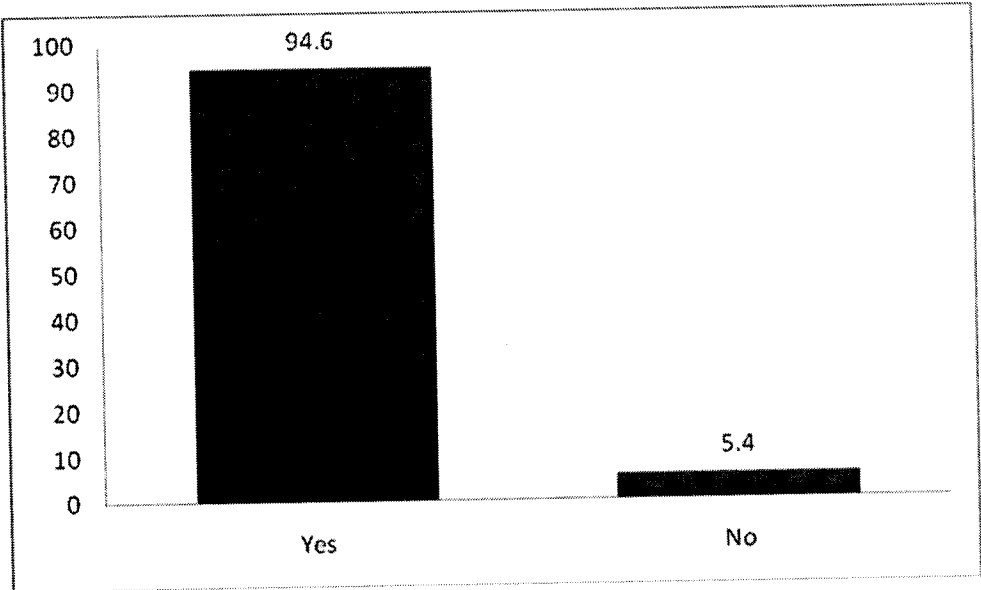


Figure 6.1
Distribution of percentages of respondents on radio ownership

6.1.2 Radio Listening Hours

The research found that 100 (67.6 percent) indicated that they listened to radio, six hours per day. According to this study, 21 (14.2 percent) of the respondents listen to radio 12 hours per day while 12 (8.1 percent) of the respondents said that they listened to radio less than six hours per day. The results show that 4 (2.7percent) of the respondents listen to radio 24 hours per day while 3 (2.0 percent) listen to radio 18 hours per day. The remaining 8 (5.4 percent) did not indicate the number of hours they listened to radio probably representing the sample that said they did not have functioning radios in their homes. The study reveals that many people have working radios in their homes and that listenership to radio is quite high in Zambia. See table 6.2 and figure 6.2 for the distribution of figures on radio listenership.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	24hours	4	2.7	2.7	2.7
	18hours	3	2.0	2.0	4.7
	12hours	21	14.2	14.2	18.9
	6hours	100	67.6	67.6	86.5
	Less than 6hours	12	8.1	8.1	94.6
	Non response	8	5.4	5.4	100.0
	Total	148	100.0	100.0	

Table 6.2

Distribution of figures on radio listenership

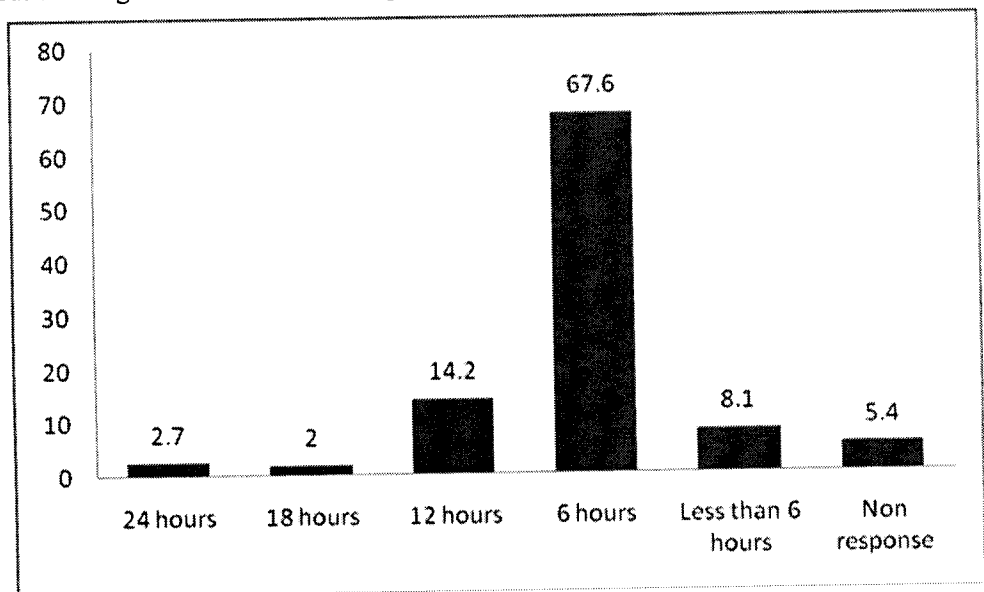


Figure 6.2

Distribution of percentages on radio listenership

6.1.3 ZNBC's Radio One Listenership

In this study, 74 (50 percent) of the respondents said that they did not regularly listened to radio one while 70 (47.3 percent) said they regularly listened to radio one. The interpretation hence is that most educated people especially in Low and sometimes medium density areas listened less to Radio One compared to people high density and rural areas. There was as sample population of 4 (2.7 percent) who did not respond to the question on whether they regularly listened to radio one or not.

This could be due to the lack of the facility. See table 6.3 and figure 6.3 for the distribution of figures on regular listenership to ZNBC’s radio one.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	70	47.3	47.3	47.3
	No	74	50.0	50.0	97.3
	Non response	4	2.7	2.7	100.0
	Total	148	100.0	100.0	

Table 6.3
Distribution of figures on regular listenership to Radio One

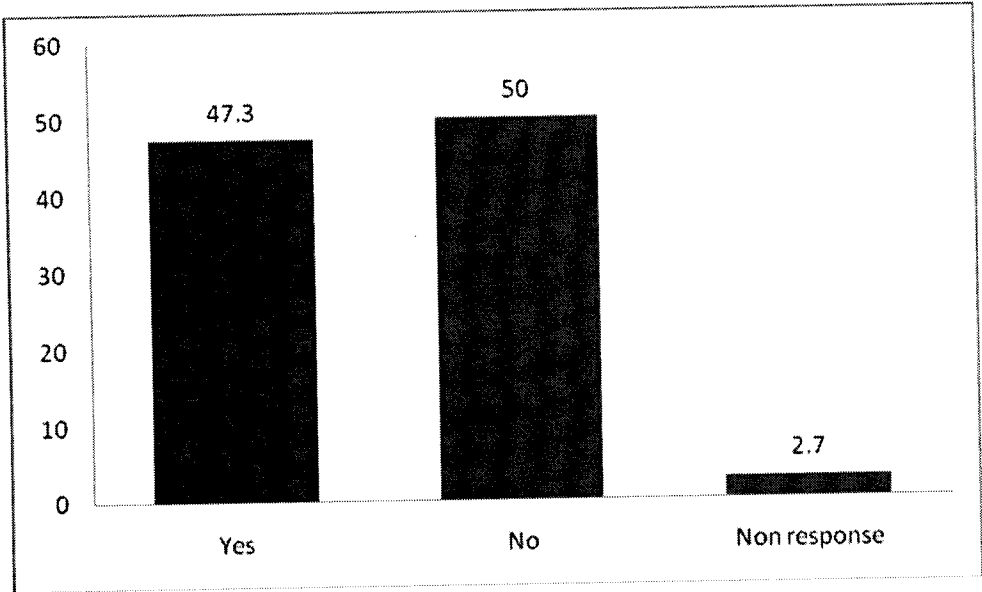


Figure 6.3
Distribution of percentages on regular listenership to Radio On

6.1.4 ZNBC’s Radio Two Listenership

According to this study, 95 (64.2 percent) of the respondents said that they listened to Radio Two regularly while 48 (32.4 percent) said that they did not listen to Radio Two regularly and 4 (2.7 percent) did not respond to the question on regular listenership to Radio Two.

This too could be the representation of those that indicated that they did not have functioning radios in their homes and to an extent, those that did not understand English. The interpretation here is that most of the respondents were educated people who understood English, hence their active listenership to Radio Two. See table 6.4 and figure 6.4 for the distribution of figures on listenership to ZNBC's Radio Two.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	95	64.2	64.2	64.2
	No	48	32.4	32.4	96.6
	Non response	5	3.4	3.4	100.0
	Total	148	100.0	100.0	

Table 6.4
Distribution of figures on regular listenership to Radio Two

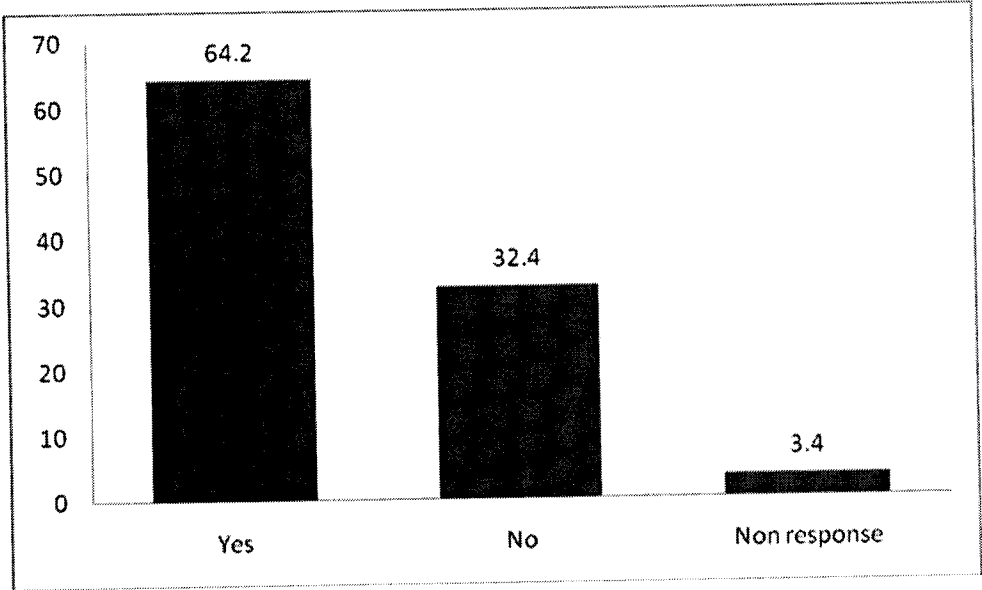


Figure 6.4
Distribution of percentages on regular listenership to Radio Two

6.1.5 ZNBC's Radio Four listenership

The study found that 76 (51.4 percent) of the respondents listened to Radio Four compared to 67 (45.3 percent) who said they did not listen to Radio Four regularly while 5 (3.4 percent) did not respond to the question on listenership to ZNBC's Radio Four.

The high percentage of listenership to Radio Four could be due to the fact that it was a musical channel and most people enjoy listening to music than being bored with political propaganda programmes. The other people who did not listen to Radio Four regularly could be outside the Line of Rail where the station does not reach but listened to Radio Four when they were in urban centres along the Line of Rail. See table 6.5 and figure 6.5 for the distribution of figures on the listenership to ZNBC's Radio Four.

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	76	51.4	51.4	51.4
No	67	45.3	45.3	96.6
Non response	5	3.4	3.4	100.0
Total	148	100.0	100.0	

Table 6.5
Distribution of figures on regular listenership to Radio Four

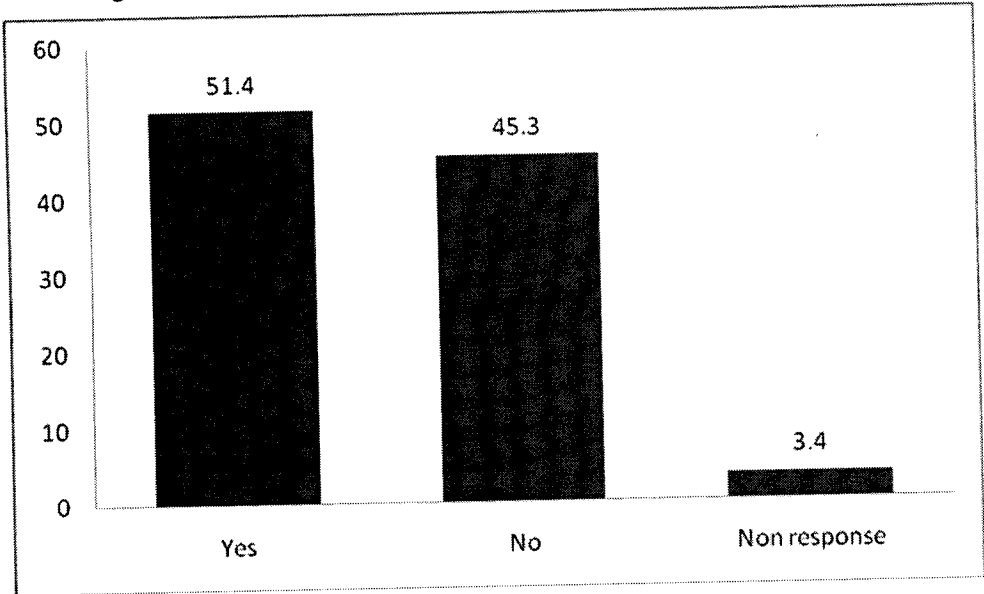


Figure 6.5
Distribution of percentages on regular listenership to Radio Four

6.2 Frequency of Governance, Democracy and Election Programmes aired on ZNBC's Radio Channels.

A total of 148 respondents in the study answered to the questions on the frequency of governance, democracy and elections radio programmes aired on ZNBC's channels.

6.2.1 Frequency of Governance Programmes

The study has found that, 45 (30.4 percent) indicated that programmes on governance were rarely aired on ZNBC's radio channels. A sample population of 30 (20.3 percent) said that programmes on governance were aired often on ZNBC's radio channels while another sample population of 30 (20.3 percent) said that governance programmes on ZNBC's channels were only sometimes aired. The study further shows that a sample population of 14 (9.5 percent) indicated that ZNBC's radio channels never aired any programmes on governance while 13 (8.8 percent) said that programmes on governance were not aired very often on ZNBC's radio channels. There was a sample population of 16 (10.8 percent) who due to lack of information about governance, did not respond to the question on governance programmes on ZNBC's radio channels. See table 6.6 and figure 6.6 for the distribution of figures on the listenership to ZNBC's Radio channels.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very Often	13	8.8	8.8	8.8
	Often	30	20.3	20.3	29.1
	Sometimes	45	30.4	30.4	59.5
	Rarely	30	20.3	20.3	79.7
	Never	14	9.5	9.5	89.2
	Non response	16	10.8	10.8	100.0
Total		148	100.0	100.0	

Table 6.6
Distribution of figures on listenership to governance programmes on ZNBC's radio channels

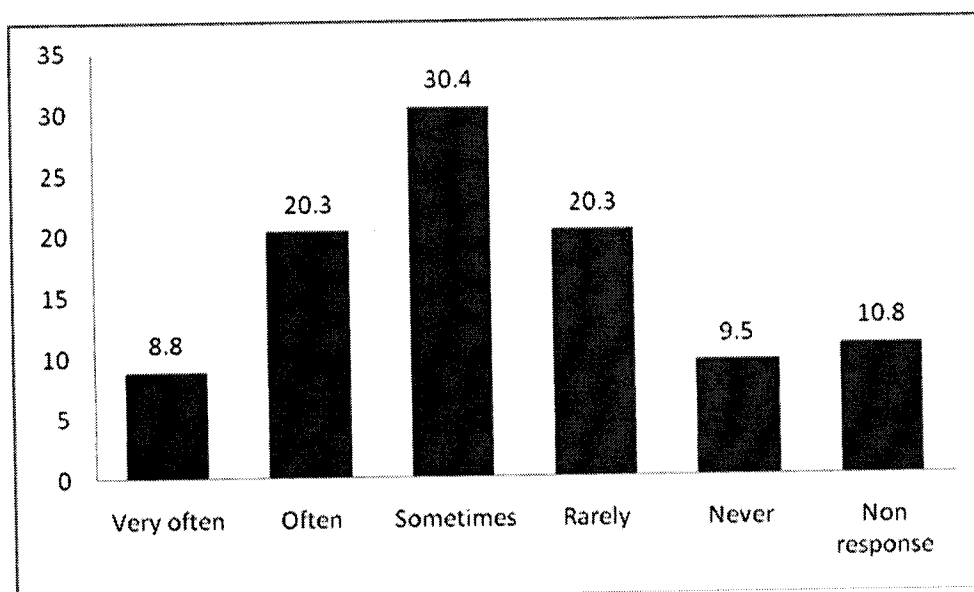


Figure 6.6
Distribution of percentages on listenership to governance programmes on ZNBC's radio channels

6.2.2 Frequency of Democracy Programmes

The results of the study show that, 43 (29.1 percent) indicated that programmes on democracy were rarely aired on ZNBC's radio channels while 37 (25 percent) said that programmes on democracy were sometimes aired on ZNBC's radio channels compared to 28 (18.5 percent) who said that democracy programmes on ZNBC's channels were often aired. The study shows that 18 (12.2 percent) said that democracy programmes were never aired on ZNBC's radio channels. The results indicate that, 8 (5.4 percent) said that ZNBC aired democracy programmes very often on its radio channels.

The study further revealed that 14 (9.5 percent) did not respond to the question on democracy programmes on ZNBC's radio channels. These could be a combination of those that do have working radios in their homes and also those who do not have any information on democracy. See table 6.7 and figure 6.7 for the distribution of figures on the listenership to ZNBC's radio channels.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very Often	8	5.4	5.4	5.4
	Often	28	18.9	18.9	24.3
	Sometimes	37	25.0	25.0	49.3
	Rarely	43	29.1	29.1	78.4
	Never	18	12.2	12.2	90.5
	Non response	14	9.5	9.5	100.0
	Total	148	100.0	100.0	

Table 6.7
Distribution of figures on listenership to democracy programmes on ZNBC's radio channels

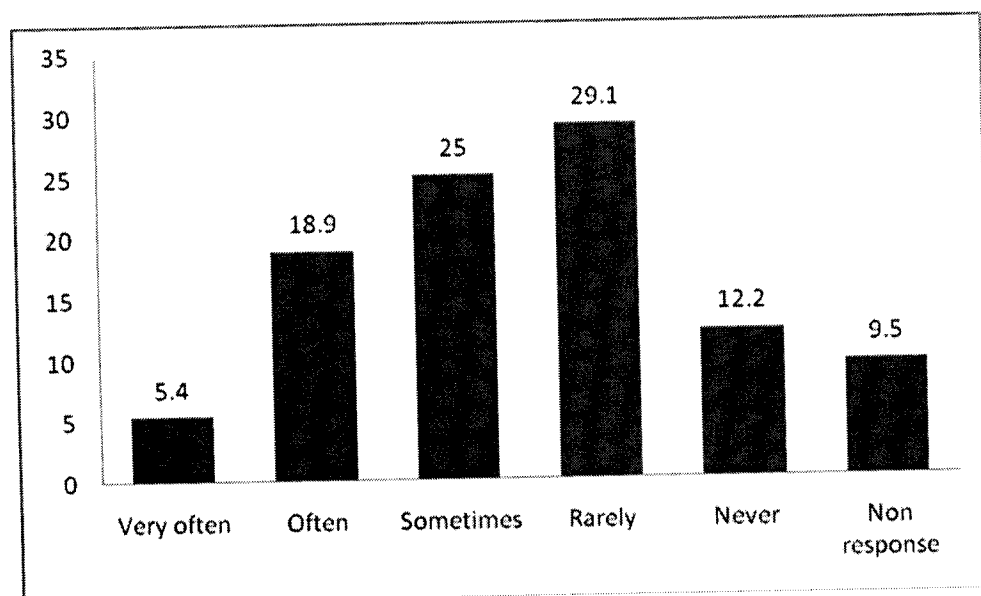


Table 6.7
Distribution of figures on listenership to democracy programmes on ZNBC's radio channels

6.2.3 Frequency of Elections Programmes

The study has shown that 53 (35.8 percent) indicated that programmes on elections were only sometimes aired on ZNBC's radio channels. A sample population of 37 (25 percent) said that programmes on elections were rarely aired on ZNBC's radio channels while 21 (14.2 percent) said that elections programmes on ZNBC's channels were often aired. A sample population of 13 (8.8 percent) indicated that elections programmes were never aired on ZNBC's radio channels.

It was found that 16 (10.8 percent) did not respond to the question on elections programmes on ZNBC’s radio channels possibly due to lack of information on elections and also that they could belong to the sample of those that said they did not have working radios in their homes. See table 6.8 and figure 6.8 for the distribution of figures on the listenership to ZNBC’s radio channels.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very Often	8	5.4	5.4	5.4
	Often	21	14.2	14.2	19.6
	Sometimes	53	35.8	35.8	55.4
	Rarely	37	25.0	25.0	80.4
	Never	13	8.8	8.8	89.2
	Non response	16	10.8	10.8	100.0
	Total	148	100.0	100.0	

Table 6.8
Distribution of figures on listenership to election programmers on ZNBC’s radio channels

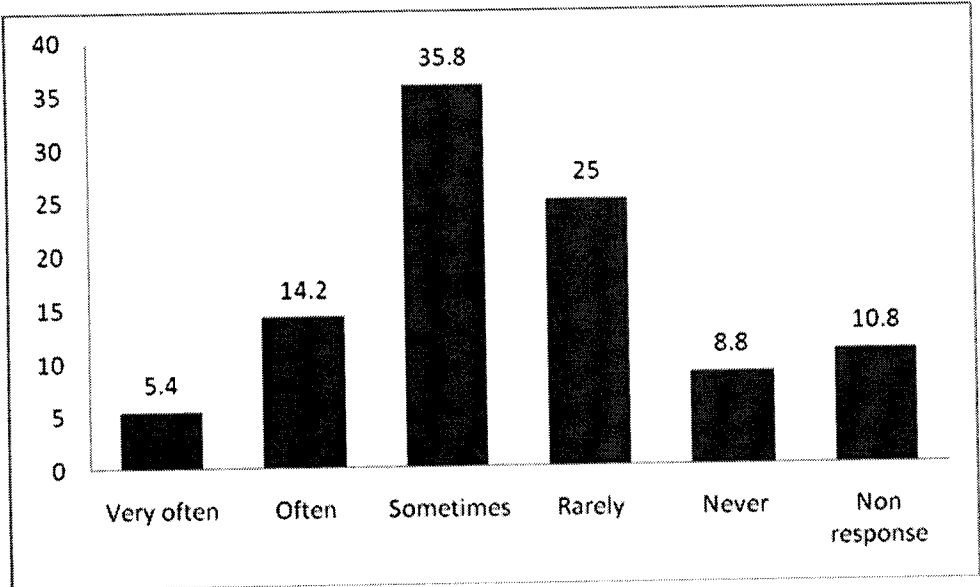


Figure 6.8
Distribution of percentages on listenership to election programmes on ZNBC’s radio channels.

6.2.4 Frequency of Governance Information aired on ZNBC’s Radio Channels during Election Periods.

Of the total respondents to this study, 42 (28.4 percent) indicated that information on governance was often aired on ZNBC’s radio channels during election periods. A total of 27 (18.2 percent) said that information on governance was aired very often on ZNBC’s radio channels during election periods while 27 (18.2 percent) said that information on governance on ZNBC’s channels was only sometimes aired during election periods.

The study reveals that 26 (17.6 percent) of the research population indicated that information on governance was rarely aired on ZNBC’s radio channels during election periods while 10 (6.8 percent) said that information on governance was never aired on ZNBC’s radio channels during election periods. Another, 16 (10.8 percent) did not respond to the question on information on governance aired on ZNBC’s radio channels during election periods probably due to lack of information on governance and also that they did not have functioning radios in their homes. See table 6.9 and figure 6.9 for the distribution of figures on information on governance aired on ZNBC’s radio channels during election periods.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very Often	27	18.2	18.2	18.2
	Often	42	28.4	28.4	46.6
	Sometimes	27	18.2	18.2	64.9
	Rarely	26	17.6	17.6	82.4
	Never	10	6.8	6.8	89.2
	Non response	16	10.8	10.8	100.0
	Total	148	100.0	100.0	

Table 6.9
Distribution of figures on information on governance aired on ZNBC’s radio channels

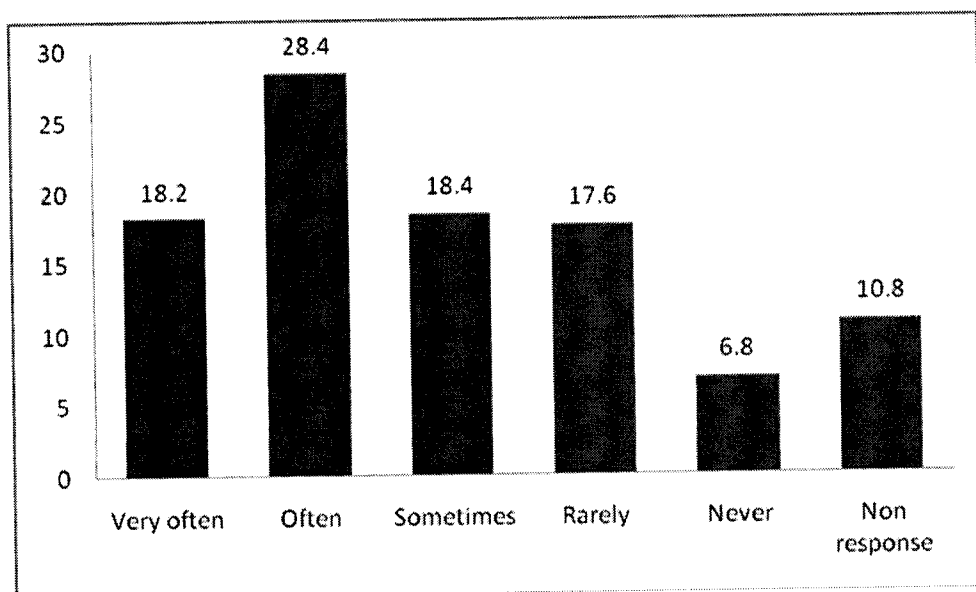


Figure 6.9

Distribution of percentages on information on governance aired on ZNBC's radio channels

6.2.5 Frequency of Democracy Information Aired on ZNBC's Radio Channels during Election Periods.

The findings of this study show that, 46 (31.1 percent) of responses indicated that information on governance was often aired on ZNBC's radio channels only during election periods. A sample population of 34 (23 percent) said that information on governance was only sometimes aired on ZNBC's radio channels while 25 (16.9 percent) said that information on governance on ZNBC's channels was rarely aired during election periods.

The study further shows that 16 (10.8 percent) said that information on democracy was often aired on ZNBC's radio channels during election periods while 14 (9.5 percent) indicated that information on governance was never aired on ZNBC's radio channels during election periods. The findings further show that 13 (8.8 percent) did not respond to the question on information on governance aired on ZNBC's radio channels during election periods probably due to lack of information on democracy and also that others did not have functioning radios in their homes.

See table 6.9.1 and figure 6.9.1 for the distribution of figures on information on democracy aired on ZNBC’s radio channels during election periods.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very Often	16	10.8	10.8	10.8
	Often	46	31.1	31.1	41.9
	Sometimes	34	23.0	23.0	64.9
	Rarely	25	16.9	16.9	81.8
	Never	14	9.5	9.5	91.2
	Non response	13	8.8	8.8	100.0
	Total	148	100.0	100.0	

Table 6.9.1
Distribution of figures on information on democracy aired on ZNBC’s radio channels

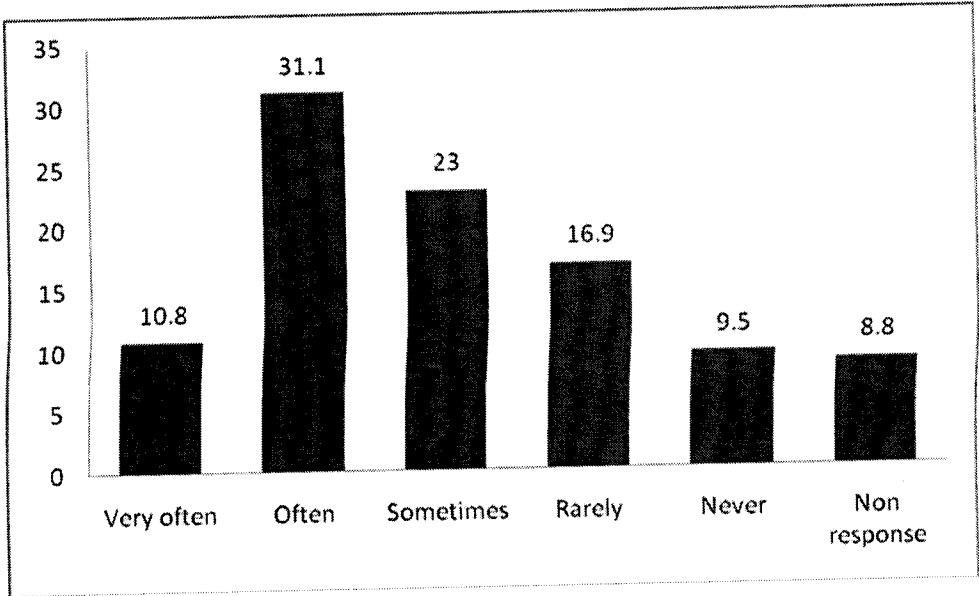


Figure 6.9.1
Distribution of percentages on information on democracy aired on ZNBC’s radio channels

6.2.6 Frequency of Elections Information on ZNBC’s Radio Channels during Election Periods.

This study has further shown that 35 (23.6 percent) indicated that information on elections was aired often on ZNBC’s radio channels only during election periods. A sample population of 31 (20.9 percent) said that information on elections was rarely

aired on ZNBC’s radio channels even during election periods while 29 (19.6 percent) said that information on elections was very often aired on ZNBC’s channels during election periods. The study indicates that a sample population of 25 (16.9 percent) indicated that information on elections was rarely aired on ZNBC’s radio channels during election periods while 16 (10.8 percent) said that information of elections was never aired on ZNBC’s radio channels during election periods.

There was a sample population of 12 (8.1 percent) of the sample population who did not respond to the question on elections information aired on ZNBC’s radio channels during election periods probably due to lack of information on elections. See table 6.9.2 and figure 6.9.2 for the distribution of figures on information on elections aired o n ZNBC’s radio channels during elections.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very Often	29	19.6	19.6	19.6
	Often	35	23.6	23.6	43.2
	Sometimes	25	16.9	16.9	60.1
	Rarely	31	20.9	20.9	81.1
	Never	16	10.8	10.8	91.9
	Non response	12	8.1	8.1	100.0
	Total	148	100.0	100.0	

Table 6.9.2
Distribution of figures on information on elections aired on ZNBC’s radio channels during elections

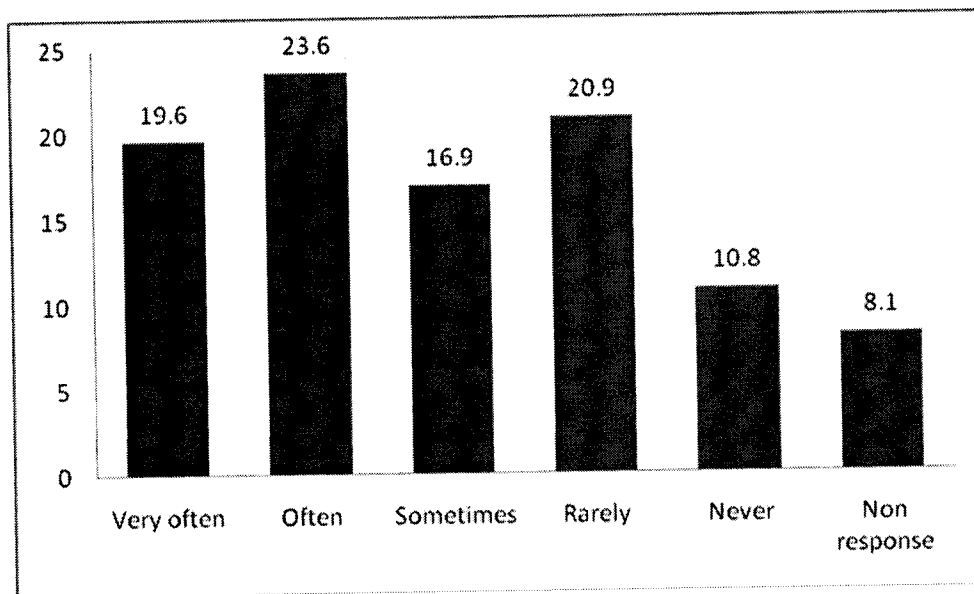


Figure 6.9.2

Distribution of percentages on information on elections aired on ZNBC's radio channels during elections

6.2.7 How Informative are Governance Programmes aired on ZNBC's Radio Channels?

It has been found in this study that, 38 (25.7 percent) indicated that programmes on governance aired on ZNBC's channels were sometimes informative. A sample population of 37 (25 percent) said that programmes on governance aired on ZNBC's channels were often informative while 26 (17.6 percent) said that governance programmes aired on ZNBC's channels were rarely informative. The study indicates that a population sample of 25 (19.9 percent) said that democracy programmes aired on ZNBC's radio channels were very informative. A population sample of 10 (6.8 percent) said that programmes on governance aired on ZNBC's radio channels were never informative while 12 (8.1 percent) of the sample population did not respond to the question on how informative governance programmes aired on ZNBC's radio channels were probably due to lack of information on information. See table 6.9.3 and figure 6.9.3 for the distribution of figures on how informative governance programs aired on ZNBC's channels were.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very informative	25	16.9	16.9	16.9
	Often informative	37	25.0	25.0	41.9
	Sometimes informative	38	25.7	25.7	67.6
	Rarely informative	26	17.6	17.6	85.1
	Never informative	10	6.8	6.8	91.9
	Non response	12	8.1	8.1	100.0
	Total	148	100.0	100.0	

Table 6.9.3

Distribution of figures on how informative governance programmes aired on ZNBC channels were

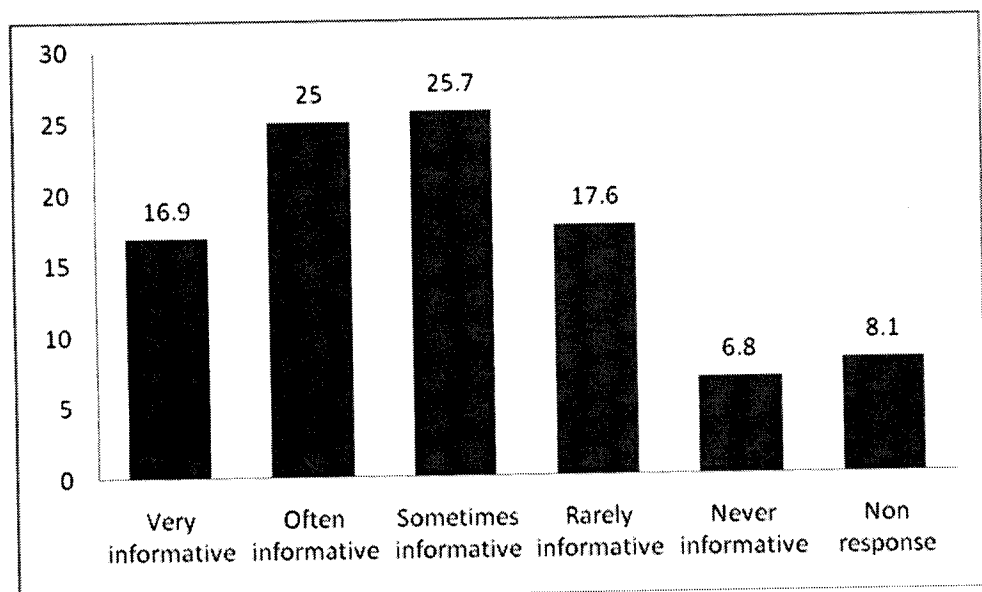


Figure 6.9.3

Distribution of percentages on how informative governance programmes aired on ZNBC channels were

6.2.8 How Informative are Democracy Programmes aired on ZNBC's Radio Channels?

Of all the respondents to the research questionnaire in this study, 46 (31.1 Percent) indicated that programmes on governance aired on ZNBC's radio channels were sometimes informative.

A sample population of 30 (20.3 percent) said that programmes on governance aired on ZNBC’s channels were often informative while 26 (17.6 percent) said that governance programmes aired on ZNBC’s radio channels were rarely informative. The study indicates that a population sample of 23 (15.5 percent) said that democracy programmes aired on ZNBC’s radio channels were often informative.

A sample population of 11 (7.4 percent) said that programmes on governance aired on ZNBC’s radio channels were never informative while 12 (8.1 percent) of the sample population did not respond to the question on how informative governance programmes aired on ZNBC’s radio channels were probably due to lack of information. See table 6.9.4 and figure 6.9.4 for the distribution of figures on how informative democracy programmes aired on ZNBC’s radio channels were.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very informative	23	15.5	15.5	15.5
	Often informative	30	20.3	20.3	35.8
	Sometimes informative	46	31.1	31.1	66.9
	Rarely informative	26	17.6	17.6	84.5
	Never informative	11	7.4	7.4	91.9
	Non response	12	8.1	8.1	100.0
	Total	148	100.0	100.0	

Table 6.9.4
Distribution of figures on how informative democracy programmes aired on ZNBC channels were

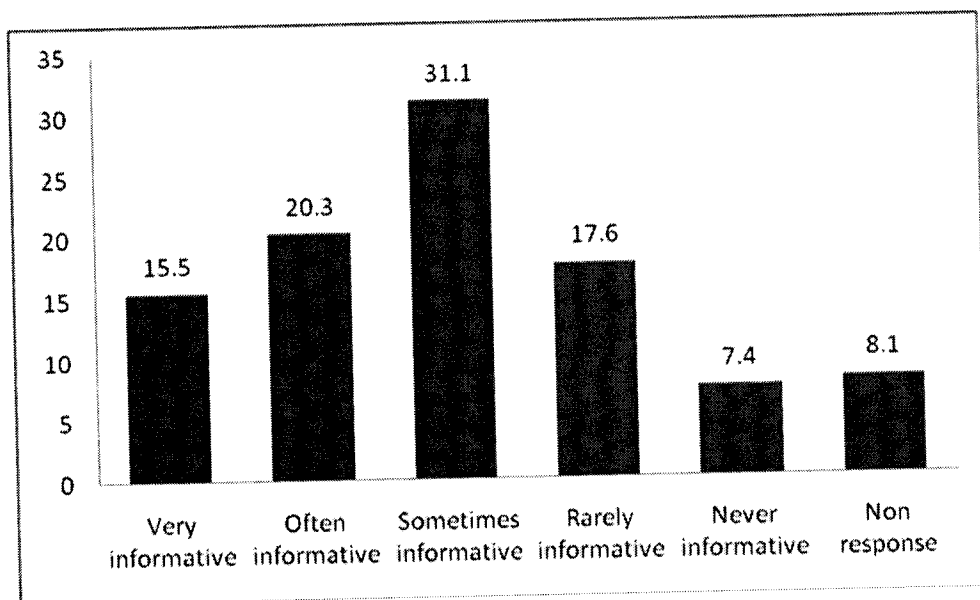


Figure 6.9.4

Distribution of percentages on how informative democracy programmes aired on ZNBC channels were

6.2.9 How Informative are Elections Programmes on Candidates aired on ZNBC's Radio Channels?

The results of this study further show that, 36 (24.3 percent) indicated that election programmes on candidates aired on ZNBC's channels were rarely informative. A population sample of 33 (22.3 percent) said that elections programmes on candidates aired on ZNBC's radio channels were sometimes informative while 31 (20.9 percent) said that elections programmes on candidates aired on ZNBC's radio channels were very informative. The study indicates that 25 (16.9 percent) said that elections programmes on candidates aired on ZNBC's radio channels were often informative. A sample population of 11 (7.4 percent) said that elections programmes on candidates aired on ZNBC's radio channels were never informative while 12 (8.1 percent) of the sample population did not respond to the question on how informative elections programmes on candidates aired on ZNBC's radio channels were probably due to lack of information.

See table 6.9.5 and figure 6.9.5 for the distribution of figures on how informative elections programmes on candidates aired on ZNBC's radio channels were.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very informative	31	20.9	20.9	20.9
	Often informative	25	16.9	16.9	37.8
	Sometimes informative	33	22.3	22.3	60.1
	Rarely informative	36	24.3	24.3	84.5
	Never informative	11	7.4	7.4	91.9
	Non response	12	8.1	8.1	100.0
	Total	148	100.0	100.0	

Table 6.9.5

Distribution of percentages on how informative elections programmes aired on ZNBC channels were.

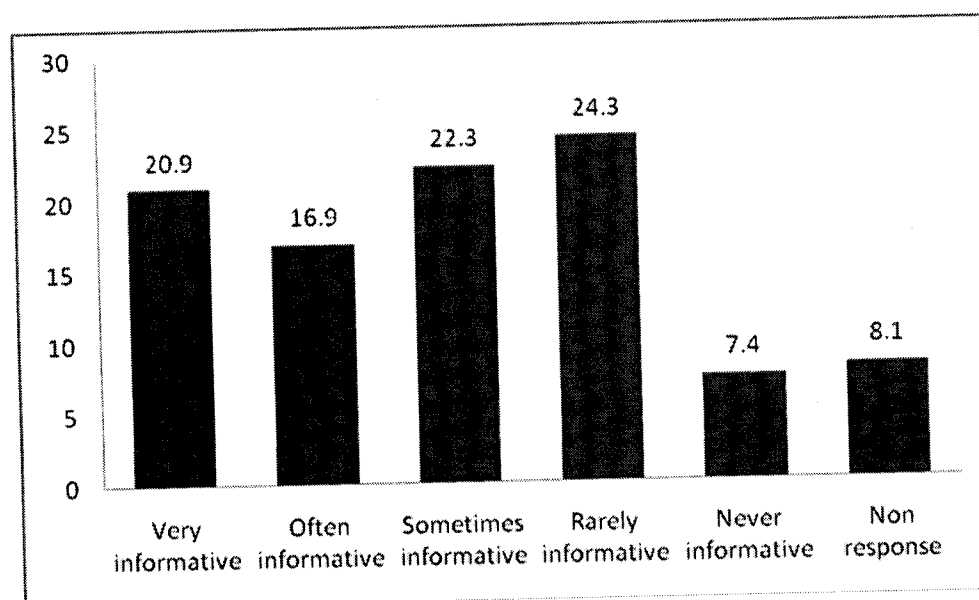


Figure 6.9.5

Distribution of percentages on how informative elections programmes aired on ZNBC channels were.

6.3 Ownership of Functioning or non Functioning Television Sets.

According to the findings of this study, 139 (93.9 percent) respondents indicated that they had functioning television sets in their homes while 6 (4.1percent) said they possessed non functioning television sets while 2 (3.0 percent) did not answer the question on whether they had functioning or non functioning television sets in their homes. The conclusion is that they don't own any or have non- functioning television sets in their homes. See table 6.9.6 and figure 6.9.6 for the distribution of figures on functioning and non functioning television sets in homes.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	139	93.9	93.9	93.9
	No	6	4.1	4.1	98.0
	Non response	3	2.0	2.0	100.0
	Total	148	100.0	100.0	

Table 6.9.6

Distribution of figures on ownership of functioning and non-functioning television sets

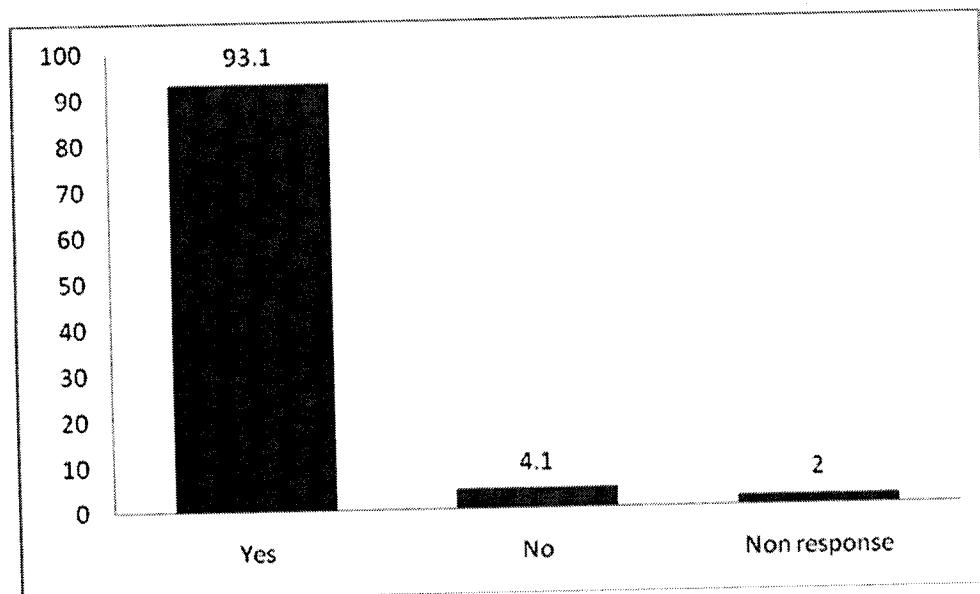


Figure 6.9.6

Distribution of percentages on ownership of functioning and non-functioning television sets

6.4 Frequency of Governance, Democracy and Election Programmes aired on ZNBC's Television.

A total of 148 respondents in the study answered to the questions on the frequency of governance, democracy and elections radio programmes aired on ZNBC's channels.

6.4.1 Frequency of Governance Information aired on ZNBC's Television during Election Periods.

Results show that 48 (32.4 percent) indicated that information on governance during elections periods was aired often on ZNBC's television during election periods. A

sample population of 39 (26.4 percent) said that information on governance during elections periods was aired very often on ZNBC's television during elections periods while 28 (18.9 percent) said that information on governance during elections periods on ZNBC's television was only sometimes aired during election periods. A sample population of 18 (12.2 percent) indicated that information on governance was rarely aired on ZNBC's television during election periods while 2 (1.4 percent) said information on governance was never aired on ZNBC's television during election periods. A sample population of 13 (8.8 percent) did not respond to the question on information on governance aired on ZNBC's television during election periods probably because of lack of information. See table 6.9.7 and figure 6.9.7 for the distribution of figures on information on governance aired on ZNBC's television during election periods.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very Often	39	26.4	26.4	26.4
	Often	48	32.4	32.4	58.8
	Sometimes	28	18.9	18.9	77.7
	Rarely	18	12.2	12.2	89.9
	Never	2	1.4	1.4	91.2
	Non response	13	8.8	8.8	100.0
Total		148	100.0	100.0	

Table 6.9.7
Distribution of figures on information on governance aired on ZNBC's television

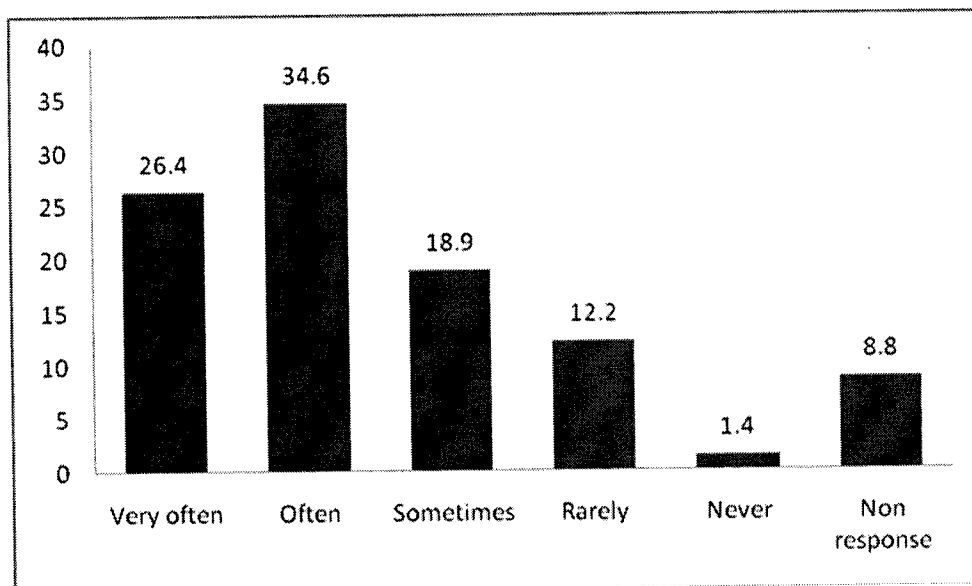


Figure 6.9.7

Distribution of percentages on information on governance aired on ZNBC's television

6.4.2 Frequency of Democracy Information aired on ZNBC's Television during Election Periods

Further findings in this study indicate that, 49 (33.1 percent) said that information on democracy was aired often on ZNBC's television during election periods. A sample population of 32 (21.6 percent) said that information on democracy was aired very often on ZNBC's television during election periods while 27 (18.2 percent) said that information on democracy on ZNBC's television was only sometimes aired during election periods. The study shows that a sample of 25 (16.9 percent) said that information on democracy was rarely aired on ZNBC's television during election periods while 4 (2.7 percent) indicated that information on democracy was never aired on ZNBC's television during election periods.

A population sample of 11(7.4 percent) did not respond to the question on information on democracy aired on ZNBC's television during election periods probably due to lack of information and also not owning or having non- functioning television sets in their homes. See table 6.9.8 and figure 6.9.8 for the distribution of

figures on information on democracy aired on ZNBC’s television during election periods.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very Often	32	21.6	21.6	21.6
	Often	49	33.1	33.1	54.7
	Sometimes	27	18.2	18.2	73.0
	Rarely	25	16.9	16.9	89.9
	Never	4	2.7	2.7	92.6
	Non response	11	7.4	7.4	100.0
	Total	148	100.0	100.0	

Table 6.9.8
Distribution of figures on information on democracy aired on ZNBC’s television

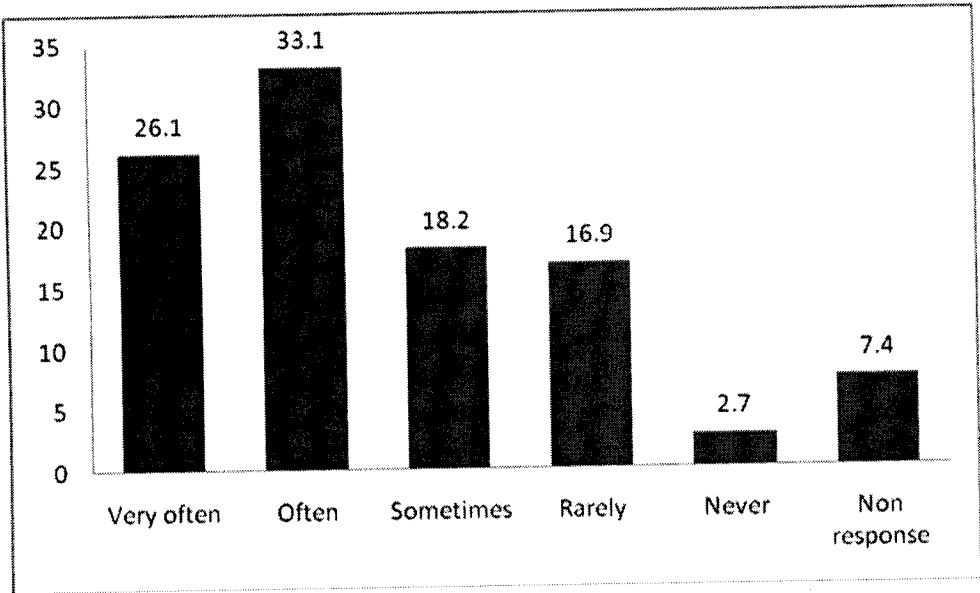


Figure 6.9.8
Distribution of percentages on information on democracy aired on ZNBC’s television

6.4.3 Frequency of Elections Information Candidates on ZNBC’s Television during Election Periods.

This study has shows too that, 50 (33.8 percent) of the sample population indicated that information on candidates was often aired on ZNBC’s television during election periods. A sample population of 31 (20.9 percent) said that information on

candidates was aired very often on ZNBC’s television during election periods while
 The study shows that 29 (19.6 percent) indicated that information on candidates was
 rarely aired on ZNBC’s television during election periods 25 (16.9 percent) said that
 information on candidates was sometimes aired on ZNBC’s television during election
 periods while 2 (1.4 percent) said that information of candidates was never aired on
 ZNBC’s television during election periods.

A sample population of 11 (7.4) percent of the research population who did not
 respond to the question on candidates information aired on ZNBC’s television during
 election periods probably due to lack of information. See table 6.9.9 and figure 6.9.9
 for the distribution of figures on information on elections candidates aired o n
 ZNBC’s television during elections.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very Often	31	20.9	20.9	20.9
	Often	50	33.8	33.8	54.7
	Sometimes	25	16.9	16.9	71.6
	Rarely	29	19.6	19.6	91.2
	Never	2	1.4	1.4	92.6
	Non response	11	7.4	7.4	100.0
Total		148	100.0	100.0	

Table 6.9.9
 Distribution of figures on information on elections candidates aired on ZNBC’s television

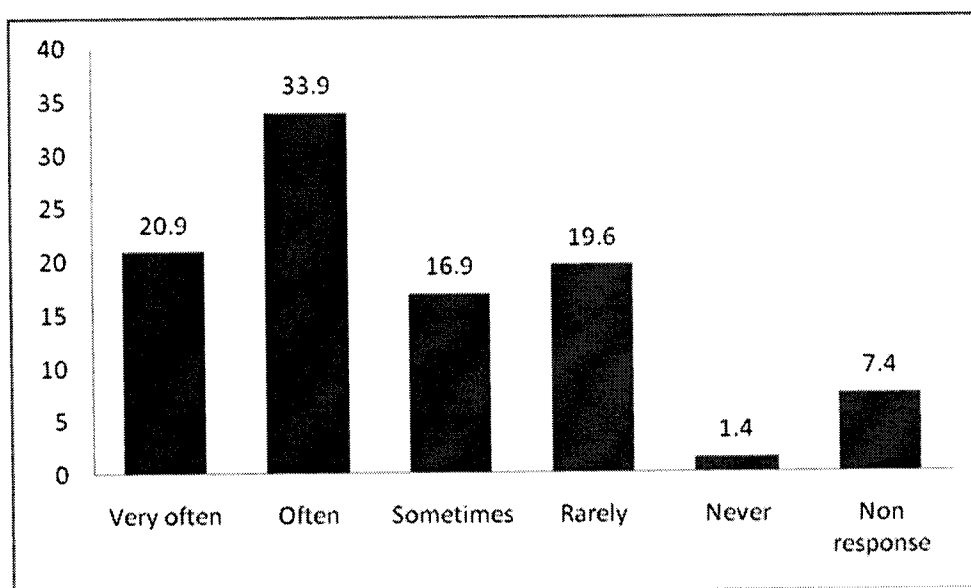


Figure 6.9.9

Distribution of percentages on information on elections candidates aired on ZNBC's television

6.4.4 How Informative are Governance Programmes aired on ZNBC's Television?

The study has found that, 42 (28.4 percent) indicated that programmes on governance aired on ZNBC's television were sometimes informative. A population sample of 41 (27.7) percent said that programmes on governance aired on ZNBC's television were often informative while 23 (15.5percent) said that governance programmes aired on ZNBC's television were only very informative. The study indicates that 14 (9.5 percent) said that democracy programmes aired on ZNBC's television were rarely informative. A sample population of 10 (6.8 percent) said that programmes on governance aired on ZNBC's television were never informative while a sample of 18 (12.2 percent) did not respond to the question on how informative governance programmes aired on ZNBC's television were probably due to lack of information and also not owning or having non-functioning television sets in their homes. See table 6.9.9.1 and figure 6.9.9.1 for the distribution of figures on how informative governance programs aired on ZNBC's television were.

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
<i>Valid</i> News	35	23.6	23.6	23.6
Open line	5	3.4	3.4	27.0
National watch	11	7.4	7.4	34.5
Events of the week	4	2.7	2.7	37.2
Reporter	3	2.0	2.0	39.2
NCC	5	3.4	3.4	42.6
Political interviews	5	3.4	3.4	45.9
KGMZ	11	7.4	7.4	53.4
DW TV	3	2.0	2.0	55.4
BBC	4	2.7	2.7	58.1
Educating our future	3	2.0	2.0	60.1
Non response	59	39.9	39.9	100.0
Total	148	100.0	100.0	

Table 6.9.9.1
Distribution of figures on how informative governance programmes aired on ZNBC were

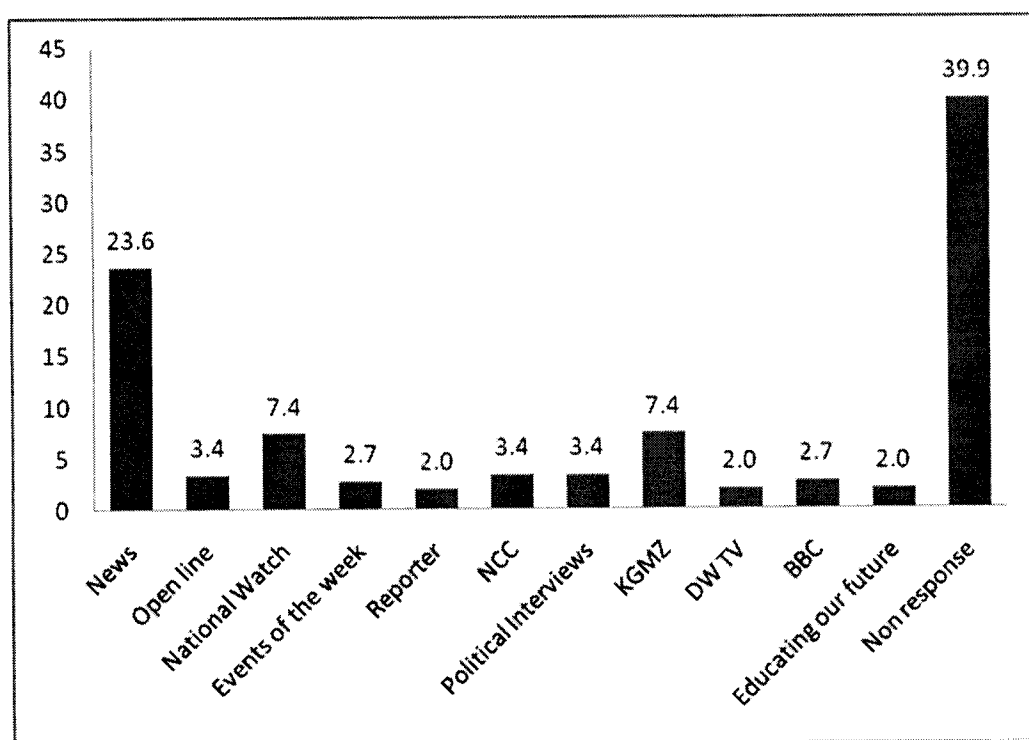


Figure 6.9.9.1
Distribution of percentages on how informative governance programmes aired on ZNBC were

6.4.5 How Informative are Democracy Programmes aired on ZNBC’s Television?

In addition to the earlier findings, 41 (27.7 percent) indicated that programmes on governance aired on ZNBC’s television were sometimes informative. A population sample of 33 (22.3 percent) said that programmes on governance aired on ZNBC’s television were often informative while 29 (19.6percent) said that governance programmes aired on ZNBC’s television were very informative. The study indicates that a population sample of 16 (10.8 percent) said that democracy programmes aired on ZNBC’s television channels were rarely informative.

A population sample of 11 (7.4 percent) said that programmes on governance aired on ZNBC’s television were never informative while 18 (12.2 percent) of the sample population did not respond to the question on how informative governance programmes aired on ZNBC’s television were probably due to lack of information, also not owning or having no-functional television sets in their homes.

See table 6.9.9.2 and figure 6.9.9.2 for the distribution of figures on how informative democracy programmes aired on ZNBC’s television were.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very informative	29	19.6	19.6	19.6
	Often informative	33	22.3	22.3	41.9
	Sometimes informative	41	27.7	27.7	69.6
	Rarely informative	16	10.8	10.8	80.4
	Never informative	11	7.4	7.4	87.8
	Non response	18	12.2	12.2	100.0
	Total	148	100.0	100.0	

Table 6.99.2
Distribution of figures on how informative democracy programmes aired on ZNBC’s television were

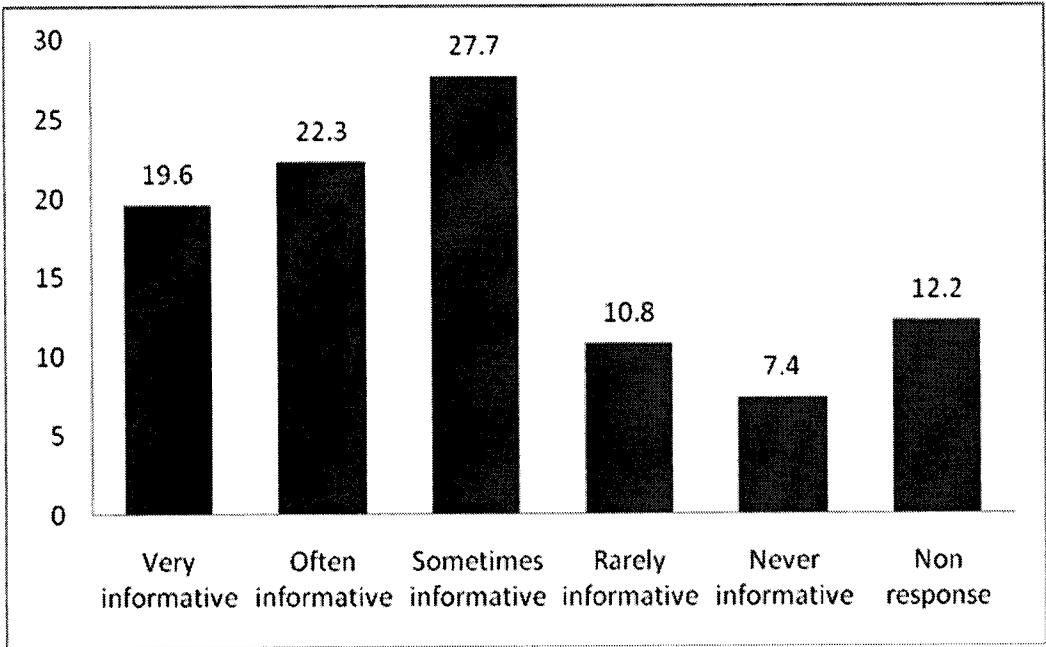


Figure 6.9.9.1
Distribution of percentages on how informative democracy programmes aired on ZNBC were

6.4.6 How Informative are Elections Programmes on Candidates aired on ZNBC’s Television?

This study has also shown that, 39 (26.4 percent) indicated that election programmes on candidates aired on ZNBC’s television were sometimes informative. A sample population of 33 (22.3 percent) said that elections programmes on candidates aired on ZNBC’s television were very often informative while 30 (20.3 percent) said that elections programmes on candidates aired on ZNBC’s television were often informative. The study indicates that a sample of 19 (12.8 percent) said that elections programmes on candidates aired on ZNBC’s radio channels were rarely informative.

A sample population of 9 (6.1 percent) said that elections programmes on candidates aired on ZNBC’s television were never informative while 18 (12.2 percent) of the sample population did not respond to the question on how informative elections programmes on candidates aired on ZNBC’s television were due to lack of information. See table 6.9.9.2 and figure 6.9.9.2 for the distribution of figures on how informative elections programmes on election candidates aired on ZNBC’s television were.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very informative	33	22.3	22.3	22.3
	Often informative	30	20.3	20.3	42.6
	Sometimes informative	39	26.4	26.4	68.9
	Rarely informative	19	12.8	12.8	81.8
	Never informative	9	6.1	6.1	87.8
	Non response	18	12.2	12.2	100.0
Total		148	100.0	100.0	

Table 6.9.9.2
Distribution of percentages on how informative election candidates programmes aired on ZNBC were

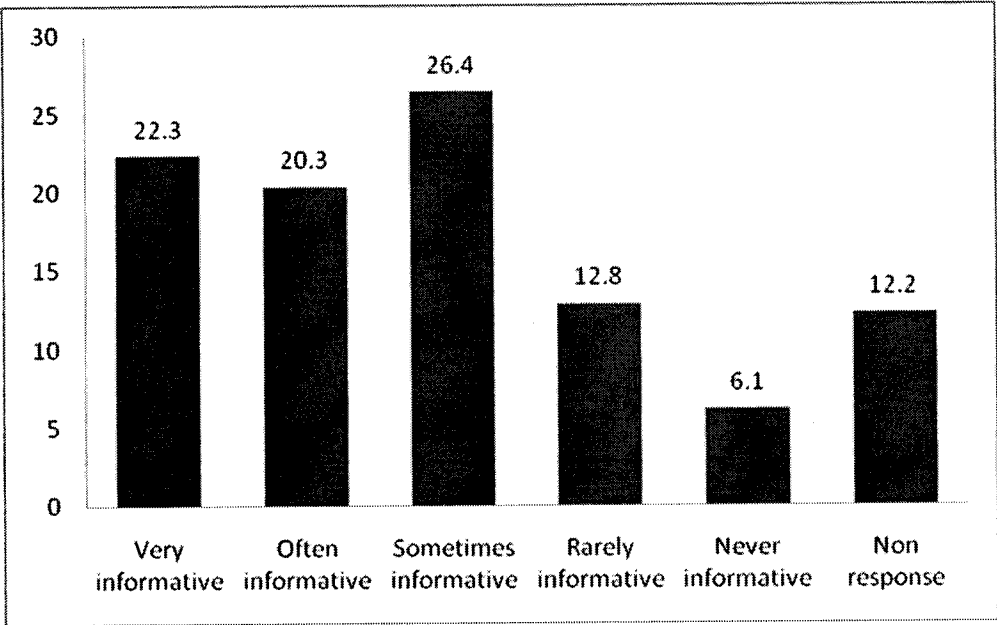


Figure 6.9.9.2
Distribution of percentages on how informative election candidates programmes aired on ZNBC were

6.4.7 Adequacy of Information on Governance

There was a total of 59 (39.9 percent) who did not respond to the open ended question on the adequacy of information on governance on ZNBC's television. This is indicative of the fact that such programmes are not a common feature on ZNBC's television. Thirty five (23.6 percent) said that ZNBC's television news provided them with information about governance. This too is a strong indicator that ZNBC's television does not offer enough neutral programmes that discuss governance issues. Among the programmes on ZNBC's television that were identified as to give information on governance included, the National Watch and KGMZ which each received 11 (7.4 percent) positive responses.

The others were; Open line with 5 (3.4 percent), National Constitutional Conference live broadcasts with 5 (3.4 percent), Political interviews with 5 (3.4 percent), Events of the week with 4 (2.7 percent), BBC relays 4 (2.7 percent), the Reporter with 3 (2 percent), DWTV relays with 3 (2 percent) and Educating the future with 3 (2 percent). See table 6.9.9.3 and figure 6.9.9.3 for the distribution of figures and percentages on the adequacy of information provided by ZNBC on governance on ZNBC's television.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	News	35	23.6	23.6	23.6
	Open line	5	3.4	3.4	27.0
	National watch	11	7.4	7.4	34.5
	Events of the week	4	2.7	2.7	37.2
	Reporter	3	2.0	2.0	39.2
	NCC	5	3.4	3.4	42.6
	Political interviews	5	3.4	3.4	45.9
	KGMZ	11	7.4	7.4	53.4
	DW TV	3	2.0	2.0	55.4
	BBC	4	2.7	2.7	58.1
	Educating our future	3	2.0	2.0	60.1
	Non response	59	39.9	39.9	100.0
	Total	148	100.0	100.0	

Table 6.9.9.3
Distribution of figures on the adequacy of information provided by ZNBC's television

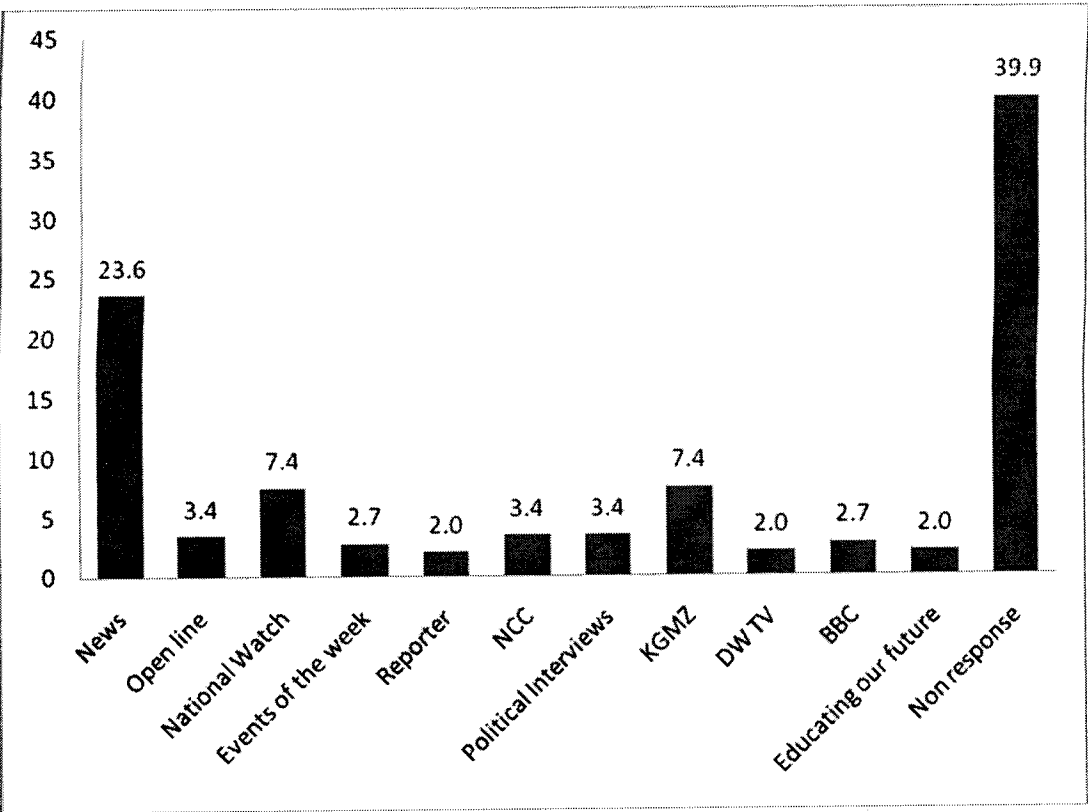


Figure 6.9.9.3
Distribution of percentages on the adequacy of information provided by ZNBC's television

6.4.8 Adequacy of Information on Democracy

The study further shows that, 75 (50.7 percent) did not respond to the open ended question on the adequacy of information on democracy on ZNBC's television. This is indicative again of the fact that such programmes are not a common feature on ZNBC's television. It was found that 29 (19.6 percent) said that ZNBC's television news does provide information on democracy while 11 (7.4 percent) said that KGMZ on ZNBC's television provided information on democracy and 10 (6.8 percent) indicated that the Open line on ZNBC's television does provide information on democracy. See table 6.9.9.4 and figure 6.9.9.4 for details of the distribution of figures on the adequacy of information on democracy on ZNBC's television.

ZNBC TV programmes you watch, which one provides enough information on democracy

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	News	29	19.6	19.6	19.6
	Open line	10	6.8	6.8	26.4
	National watch	5	3.4	3.4	29.7
	Events of the week	1	.7	.7	30.4
	The reporter	4	2.7	2.7	33.1
	Let the people talk	2	1.4	1.4	34.5
	Good governance	4	2.7	2.7	37.2
	NCC	3	2.0	2.0	39.2
	KGMZ	11	7.4	7.4	46.6
	BBC	1	.7	.7	47.3
	DW TV	3	2.0	2.0	49.3
	Non response	75	50.7	50.7	100.0
	Total	148	100.0	100.0	

Table 6.9.9.4

Distribution of figures on the adequacy of information on democracy on ZNBC's television

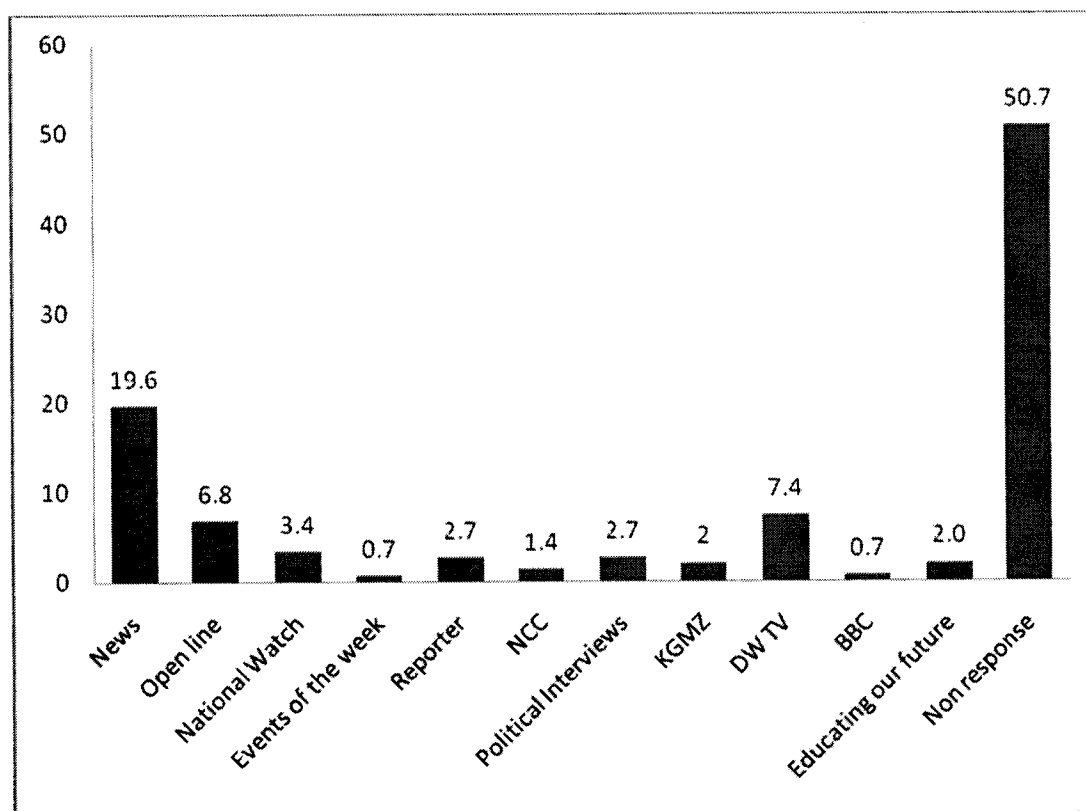


Figure 6.9.9.4

Distribution of percentages on the adequacy of information on democracy on ZNBC's television

The study indicates that, 62 (41.9 percent) did not respond to the open ended question on the adequacy of information on elections on ZNBC's television. This too is indicative that programmes of this nature are not a regular feature on ZNBC's television. The study found that 34 (23 percent) indicated that ZNBC's television news was their source for information on elections while 11 (7.4 percent) said that the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) programmes provided information on elections. The Good governance programme and National Watch programme each received 6 (4.1 percent) of the responses that they provided information on elections. See table 6.9.9.5 and figure 6.9.9.5 for details of the distribution of figures on the adequacy of information on elections on ZNBC's television.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Electrol commission programs	11	7.4	7.4	7.4
	NCC	3	2.0	2.0	9.5
	Transparency Africa	2	1.4	1.4	10.8
	Good governace	6	4.1	4.1	14.9
	Striaight talk Africa	1	.7	.7	15.5
	News	34	23.0	23.0	38.5
	Race to manda hill and plot one	5	3.4	3.4	41.9
	Openline	5	3.4	3.4	45.3
	FODEP	5	3.4	3.4	48.6
	Development Programs	3	2.0	2.0	50.7
	Local languages programs	1	.7	.7	51.4
	National watch	6	4.1	4.1	55.4
	Adveristisments	3	2.0	2.0	57.4
	KGMZ	1	.7	.7	58.1
	Non response	62	41.9	41.9	100.0
	Total	148	100.0	100.0	

Table 6.9.9.5

The distribution of figures on the adequacy of information on elections on ZNBC's television.

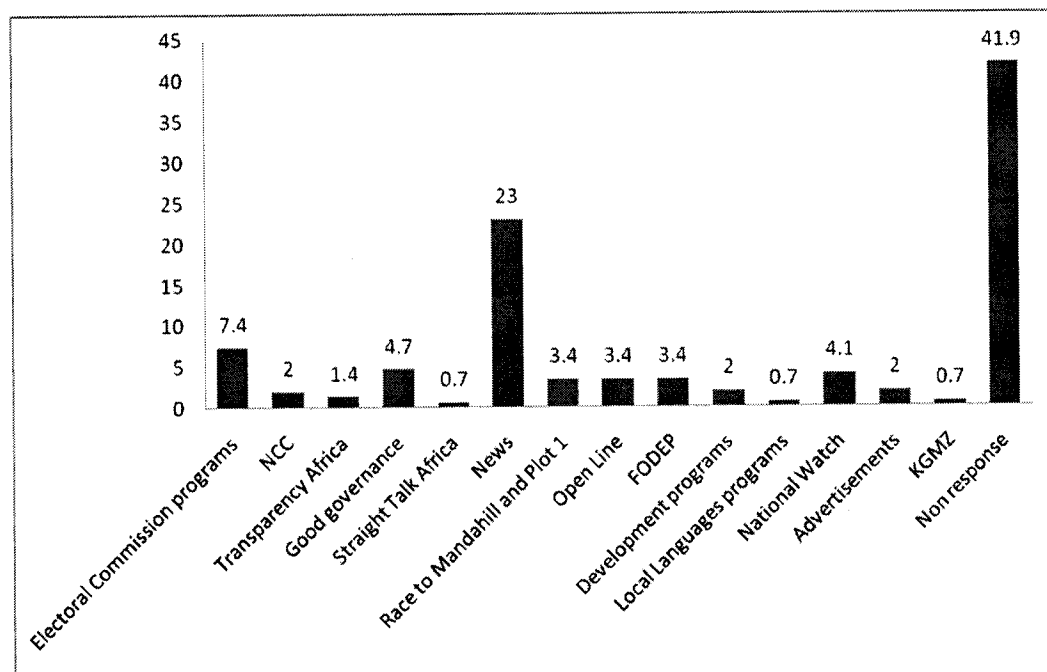


Figure 6.9.9.5

The distribution of percentages on the adequacy of information on elections on ZNBC's television

6.4.9 New Legislation Compelling ZNBC

On the open ended question as to whether there should be specific legislation to compel ZNBC to provide equal coverage to political parties and interest groups, the findings reveal that a total of 75 (50.7 percent) strongly agreed that such law should be put in place while 2 (1.4 percent) strongly disagreed with the notion that there should be specific legislation to compel ZNBC to give equal coverage to all. A total of 20 (13.5 percent) did not respond to this question probably due to lack of knowledge on legal matters. See table 6.9.9.6 and figure 6.9.9.6 for details of the distribution of figures on compelling ZNBC to give equal coverage to all political groupings.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	75	50.7	50.7	50.7
	Agree	28	18.9	18.9	69.6
	Not sure	19	12.8	12.8	82.4
	Disagree	4	2.7	2.7	85.1
	Strongly disagree	2	1.4	1.4	86.5
	Non response	20	13.5	13.5	100.0
	Total	148	100.0	100.0	

Table 6.9.9.6

Distribution of figures on compelling ZNBC to give equal coverage to all political groupings.

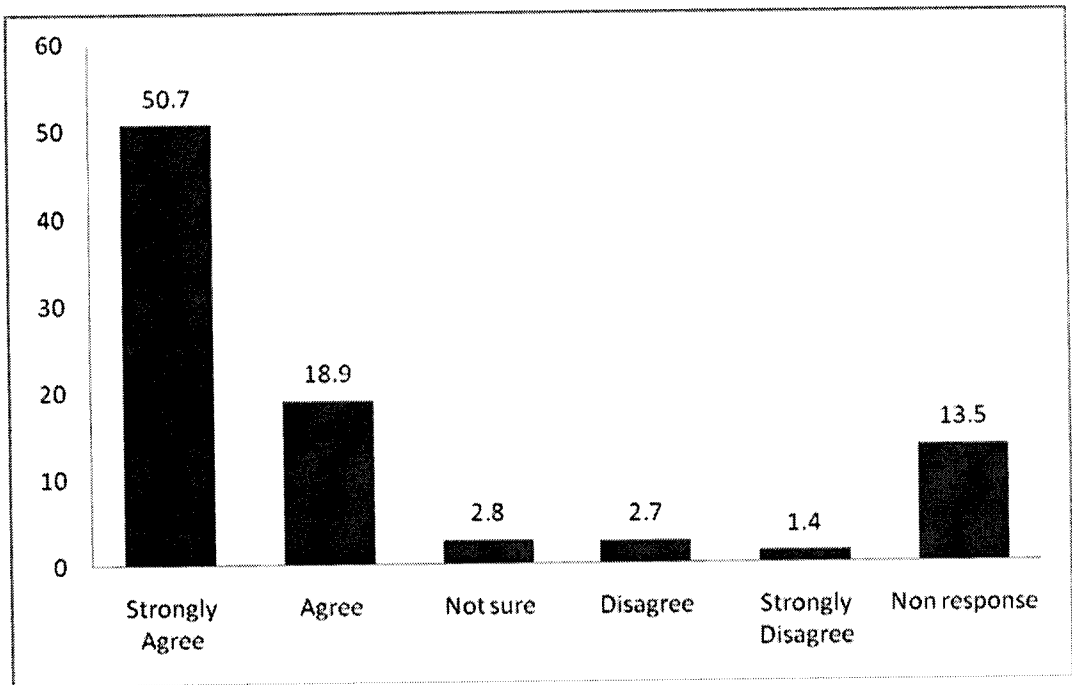


Figure 6.9.9.6
Distribution of percentages on compelling ZNBC to give equal coverage to all political groupings.

6.4.9.1 Cross tabulations of Listenership to ZNBC Radio during Elections by Sex

All the 93 male respondents representing 100% indicated that they listened to ZNBC radio during election times while 43 females, representing 85.5% said that they listened to ZNBC radio during election times. There were four respondents, representing 14.5% who did not answer the question on listenership to ZNBC radio during election times. See table 6.9.9.7 and figure 6.9.9.7 for details. Further cross tabulations were done on ZNBC Radio programming on democracy by sex, age and level of education. Similarly other cross tabulations were done of ZNBC radio and Television programming on democracy by sex, age and level of education as have been shown in the tables and figures below.

	Male	Female
Yes	100%	85.5%
No	0	14.5%

Table 6.9.9.7
Listenership to ZNBC Radio during Elections by Sex

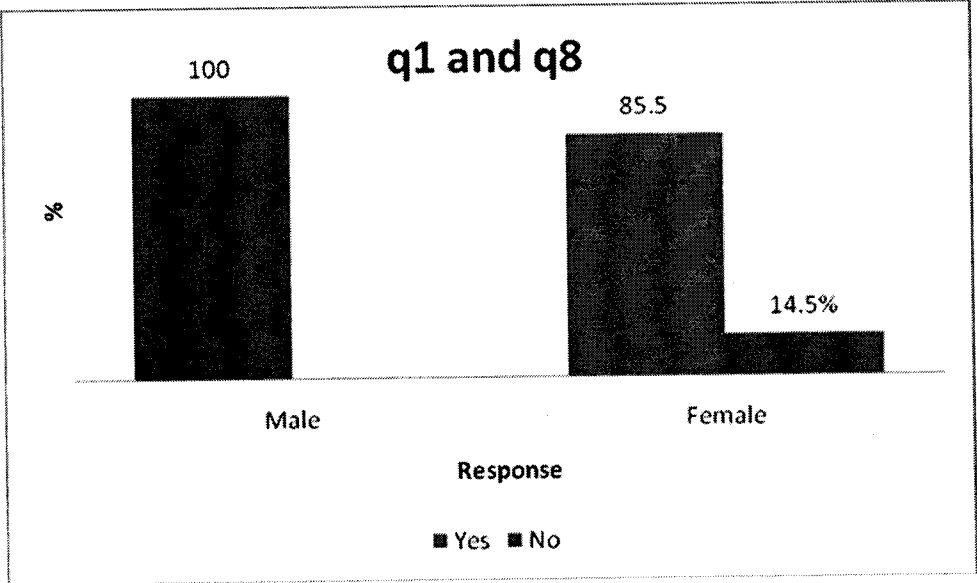


Figure 6.9.9.7
Listenership to ZNBC Radio during Elections by Sex

6.4.9.1 Cross tabulations of ZNBC Radio programming on Democracy by Sex

	Male	Female
Very Informative	27%	0.0%
Often Informative	39.8	0.0%
Sometimes Informative	33.3	12.7
Rarely Informative	0	47.3
Never Informative	0	18.2
Non Response	0	21.8

Table 6.9.9.8
ZNBC Radio programming on Democracy by Sex

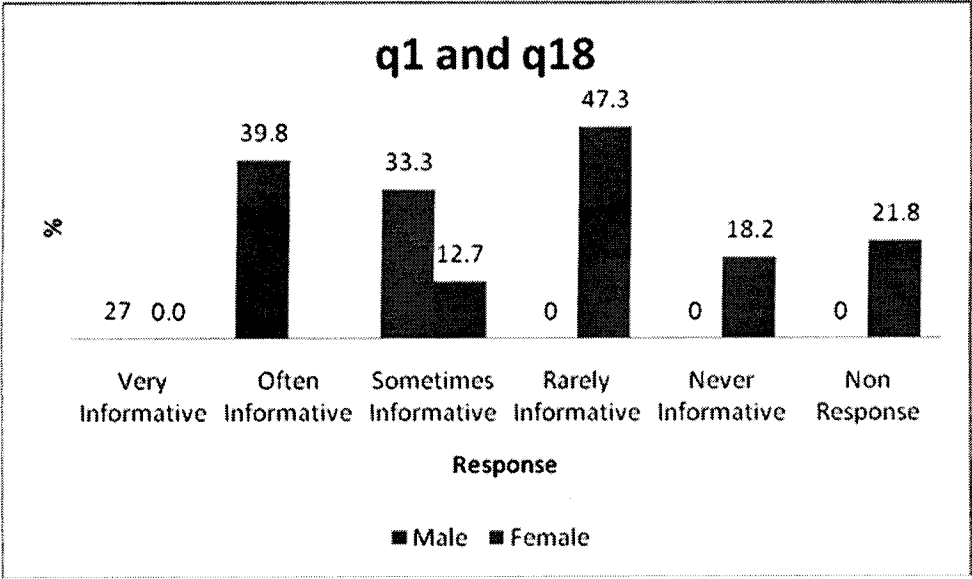


Figure 6.9.9.8

ZNBC Radio programming on Democracy by Sex

6.4.9.1 Cross tabulations of ZNBC-TV Programmes on Democracy by Sex

	Male	Female
Yes	100%	84%
No		11%
Non Response		6%

Table 6.9.9.9

ZNBC TV Programmes on Democracy by Sex

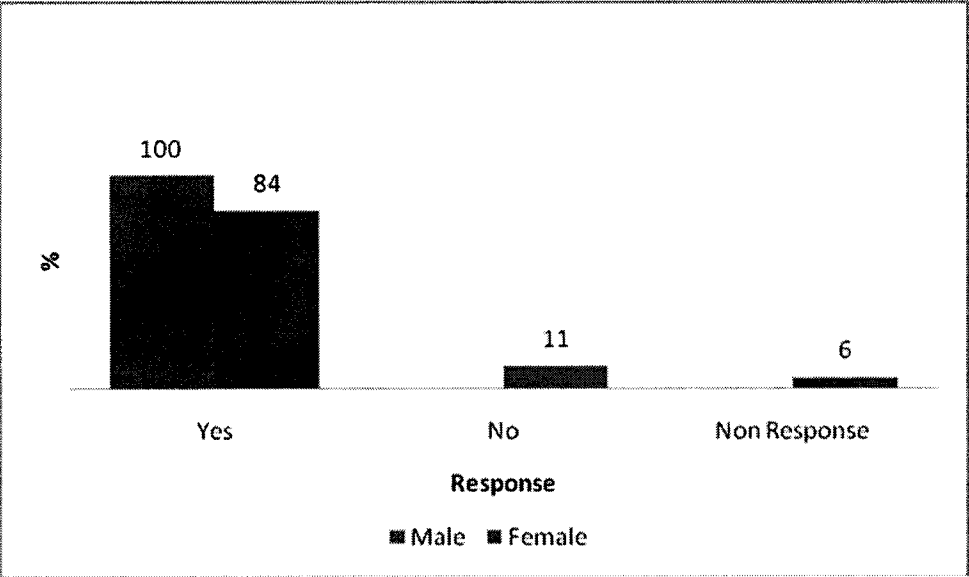


Figure 6.9.9.9

ZNBC TV Programmes on Democracy by Sex

6.4.9.3 Cross tabulations of Listenership to ZNBC Radio during Elections by Age.

	Yes	No
15-20	100	
21-25	100	
26-30	100	
31-40	100	
41+	74.2	25.8

Table 6.9.9.9.1

Listenership to ZNBC Radio during Elections by Age

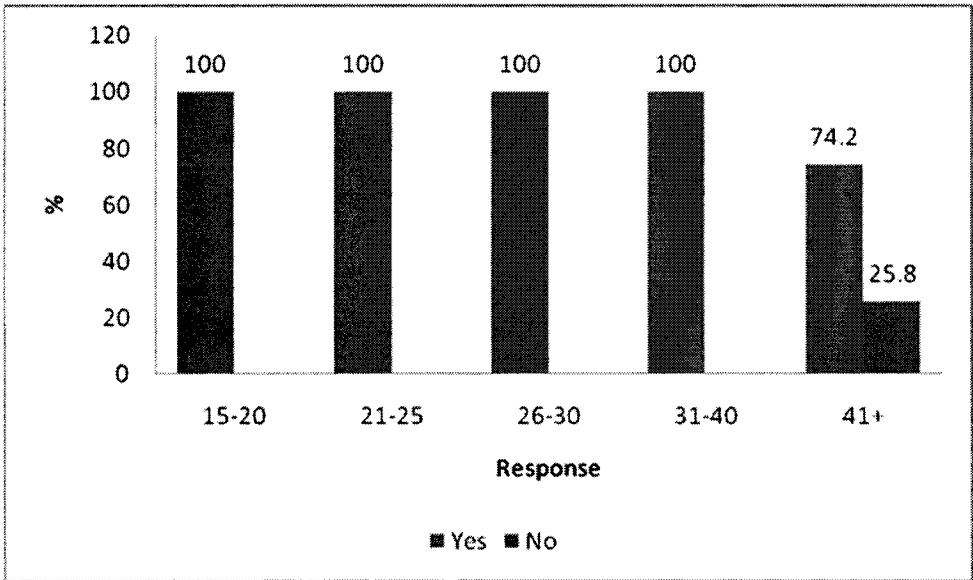


Figure 6.9.9.1
Listenership to ZNBC Radio during Elections by Age

6.4.9.4 Cross tabulations of ZNBC Radio Programming on democracy by Age.

	15-20	21-25	26-30	31-40	41+
Very Informative	100	52			
Often Informative		48	62		
Sometimes Informative			39	58	
Rarely Informative				43	29
Never Informative					32
Non Response					39

Table 6.9.9.2
ZNBC Radio programming on Democracy by Age

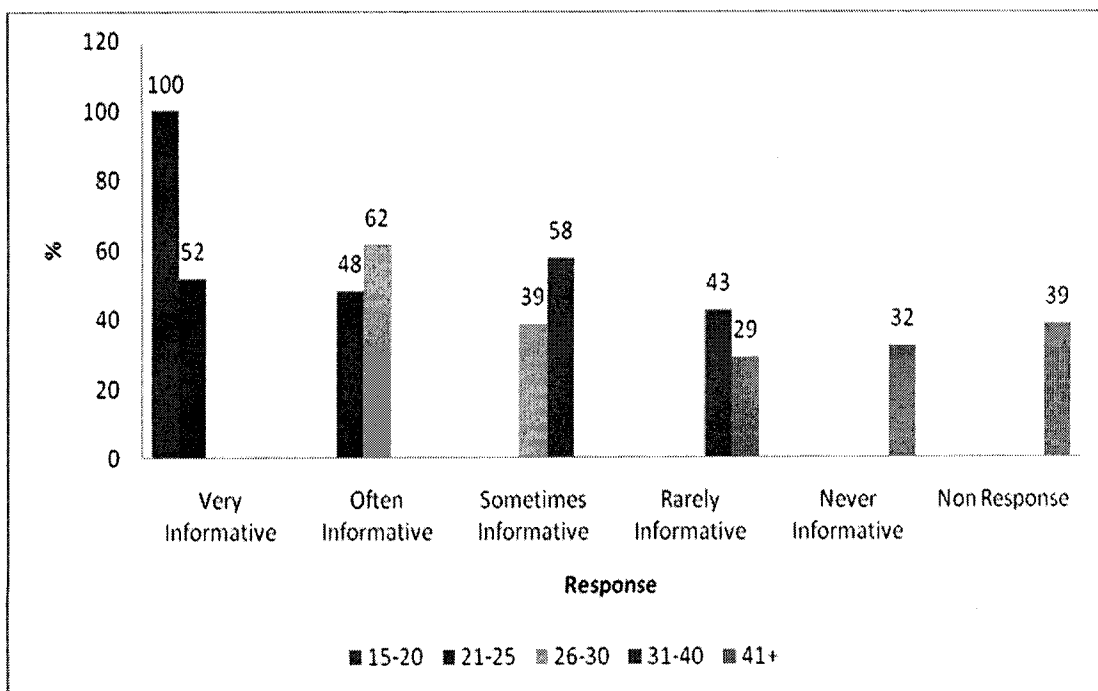


Figure 6.9.9.2

ZNBC Radio programming on Democracy by Age

6.4.9.5 Cross tabulations of ZNBC Television Programming on democracy by Age.

Response	Age				
	15-20	21-25	26-30	31-40	41+
Yes	100	100	100	100	71
No					19
Non Response					9.7

Table 6.9.9.3

ZNBC TV Programmes on Democracy by Age

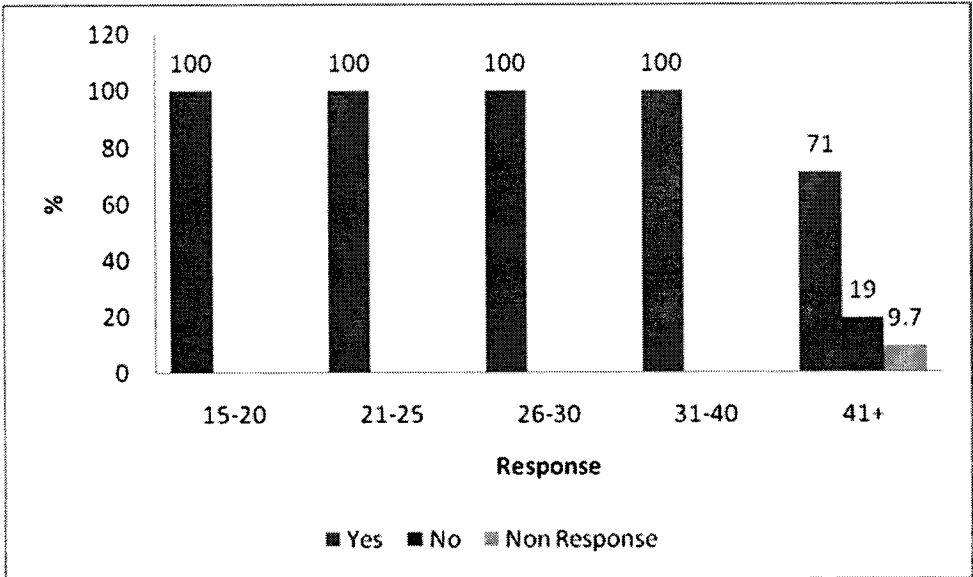


Figure 6.9.9.3

ZNBC TV Programmes on Democracy by Age

6.4.9.6 Cross tabulations of Listenership to ZNBC Radio during Elections by Education Level.

Response	Age				
	Grade 1-9	Grade 10-12	College	University	No Formal Education
Yes	100	100	100	100	38.5
No					61.5

Table 6.9.9.4

Listenership to ZNBC Radio during Elections by Education Level

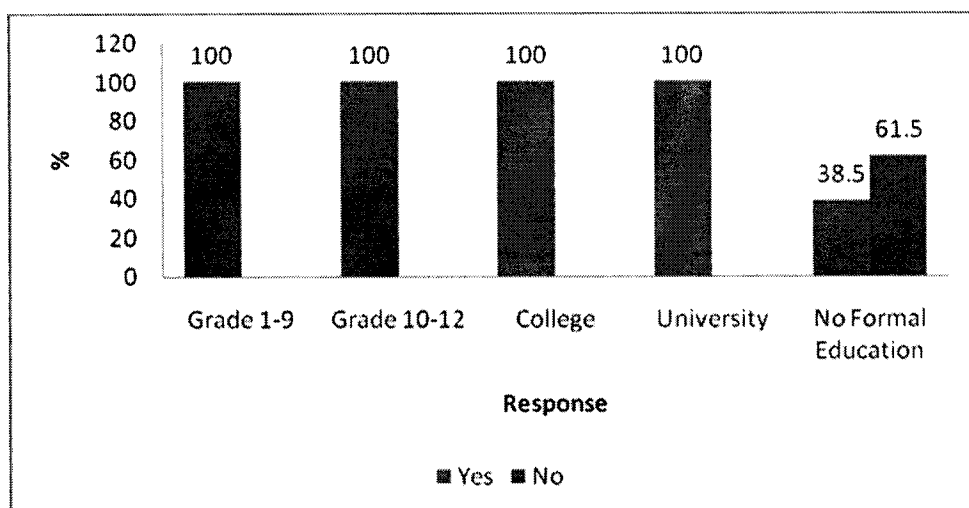


Figure 6.9.9.4

ZNBC Radio programming on Elections by education Level

6.4.9.7 Cross tabulations of ZNBC Radio programming on Democracy by Education Level.

Response	Education Level				
	Grade 1-9	Grade 10-12	College	University	No Formal Education
Very Informative	62.5				
Often Informative	37.5	53.7			
Sometimes Informative		42.1	53.7		
Rarely Informative			46.3	43.8	
Never Informative				56.3	7.7
Non Response					92.3

Table 6.9.9.5

ZNBC Radio programming on Democracy by education Level

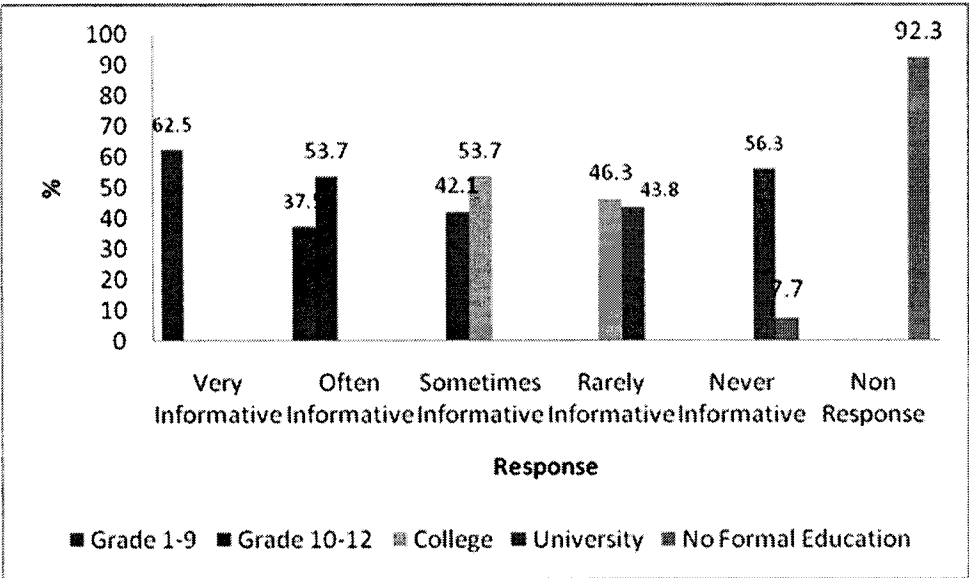


Figure 6.9.9.5
 ZNBC Radio programming on Democracy by Education Level

6.4.9.8 Cross tabulations of ZNBC-TV Programmes on Democracy by Education Level.

Response	Education Level				
	Grade 1-9	Grade 10-12	College	University	No Formal Education
Yes	100	100	100	100	30.8
No					46.2
Non Response					23.1

Table 6.9.9.6
 ZNBC TV Programmes on Democracy by Education Level

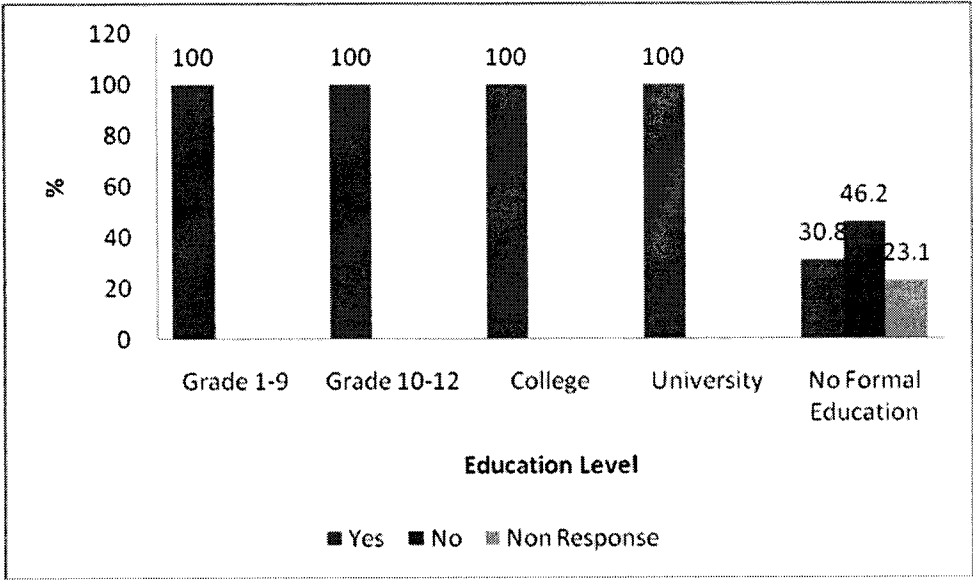


Figure 6.9.9.6
ZNBC TV Programmes on Democracy by Education Level

6.5 Qualitative Findings

Qualitative methods rely on the interpretation and analysis of what people do and say without making heavy use of measurement or numerical analysis (Horning, 1965:5 in Nkandu, 2009:12).

The study therefore analysed statements made by some members of the public towards the performance of ZNBC as a state broadcaster despite it being officially a public broadcaster since 2002. The observation made is that the sentiments expressed by the people in the answers to the open ended questions about ZNBC’ television extend to ZNBC’s radio channels where the bias towards the ruling party takes centre

stage in the type of programming and availability of air time to the ruling party against the opposition political parties and interest groups is concerned.

There were nine interviews conducted with a cross section of senior citizens who have been involved with politics, the church, NGOs and the media in order to share with them their experiences of the perception under study. This study has used five of the interviews because of their relevance to the subject matter.

These five interviews used in this study are with; Chris Chirwa, Editor and Publisher of Images Publishing Company in Lusaka; Lee Habasonda, Executive Director at the Southern African Centre for Conflict Resolution and Disputes (SACCORD); Stanely M'hango, President of Foundation for Democratic Process (FODEP); Chanda Mfula, Acting National Director of MISA Zambia National Chapter and Mulenga Kabiti, former Broadcasting Manager at MISA Regional office, Windhoek, Namibia. The interviews were recorded and took an average of 30 minutes each. This researcher personally conducted all the interviews. Mr. Chirwa, Mr. Habasonda, Mr. Mfula and Mr. M'hango were followed to their offices while Mr. Kabiti accepted to be interviewed at Ngalawa Communications, Lotti House, Cairo Road in Lusaka.

According to Chris Chirwa who has up to now edited several works on media reforms, including *'the Struggle for Media Law Reforms in Zambia* by Patrick Matibini,' ZNBC in its current form is there only to portray and build the government image as opposed to serving the interests of the people in general.

Chirwa outlined four areas of his perception of ZNBC as a state broadcaster as opposed to being a public broadcaster:

1. that programming at ZNBC does not embrace universality, in that it is not equally accessible to all.
2. that there is no diversity in programming at ZNBC. Only members of the ruling party are seen and heard on radio and television at ZNBC almost at will.
3. that there is no editorial independence at ZNBC because the board is appointed by the Minister and in turn they appoint the Director- General and that funding is from government and not from Parliament directly.
4. that there is no distinctiveness at ZNBC which can show that there has been change from state broadcasting to public broadcasting even with the enactment of the ZNBC(Amendment) Act 2002.

Chirwa said “the enactment of the ZNBC (Amendment) Act 202 was just cosmetic as it has not changed anything from what the corporation was under the 1987 Act. It has only taken away the authority of the Minister to appoint the board of directors. Unfortunately, the current board was appointed by the Minister and has not been changed.”

What is needed according to Chirwa is to put in place a specific law which will clearly spell out the role of ZNBC as a public broadcaster as opposed to the ZNBC (Amendment) Act 2002 which is not compelling. “Currently, ZNBC is involved in broadcasting government programmes to build the government’s image. It is not

concerned with that which the public or society wants. ZNBC still maintains the political hierarchy in their news presentations in order to promote further the political leadership of the country,” he said.

According to Lee Habasonda, an ardent advocate for a free ZNBC, those in authority have continuously used ZNBC to maintain their grip on power at the expense of the larger majority of the people of Zambia. “ZNBC suffers from severe and direct political influence. When ZNBC television wishes to discuss an important topic and among the invited participants, the MMD representative is absent, the programme will take not off” he said.

Habasonda gave an example of a programme called National Watch where earlier this year he and other members of the civil society Reuben Lifuka of Transparency International (TI), Edwin Lifwekelo from the Foundation for Democratic Process (FODEP) and a Mr. Mwale, representing the MMD were to discuss the importance of having the Vice President as a running mate to the Presidential candidate. The programme was cancelled because the MMD’s representative did not show up. “The Director General at ZNBC then, Joseph Salasini informed the panellists present that the programme could not go on because he did not have permission from the Special Assistant to the President at State House to go ahead without MMD’s representation” said Habasonda. Salasini claimed that there would be no balance of views if the programme went on without the MMD having a representative on that particular programme” Habasonda said. Habasonda further said that the line of thinking

puzzled him and his other colleagues because ZNBC never considered the balancing of views when it meant the MMD presenting their side of the story in the absence of the opposition political parties or indeed the civil society.

“There is no balancing of views on ZNBC television and radio. Only when it comes to censoring the opposition do we see them being given wide coverage so that they are seen in bad light,” He said. “An example is now that there are campaigns going on in a by-election in Kasama for the Kasama Central Parliamentary Constituency where the opposition candidate Geoffrey Bwalya Mwamba of the Patriotic Front is alleged to have uttered tribal remarks against the MMD’s candidate Burton Mugala that he was not a pure Bemba, but just from somewhere else (Muyombe) in Northern Province. ZNBC radio and television news is repeating the alleged misrepresentation by the opposition candidate everyday in order to send signals that he was being tribal” Habasonda stated.

To this effect, Habasonda doubted that ZNBC has ever dedicated time to sensitizing the citizens about elections, governance and democracy in a fair manner because of its considerations that the MMD and its leadership form the basis for news and programming for radio and television.

Habasonda said that ZNBC does not run neutral and well structured programmes for the benefit of the people except for political adverts sponsored by the civil society but are also pre-recorded to ensure conformity in order to suit the order for the day and not offend the ruling party. “You would be a foolish candidate to invest your trust in

ZNBC and hope to win an election in Zambia today. There is no multiplicity of views being tolerated by ZNBC. The corporation does not give hope for the development of democracy on our country,” he said. In concluding his remarks, Haabasonda was of the view that there must be a specific law to compel ZNBC to carry out its programming freely and fairly to all stakeholders. He added that specific legislation will give ZNBC leverage to carry out its mandate prudently while including critical and objective views from the citizens of this country.

Other sentiments came from Chanda Mfula, who told this researcher in a personal interview that the first mistake made was for Parliament to enact the ZNBC (Amendment) Bill, 2002 when in his view the Bill was not complete in terms of provisions that could have made ZNBC a public broadcaster. Mfula said that the ZNBC (Amendment) Act 2002 does not have guidelines developed in a stake holder manner and does not promote fairness. In as far as he is concerned, the process of amending the 1987 ZNBC Act should not have allowed ZNBC to collect TV licence fees when the public has no influence or indeed authority over it. ZNBC should have been made a public broadcaster first before considering allowing it to collect licence fees from the public.

“Against this background, there must be new law or a complete re-look at the ZNBC (Amendment) Act, 2002 in order that provisions will be included that will spell out editorial guidelines for ZNBC (Mfula, in personal interview, 26th October, 2009).

Mfula told this researcher that among other things that should come out clearly in the new or amended Act is that of not allowing ZNBC to advertise so as to protect the other competitors in the industry from unfair competition. He said ZNBC as a public broadcaster should be funded by the public through licensing and government funding which should come directly from parliament. He further suggested that MIBS should have nothing to do with broadcasting, which must be supervised by another body which in turn will report to parliament.

M'hango added his voice to the calling for change in legislation in order to make ZNBC a true public broadcaster which will serve the public interest as opposed to what it is today where it serves as a government mouth piece. M'hango observed in the interview that much as the ZNBC (Amendment) Act 2002 has not helped any matters towards the change from the state controlled media characteristics into what could be generally accepted as public broadcasting media, the Electoral Act of Zambia which was expected to ensure that ZNBC operated within the confines of the intended purpose as a public broadcaster has also proved to be ineffective.

He said that this was despite the Electoral Act number 90 of 2006 outlining several duties of the media during election periods. Section 13 of the Act states that:

- (1) All public television and radio broadcasters shall allocate public air time equally to all political parties for their political broadcasts.
- (2) A political party shall not buy more than thirty minutes air time in any given one language on public television or radio in any one week.
- (3) Television shall not schedule any party's political broadcast or other political discussion or interview, opinion poll results or

broadcast prediction of the result of polling day until the polls have closed.

(4) Broadcasters shall inform the public on the source of a public opinion poll and shall indicate the margin of error.

M'hango said that the major similarities between the ZNBC (Amendment) Act 2002 and the Electoral Act of Zambia is that both do not have clauses on what would be the sanctions or measures taken against ZNBC if they did not follow the guidelines. The Electoral Act of Zambia no.90 of 2006 has put such clauses in other Articles not related to the media but not in Article 13 to guide ZNBC against flouting the Act.

The FODEP President observed that because of such lacunas, it has been very difficult in the past and that it will be so in the future for any legal suites to succeed against ZNBC in the courts of law for flouting the Acts. “ There is definite need to revisit both the ZNBC (Amendment) Act 2002 and the Electoral Act of Zambia 2006 to amend them in order that proper clauses are included to make them compelling to ZNBC operate as free public broadcaster. As of now, the law is very weak and allows ZNBC to operate against the will of the people and easily gets away with it. We need to see an Act that will have specific punitive measures in black and white, otherwise the whole thing is a non starter” (Muhango, 24th October, 2009, personal interview).

Mulenga Kabiti, said that the MISA-Zambia National Chapter was particularly concerned with the reluctance by government to transform ZNBC into a public broadcaster than maintaining it as a state broadcaster despite all the positive attempts in the recent past, including the enactment of the ZNBC(Amendment)Act, 2002.

It is Kabiti's held view that ZNBC should be transformed into a public broadcaster for the purposes of diversity in programming and services. Kabiti said that it is still common today for ZNBC producers to receive and obey unprofessional instructions from higher offices such as that of the Director-General and the Permanent Secretary, who unfortunately are not themselves broadcasters by training or profession.

"These officers do not look at things from an objective angle when it comes to deciding programme content, but to please the appointing authorities, in this case the board and the Minister. After all, the current board was appointed by the Minister and their allegiance is to the Minister", he said. During this interview, Kabiti made it clear that ZNBC is being used by the state as a mouth piece especially during election periods. He said that ZNBC is not all inclusive in that the views of the majority of the Zambian people are not regarded as important to the construction of a democratic society in Zambia, where everyone will be afforded the opportunity to be heard and not be heard only in the negative as is the case with ZNBC and the opposition political parties and candidates.

Kabiti gave an example of unprofessional editing by ZNBC when during the elections of 2006, the Patriotic Front Presidential candidate, Mr. Michael Sata, told a public rally at Misisi compound that if they elected him, he would pull down the poor structures in the compound and put up better houses in order to improve the living standards of the people of that compound.

According to Kabiti, ZNBC only repeatedly reported that Mr. Sata was going to pull down houses in Misisi compound once elected as President of Zambia. “They left out the good aspect of Mr. Sata promising to build better houses in order to improve the living conditions of the people in that compound,” he said.

Chapter 7

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

7.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the relationship between findings of the study and the questions on the fact that despite the government statements that ZNBC is liberated from government control, and the enactment of the ZNBC (Amendment) Act 2002, that officially made ZNBC a public broadcaster it is not perceived as such. The study has shown that the public is quite anxious that the state run ZNBC should stop serving as the mouthpiece of the state and become a vibrant forum for discussion of public affairs.

7.1 ZNBC: A Public or State Broadcaster?

The study is premised on the question of whether ZNBC is a public broadcaster or a state broadcaster. ZNBC is Zambia's national broadcaster which is supposed to operate as a public broadcaster. However, the study has captured the perceptions by many people that, even after the enactment of the ZNBC (Amendment) Act 2002, to give ZNBC the autonomy to operate freely without partisan political influence, it is still operating as a state broadcaster and that the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Services (MIBS) is in complete control of the institution, making it a mouth piece of government and not as one that is serving the interests of the citizens of Zambia at large. The findings are in alignment with the position of many scholars who have written on public broadcasting as demonstrated in the literature review of this study.

Banda (1998) notes that the government in Zambia uses the appointment system as a conduit for influence on editorial matters and that the Board at ZNBC hires and fires managerial staff as they deem it fit.

Management at ZNBC under instructions from the Board of Directors, fired the News Manager, Kelly Chubili, accusing him of being a sympathiser of the opposition against the ruling party. They said that he deliberately did not include for broadcasting in one of the television news bulletins, footage of President Rhupia Banda showing him at a public campaign rally in the Kasama Central Parliamentary by-election in Kasama, Northern Province which took place on October 15, 2009.

The Board was taking orders from the Republican President's Special Assistant for Public Relations and Press Dickson Jere to Information and Broadcasting Minister, Lieutenant General Ronnie Shikapwasha to deal with what he termed a serious situation at ZNBC (Sunday Post Newspaper, 18th October, 2009:5).

However, according to officials at MIBS and some broadcasting engineers at ZNBC, facts are that there was no compatibility between the equipment that was used to video tape the President's rally and the old transmission equipment in the Video Transmission Room (VTR) at the Mass Media Complex in Lusaka where the material had been sent for editing and airing. The field camera used in the filming was of a later model compared to the obsolete transmission equipment in the VTR:

Engineers at ZNBC Mass Media Complex tried all they could to convert the mode from which the material was recorded in order to make it comply with the VTR, but completely failed, hence the failure to broadcast the footage showing the President at the rally in Kasama (Ibid).

After the 1996 elections, many Journalists from ZNBC had been intimidated and threatened with dismissal by Chiluba and other MMD zealots. Some of the Journalists who suffered this harassment include Charles Banda, Radio Two Manager, Dominic Chimanyika, News Editor and Chibamba Kanyama, Executive Producer, Television, who were all suspended for allegedly sympathising with the opposition. Eventually, Charles Banda and Chibamba Kanyama were dismissed (Chitala 2006:202).

There are many other instances whereby Journalists at ZNBC have been unfairly treated. Another such incidence came after the 2001 elections when Gerald Mwale, Chief Sub Editor and Nkamu Nkamu, Controller of News and Current Affairs were accused of passing stories that favoured the opposition political parties against the MMD. Gerald Mwale was removed from the newsroom to become a Script Writer in the Marketing Department. Nkamu Nkamu was removed from his position and taken to the transport section to become the Transport Officer. Both were given positions completely unrelated to their professions (Gerald Mwale, 2nd November, 2009 , Personal Interview).

This study however shows that the majority of the respondents share the perception by Phiri who said that ZNBC has not changed much from 1991 when the MMD took over power from UNIP with all the promises to transform the Corporation into a more user friendly entity to the citizens of Zambia:

Zambia's transition to multiparty politics in 1991 has not led to significant changes in state-media relations and that there was a brief

period just before and soon after 1991 when it appeared that the media, including ZNBC would become an independent influence in a democratic environment but that any movement in that direction has been thwarted by the continued state control of the country's largest broadcaster, ZNBC (Phiri 2001:53).

The complete control of ZNBC by MIBS can be seen in recent actions by the Minister of Information and Broadcasting Services who called for an abrupt audit of the institution. Later on October 14th, 2009, he terminated the services of the Director-General and three other Directors.

The fact that the Board were not the ones that took up the matter with the Auditor-General to resolve the perceived impasse between staff and management at ZNBC confirms further the perception that the institution has no autonomy from the government. The Board has a limited role in the running of the institution. This perception was confirmed further by the statement made by the Chairperson of the current (some say illegal) ZNBC Board Augustine Seyuba who said that: *he was not aware that the News Manager had been fired and referred all other queries to the Acting Director-General* (Post Newspaper, 21st October, 2009:1,4). In a nutshell, the study has shown that there was an overwhelming strong response to the people's perception that the scenario at ZNBC (Radio and Television) gives undue advantage at all times to the ruling party and the government. This undercuts the very essence of democratic governance in Zambia and further confirms the perception that it is a mouth piece of the state and not one that is serving the interest of the citizens of Zambia at large.

The findings further show that even other programmes arranged and paid for by the Civil Society and other interest groups on democracy and governance, ZNBC was ready to cancel such programmes on both radio and television at the whim of the state. The ruling party has to be represented at all times. On the other hand, the opposite has been different.

The ruling party and the state will not be held to ransom because of poor representation from opposition political parties on the discussion programmes. Moreover, it is not a pre-requisite for ZNBC to invite the opposition when the state and party in power seek to use the facility to reach out to the nation. The results of the study concur with the position taken by Matibini (2008:36) that public broadcasting in Zambia, would be more effective in a conducive democratic environment. Without this undue interference, it would dedicate its activities to serving the function of informing citizens about matters of public interest if it were free from government control.

7.1.1 ZNBC Advancing Good Governance, Democracy and Fair Competitive Electioneering?

The study has revealed that the public is not satisfied with the position that ZNBC is Zambia's public broadcaster though officially, it is so. This is against the background that section 7 of the ZNBC (Amendment) Act 2002 is not serving its intended purpose to direct ZNBC to provide for varied and balanced programming for the entire population. The further results show that ZNBC is not serving the public interest in that it is lacking in the provision of information that could help to develop free and informed opinions. Therefore it is a liability to the democratic process. The results of the study further show that ZNBC is not conforming to the attribute of reflecting the range of opinions and of political trends as reflected in the Act. It fails to broadcast news and current affairs programmes which are supposed to be comprehensive, unbiased, and independent.

The findings of the study indicate that ZNBC is not advancing good governance, democracy and fair electioneering because of its bias to the state against other competing interests such as the opposition political parties.

7.1.2 Legislation to Compel ZNBC to be all Inclusive?

The results of this study are that the ZNBC (Amendment) Act 2002 is not empowering ZNBC Radio and Television to operate as a true public broadcaster. It has no power to produce and present objective programmes and to accord equal opportunity and time to political actors, interest groups and individuals in the country.

As seen in Section 7 of the Act, there are many pronouncements in it which most respondents have said are well meaning except they cannot be implemented due to the lack of a specific compelling legislation on ZNBC to be neutral. There is a gap in the ZNBC (Amendment) Act which makes it easy for ZNBC to get away with unacceptable approaches to the way they handle programming to the disadvantage of the opposition political parties and civil society.

It is not possible for instance to sue ZNBC and win a legal suit relying on section 7 of the ZNBC (Amendment) Act 2002. For as long as the Act remains in force in its current form, the scenario will only be expected to go from bad to worse. The problem is that the Act is silent in that it does not say what sanctions would be taken against ZNBC in the event that Corporation was found guilty of the offence of favouring the government of the day against the opposition during election periods.

As a result of this, most respondents in both the qualitative and quantitative approaches to this study felt that parliament should come up with fresh legislation outside the ZNBC (Amendment) Act 2002 which will be seen to compel ZNBC to operate as a public broadcaster than now when the interpretation of public broadcaster and how it must operate is the prerogative of the government of the day. Another related view was that of civil society to call upon parliament to re-look the two Acts for possible amendments in order to strengthen them by attending to the lacunas so far identified.

The general public, the opposition political parties and the Civil Society Organisations have always blamed the Electoral Act of Zambia for the ineffectiveness of the law on making ZNBC operate as a public broadcaster. The Act in Section 13 only outlines the functions of ZNBC without saying what measures would be taken against it if it did not comply with the guidelines.

7.2 Conclusion

The findings confirm that the public's perception of ZNBC, Zambia's national broadcaster is actually a state broadcaster when it is supposed to operate as a public broadcaster. Even after the enactment of the ZNBC (Amendment) Act 2002, to give it the autonomy to operate freely without undue partisan political influence from the state, it continues to operate as a state broadcaster under the charge of MIBS.

It has been identified clearly that the fault is in the Acts that are supposed to be the guide to public broadcasting in Zambia. It is not true that ZNBC can become a true broadcaster only through political will or indeed good will by the board and management. This perception of ZNBC as a state broadcaster will only change if the government in collaboration with other stakeholders will act together and come up with definite solutions. The recommendations below are a step in this direction.

7.3 Recommendations

1. The first recommendation of this study is that Government and the stakeholders should immediately come together and request parliament to revisit the ZNBC (Amendment) Act 2002 and include in it a clause that will spell out binding punitive measures to be taken in the event that ZNBC does not follow the guidelines specified in the Act.
2. The second recommendation is that Government and the stakeholders should immediately come together and direct Parliament to revisit the Electoral Act of Zambia no. 90, 2006 to spell out measures to be taken in the event that ZNBC does not follow the ECZ guidelines.
3. The third recommendation is that government and the stakeholders should immediately come together and request Parliament to strengthen the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) to include the supervision of ZNBC and appointments of its Board of Directors.

The IBA will report its affairs directly to parliament than the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Services which is at all times susceptible to state influence. This will make parliament directly responsible for the affairs of ZNBC as a public broadcaster.

4. The fourth recommendation is that government and the stakeholders should immediately come together and request that the Civil Society and professional organisations such as PAZA will, by law, become a permanent member of the ZNBC board in order to make sure that there is wider representation from time to time when making decisions for ZNCB.
5. The fifth recommendation is that government and the stakeholders should immediately come together and direct that the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Services be primarily responsible for government policy matters and the dissemination of government information through the Chief Government Spokesperson and be completely divorced from ZNBC.
6. The sixth recommendation is that ZNBC should be funded directly from Parliament and not through the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Services as is the case now.
7. The seventh recommendation is that ZNBC should stop commercial advertising and rely on Radio and Television licensing and government funding in order to remain answerable to the people.

8. The eighth recommendation is that government should take back to parliament the Freedom of Information Bill for enactment. With the Freedom of Information Act in place, ZNBC will become a very effective tool and source of vital information as its reporters will have access to the needed information.
9. The ninth recommendation is that ZNBC should be allowed by law to professionalise its operations and begin to produce quality bias free programmes through the implementation of the ZNBC (Amendment) Act, 2002.
10. The tenth recommendation is that ZNBC should be allowed to come up with acceptable conditions of work such as transport, equipment, specialised training and improved salaries for its professional and other staff in order to motivate them to work effectively.

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