

**PRINT MEDIA COVERAGE OF HUMAN RIGHTS
IN ZAMBIA: A CASE OF *THE POST NEWSPAPER*
AND *ZAMBIA DAILY MAIL***

By

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**A dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of Master in Mass
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Declaration

I, **Thomas Mwakonkha Sakala**, declare that this dissertation represents my own work and has never been submitted for a degree, diploma or any other qualification at the University of Zambia or anywhere else in the world.

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Abstract

In general, the research aimed at analysing the print media coverage of human rights in Zambia as characterised by *The Post* and *Zambia Daily Mail* and to establish how they engage other actors in protecting and promoting human rights. Specifically, it sought to establish the magnitude and trends of human rights content in the two dailies; why and how they include rights issues in their content; how and to what extent they engage other actors to promote and protect human rights; the challenges they encounter in doing so; and whether their content can influence and effect meaningful change to the Zambian society. Accordingly, the study triangulated to collect data from the public, a human rights expert, newspaper staff, and did a content analysis of the two dailies for the month of April 2013. Data was analysed using SPSS and according to research questions.

The findings indicate that the magnitude of human rights in the two dailies is low across all the units of analysis - news stories, columns, editorials, letters-to-editor and advertisements and the available content is disproportionate – more of civil rights, economic and social rights, and less of political rights and cultural rights. Secondly, the inclusion of human rights hinges on both policy and individual journalistic conviction while the issues covered are subject to standard news selection criteria and weighted against economic goals. Thirdly, there is polarity on the aspect of engagement of other actors by the two dailies. The latter contend they engage other actors through columns, letters and as sources, while the former feel they are not availed the platform. Fourthly, the newspapers revealed challenges including victim averseness to disclose information; bureaucracy in obtaining evidence; and administrative challenges. Lastly, the human rights related change attributable to the two newspapers is marginal.

Ensuating the findings, the study recommends that: 1) Government enacts the FoIB for the media to easily access pertinent information to effectively promote and protect human rights. 2) Colleges, through the Ministry of Education and the Technical Education, Vocational and Entrepreneurship Training Authority (TEVETA) and universities should intensify teaching of and increase the number of human rights courses. 3) The media should play the mobilization and or advocacy role more often by running commentary on stories such as court cases as opposed to just reporting the verdict. 4) The media covers all segments of human rights rather than having a narrow view of human rights. 5) The media publicizes the available opportunities for audience involvement as well as the procedures to which inputs such as letters to the Editor, SMS and columns are subjected.

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A Chinese-born British writer and lecturer, Jung Chang, wrote:

‘Gentleness was considered “bourgeois”...Over the years of the Cultural Revolution, I was to witness people being attacked for saying “thank you” too often, which was branded as “bourgeois hypocrisy.”’

I am untroubled, our era is unprejudiced, because to the following people I could say “thank you” a countless times: my parents, Mr Samuel Sakala and Mrs Sitamulaho Sakala, thank you for believing in me in all I embark on in life. By the same token, singular thanks to Mr Alfred Sakala and Mrs Ellice Sakala, you are a people unrivalled.

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List of Abbreviations

ABC	Audit Bureau of Circulations
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CRP	Child Rights Protection
CSO	Central Statistical Office
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
ERB	Energy Regulation Board
FoIB	Freedom of Information Bill
GBV	Gender Based Violence
GRZ	Government of the Republic of Zambia
HR	Human Rights
HRCZ	Human Rights Commission of Zambia
HRE	Human Rights Education
IBA	Independent Broadcasting Authority
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
ICHRP	International Council on Human Rights Policy
IFJ	International Federation for Journalists
ITU	International Telecommunications Union
MISA	Media Institute of Southern Africa
MMD	Movement for Multi-party Democracy
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
PACRA	Patents and Companies Registration Agency
PAZA	Press Association of Zambia

SADC	Southern African Development Community
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
TBN	Trinity Broadcasting Network
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	United Nations Organisation
UNZA	University of Zambia
YHRI	Youth for Human Right International
ZANA	Zambia News Agency
ZANIS	Zambia News and Information Services
ZDM	<i>Zambia Daily Mail</i>
ZEC	Zambia Episcopal Conference
ZEMA	Zambia Environmental Management Agency
ZIS	Zambia Information Services
ZNBC	Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION OF THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction

The study is an analysis of the print media coverage of human rights in Zambia as characterised by *The Post* and *Zambia Daily Mail* and it also establishes how the two dailies engage other actors in protecting and promoting human rights. Specifically, it establishes the magnitude and trends of human rights content in the two dailies; why and how they include rights issues in their content; how and to what extent they engage other actors to promote and protect human rights; the challenges they encounter in doing so; and whether their content can influence and effect meaningful change to the Zambian society.

Accordingly, this chapter contextualises the study by looking at the role the media plays in society, the intersection of media and human rights and human rights in Zambia. It also provides an overview of the media in Zambia and gives a background of the newspapers under study, statement of the problem, research objectives and questions, significance of the study, and its delimitation.

1.1 Background of the study

Human rights, according to (United Nations (1948) are the basic rights and freedoms to which all humans are entitled. They are expressed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) adopted by the United Nations (UN) in 1948 and through international treaties.

Further to the UN effort, individual countries have mostly been seen as main actors in the upkeep of human rights. Unfortunately, according to (Hakemulder et al. 1998), States are often the very abusers of the rights of the citizens they are required to protect. Nevertheless, it should be noted that while states bear the primary responsibility in issues of human rights, every individual and every “organ of society” has an obligation to contribute to an atmosphere conducive to the enjoyment of human rights. This obligation is universal and concerns all actors, as the Preamble of the UDHR proclaims:

‘[E]very individual and every organ of society [...] shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these [human] rights...’

The above-mentioned “organs of society” take on various forms and include non-governmental organisations; indigenous and minority groups; (semi-) autonomous groups; human rights defenders; terrorists; and paramilitary groups. It is in this category that the media as an “organ of society” need be and or are included as actors in the protection and promotion of human rights. In line with this notion, McQuail (2000, p. 5) confirms ‘media constitute a separate “social institution” within society, with its own rules and practices, but subject to definition and limitation by wider society.’

Looked at in the manner above, the media is a potent tool that has been and continues to be used to effect change in Zambia and elsewhere in the world. Therefore, the media has potential to advance a social cause like human rights. Accordingly, Roy (2007) suggests that the media can play a major role in protecting and promoting human rights by making people aware of the need to promote certain values in the cause of human rights. He further notes that exposing of human rights abuses should be the minimum common agenda for the media. This sequentially could help to safeguard human rights.

For that reason, to protect and promote human rights in Zambia, the media is an important and indispensable actor. For instance, the media can perform this role by making people aware of their rights, exposing violations, focusing attention on people and areas in need of the protection of human rights and pursuing their cases until they achieve them (Ibid 2007). Human rights activism can also depend on testimony where the media allows the public to publish and spread evidence of violations, including using letters to the editor and video evidence. Further, through online and digital communications, people can advocate, inform, document and communicate their rights, and change the society they live in.

Following the above, the media in Zambia has the potential to provide a podium for human rights awareness. Moreover, Zambia has since the liberalisation of the economy in 1991 and the later implementation of related media policies in the successive years, witnessed a proliferation of electronic and print media outlets (GRZ 1996).

Nonetheless, even with such media proliferation, societies seemingly continue to suffer various forms of human rights abuse. Consequently, it is important to establish

the correlation between media content and aspects of society, particularly human rights; demonstrated the potential of the media to protect and promote human rights.

Thus, this research sought to analyse the media coverage of human rights in Zambia and establish the extent to which they engaged other actors in the protection and promotion of human rights. The research by design focused on print media because it was one sure way to cut on the huge amount of mass media coverage down to an appropriate budget size whilst allowing for an eminent and comprehensive study of a segment of the mass media.

Also, the research acknowledged that the phrase 'human rights' is used to denote a broad spectrum of rights ranging from the right to life to the right to cultural identity and that these rights cannot be rank ordered. In this research, therefore, four categories: civil rights, political rights, economic and social rights, and cultural rights were used to classify human rights.

However, in the Zambian constitution, there is a distinction made between civil, political, and cultural rights, on the one hand, and economic and social rights on the other. Since people in different circles use dissimilar classifications, the study reviewed the classes without claiming that the adopted categorization reflects a universal consensus. It was also clear that the various categories overlapped to a considerable extent.

1.1.1 The media and human rights

Long before the establishment of the human rights system, many other human rights issues preoccupied the media, issues such as child labour in nineteenth century in Europe, or the plight of workers and the poor in the depression of the 1930s or the writings of George Orwell (Migration News 2003). Even so, these issues were hardly presented in the language of rights thus, they were not thought of as human rights stories.

Accordingly, Roy (2007, p. 27) indicates that the media and human rights intersect in two main ways. One is the considerable degree of overlap of subject matter between the two areas given that much of reporting concerns matters that directly or indirectly have a human rights aspect. The second way is the fact that freedom of the media is itself a human right.

To take the first point of intersection: the emergence of the first widely circulated newspapers coincided almost exactly with the development of Enlightenment ideas of human rights in eighteenth century in Europe and North America (YHRI 2014). Indeed, some of the early advocates of the ‘rights of man’, such as Tom Paine, were themselves journalists. Equally, the First Amendment (1791) to the Constitution of the United States (1787) forbade any laws ‘abridging’ the freedom of the press (O’Neill 2011).

Thus, it is the first intersection between the concerns of human rights and media that the study is focussed on.

It was perhaps not until the 1990s, when the language of human rights permeated international relations and the media too began to talk of human rights. Today, the usage and visibility of the term has increased dramatically; so has the number of self-described human rights organizations (*Ibid*). Whether this signifies that human rights issues are more covered fully in the media now than before is, of course, another matter.

1.1.2 Human rights in Zambia

In the Republican Constitution, which is the supreme law in Zambia, human rights are provided for in the Bill of Rights found in Part III, ‘Fundamental Rights and Freedoms of an Individual.’ This section provides the basis for the adoption of all social, political, economic and cultural rights. Additionally, Article 125 of the Constitution of Zambia, mandated by the Human Rights Commission Act No. 39 of 1996 provides for the Human Rights Commission of Zambia (HRCZ) which is a national human rights institution established to inter alia investigate and remedy human rights violations and conduct human rights education. Finally, Zambia is a signatory to major UN and regional treaties protecting human rights.

However, aside HRCZ, there are a number of institutions established to promote and protect human rights, directly or indirectly, these include: the Judiciary, the National Assembly, the Judicial Complaints Authority, the Police Public Complaints Authority, the Zambia Police Service, the Commission for Investigations, and the Legal Aid Board.

1.2 Role of media in society

The media plays many roles in society, though, these roles are very much determined by a range of factors relating to the nature of the media itself, in particular the content of the media (news or current affairs versus light entertainment) and the medium used (print, broadcasting or internet based). Thus the media plays a number of different roles in society, including being informative, educational or entertaining. Therefore, the roles looked at here are not exhaustive but extensively relate to the study.

1.2.1 The media as public watchdog

The role of the media as ‘watchdog’ is a traditional characterisation of the role of the news media in particular. The media as described by (Biswas 2009), is:

‘A watchdog of the society [monitoring] the activities of public administrations and other institutions and practices that directly and indirectly affect the public.’

Thus, this watchdog role can take many forms depending on the nature of the medium concerned, as well as on the state of affairs in a particular country. Basically, this role is to provide information – to be the ‘eyes and ears’ of the public in monitoring what is happening in public life by reporting on daily events as they unfold. Therefore, this role can be particularly helpful to the monitoring of human rights abuses and their subsequent exposure.

1.2.2 The media as detective

The role of ‘detective’ is a critical adjunct to the role of the media as public watchdog; however, it is dealt with separately here to underscore the difference between reporting on public affairs, and journalistic investigations (retroactive) into human rights abuse. When journalists are well trained and have trusted sources of information, the media is able to investigate abuses way back even after they are settled in courts for example.

Therefore, the ability and willingness of the media to engage in investigative journalism is key to encouraging authorities such as the police and prosecutors to act against perpetrators of human rights abuse.

1.2.3 The media as public educator

The media plays a wide-ranging educative role in society. This can be done at a number of levels. For instance, in support of early childhood development, the media can, and often do, broadcast or publish basic educational materials aimed at teaching children (McQuail, 2000, p. 37). As is with *Education Post, Learning at Taonga Market* on ZNBC's Radio 2.

Nonetheless, education is broader than formal schooling, and the media can play this role. For example, the media can educate the public about a wide range of human rights issues as standalone or embedded in formal education or in general programming.

1.2.4 The media as an advocate

Linked to its general educational role, but more controversially, the media can also play the role of advocacy. It is controversial because the media is both an advocate and an impartial reporter (*Ibid*, p. 254). In this role, the media comments on issues of the day and advocates improvements by supporting firmly on the side of the ordinary citizen, whose life can be improved or worsened depending on how public authority is exercised. This role is also narrowly linked to the watchdog role of the media; however, it goes further. The media as advocate will report not only on what is happening but on what should be happening.

Thus, it is imperative that the media plays this role because sometimes improving basic human living conditions vis-à-vis human rights cannot happen without advocacy. Therefore, as much as the promotion and protection of human rights is everyone's occupational, the media can and has an important role to play in helping to bring about change in the way human rights are perceived and enforced in society. As (Roy, 2007, p. 27) proposes:

‘Media can play a major role in protecting and promoting human rights in the world. It can make people aware of the need to promote certain values in the cause of human rights which are of eternal value to the mankind. Peace, non-violence, disarmament, maintenance and promotion of ecological balances and unpolluted environment and ensuring human rights to all irrespective of caste, colour and creed should be the minimum common agenda for the media.’

Furthermore, through its information and education role, the media can make people aware of their rights and suggest ways and means by which they can solve their problems thereby empowering them to safeguard their own rights.

1.3 The Zambian media landscape

Traditional media, namely print, radio and television, remain the utmost established forms of media in Zambia. However, ensuing among other things the liberalisation of the economy in 1991, the 1996 media liberalisation policy and the advent of technology, Zambia has developed a diverse media landscape. Even then, press freedom remains comparatively low. Reporters Without Borders in its *2013 World Press Freedom Index* assessed press freedom in Zambia as improving but with noticeable problems. Zambia ranked 72 out of 179 countries from 86 in 2012. Freedom House assessed press freedom in Zambia as “partly free” in its 2013 survey.

In terms of media access, a research conducted by (AudienceScapes 2010) pointed out that 73 percent of all respondents said they had a radio available at home (in working order) while only 44 percent said they had a television. And 53 percent had a mobile phone and only 7 percent had access to the internet.

1.3.1 The broadcast media in Zambia

a) Television broadcasting

Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC) is the largest player in television. It operates its main channel (TV1), established in 1987, as well as a second, self-funded channel that began in 2010, TV2. The private channel, Muvi TV, which started in 2004, has the largest audience reach after ZNBC. Programmes are produced in English and vernacular. Other television stations include Prime Television, Chipata TV, Solwezi TV, Mobi TV, Trinity Broadcasting Network (TBN) and CBC TV.

Noteworthy, despite the opening up of the media sector over the last two decades, and the success of some commercial and community stations, ZNBC remains dominant because of its nationwide reach and its large market share. However, pay-per view satellite connections such as Multi-Choice Africa, a multichannel digital satellite television operator are slowly penetrating.

b) Radio broadcasting

Radio is the most dominant and widespread medium in Zambia (*Ibid*). According to (IBA 2015), there are 80 radio stations with full broadcasting licences in Zambia. The radio market is more diverse, comprising state, commercial, community and religious outlets. The state-owned ZNBC operates three radio stations: Radio 1 which broadcasts a mix of news, cultural and call-in programmes in seven vernacular languages; Radio 2 which produces programmes in English; and Radio 4 which is an English language entertainment station (African Media Barometer 2009). Zambia's commercial stations include the popular Radio Phoenix, which began in 1994. Others include Sky FM, Zambezi FM, Q-FM, Rock FM and Hot FM. There are also numerous community radio stations. At least each of Zambia's ten provinces has three or more community radio stations with limited radius, run mostly by non-profits, religious institutions or community. Some of which are Mazabuka FM, Radio Mano, and Chikaya.

In addition, there are at least three non-profit radio stations, UNZA Radio and Hone FM, run by educational institutions. The two fulfil the dual purpose of training students enrolled in media studies as well as delivering locally relevant information in their communities. The third one being Parliament Radio, which is run by National Assembly and is meant for broadcasting the proceedings of debates when parliament is in session (Nkandu 2008).

1.3.1.1 Digital migration

Zambia, like other countries in the SADC region, committed itself to the SADC Migration Plan, which set 31 December 2014 as the switchover date, in order to meet the ITU 2015 deadline.

Digital migration will allow for efficient utilisation of radio frequency spectrum. This in turn will release frequencies in the broadcasting bands for other Information Communication Technology (ICT) services in addition to value added broadcasting services such as 3D televisions and many others.

Further, according the Digital Migration Policy (2014), under the digital platform, 'the current broadcasting licensing framework shall be transformed into two broad licensing categories namely; content service provider licence and signal distributor

licence.’ Further, the migration is expected to yield some digital dividend – frequency will be freed-up, by implication more radio and television stations will be set up.

However, this shift will come with own challenges regarding to the general state of readiness in terms of policy and law, infrastructure, funding, and content. Like Habeenzu (2010) notes, ‘digitization has many potentials including creating a digital divide between those who can and those who cannot afford the requisite equipment.’ Therefore, digital migration will entail a change in the state of broadcasting as well as its regulatory framework.

1.3.2 Online media in Zambia

With the advent of technology, the internet availability and accessibility, windows of initiating web based media have taken centre stage in Zambia as is elsewhere in the world. In Zambia, the online media ranges from laudable websites to artless blogs. Distinguished is *The Zambian Watchdog* whose professionalism has been highly contested. Others include the *Lusaka Times* and blogs like *Mwebantu*, *Tumfweko*, *Kachepa 360*. In addition, *The Post*, *Times of Zambia*, *The Daily Nation* and *Zambia Daily Mail* equally publish their print editions online, though altered to suit the medium.

Further, given the hybrid nature of the internet; a number of radio and television stations are increasingly positioning themselves technology wise to stream online. Among them is Q-FM, Radio Phoenix, Zambezi FM and ZNBC TV 1 (Streema 2012).

1.3.3 The print media in Zambia

Newspapers are a significant part of the Zambian media landscape. The print media industry in Zambia dates as far back as 1906 when a one W. Tranter owned and published the *Livingstone Pioneer*, which is believed to be the first newspaper in the country. Not much is known about the paper, except it was weekly, partly hectograph and partly print and had a circulation mainly restricted to Livingstone (Kasoma 1986, p. 34). However, today the print media in Zambia has flourished - recording several newspapers and magazines varying in frequency, print quality, circulation and ownership among other distinctions. According to the National Archives records, as of 2014, there were over 400 registered publications yet only a few were active.

Remarkably, at the time of the inquiry, the National Archives was sorting out the records to comprise only the active newspapers.

There are two daily state-run newspapers, the *Times of Zambia* which includes the *Sunday Times* and the *Zambia Daily Mail* which includes *the Sunday Mail* (Makungu 2004, p. 13). *The Post* newspapers, *The New Vision* and *The Daily Nation* are privately owned and appear seven days a week. The three dailies are delivered to all the ten provinces in the country just like the two state-run newspapers. Other periodical newspapers include *the Church*, *ZBCN*, *The Farmer*, and *the Auto News*. There are also two teaching newspapers are also published in Lusaka, the *Beacon* by students from Evelyn Hone College journalism section and the *Lusaka Star* by students from the University of Zambia Mass Communication department (Nkandu 2008).

On the other hand, it is worth mentioning that during the pre-election period there is a perceptible trend of proliferation of new newspapers, which openly support certain political parties and only exist during this period. For example, during the 2011 tripartite elections such newspapers included *Stand Up for Zambia*, *the Supreme Times*, *Zambian Watchdog* and *the Zambian*.

Equally, the magazine market continues to grow and there are now at least five monthly, privately owned magazines in Zambia, including *The Bulletin and Record*, a news magazine; *Nkhani Culture and Afro Bride*, social magazines; the business publications, *Zambian Analysis*; and the Catholic Church magazine, *Icengelo*, most of which are distributed in Lusaka and the Copperbelt and Southern provinces. The government also publishes the *Government Gazette* which is a quarterly magazine by the Ministry of Commerce, Trade and Industry.

1.3.3.1 The Zambia Daily Mail

The *Zambia Daily Mail* is a limited company whose equity is solely subscribed by the government, it has a sister publication, *the Sunday Mail*. The newspaper ascended from *African Mail* in 1960, which was later, in 1962, called the *Central African Mail* (Kasoma, 1986, p. 85). The *Central African Mail* was co-owned by David Astor, then Editor of the *Sunday Observer* in London, Alexander Scott, a former Scottish doctor and Richard Hall. However, following financial difficulties in 1965, the Zambian government bought off the paper and renamed it the *Zambian Mail* in 1970. Actually, the paper only became a daily newspaper in the same year and was in 1983 *Zambia*

Daily (Ibid). And according to the 2012 *Media Sustainability Index*, the *Zambia Daily Mail* circulation stands at 22,000 copies.¹

1.3.3.2 The Post Newspapers

The Post newspapers is a private owned tabloid newspaper and was founded in July 1991 as a weekly Lusaka newspaper. It soon started publishing countrywide. By 1996, *The Post* had started publishing Monday to Friday and by 2000, *The Post* was publishing daily, becoming the most politically outspoken newspaper. According to (BBC 2009), the paper helped stop the then President FTJ Chiluba from amending the Constitution to enable him run for a third term.

The Sunday edition of the newspaper is called the *Sunday Post* while the Saturday one is called the *Saturday Post*. *The Saturday Post* contains a supplement on education called *Educational Post*. BBC rates *The Post* the most popular and biggest selling paper in Zambia.²

1.3.4 ZANIS and analogous institutions

The Zambia News and Information Services (ZANIS) is Zambia's only official news agency which stemmed from the merger of the Zambia Information Services (ZIS) and Zambia News Agency (ZANA). The agency gathers and distributes news within and outside Zambia and it has Bureaus in most parts of the country.

There are also other media related professional associations in the country including the Zambia Community Media Forum, Press Freedom Committee of the Post, Society for Zambian Senior Journalists, PAZA, ZAMEC, MISA-Zambia, the Commonwealth Press Union Zambian Chapter, and Southern African Editors Forum Zambian Chapter. Membership to these organizations is voluntary.

Zambia has no laws relating to the status of journalists in terms of legal registration. However as (Berger, 2007, p. 125) states, 'there is a purely administrative procedure that requires that journalists obtain press cards from ZANIS which is a state news agency.' Furthermore, Nkandu (2008) also notes that, 'foreign journalists are

¹ "Our circulation has leaped from less than 5,000 in 2011 to over 20,000 today [2014]. And as I speak, we will soon be ABC [Audit Bureau of Circulations] rated," former *Zambia Daily Mail* Managing Director, Anthony Mukwita, told the Parliamentary Committee on January 22, 2014.

² 'The *Post Newspaper* has a circulation of 70,000' (statistics from General Manager Goliath Munkonge, August 28, 2012). The figures could not be verified as the newspaper is not ABC [Audit Bureau of Circulations] rated.

regulated by law through application of the need for Work Permits and Press Passes in advance of their coming to Zambia to cover news. It is also an obligation that foreign news organizations wishing to send correspondents to Zambia must apply for work permits through Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Services. Foreign Journalists, must submit credentials regarding their assignments, events to be covered, areas in which activities are to be conducted and the duration of their stay in Zambia.’

1.4 Statement of the problem

The media today plays a decisive role in the development of society. Whereas the Zambian media has played this role, it appears to this researcher that they are doing less than necessary to accentuate protection and promotion of human rights in their coverage.

Evidently, reports by (Zambia Human Rights Country Report 2009; 2012; and 2013) exposed that Zambia’s human rights condition remained poor and even worsened. Correspondingly, (Zambia Episcopal Conference 2013) bared that despite having instruments and institutions designed to promote and protect human rights, the human rights situation in Zambia was deteriorating in a manner that was causing worry. Zambia Episcopal Conference (ZEC) cited human rights violations including the arbitrary use of power by Government officials, intimidation and threats of arrest against leaders and individuals who speak against Government, deportations and even threats to their own Catholic priests for sermons seen as critical of Government.

It is here that the media can play a salutary role of promoting and protecting human rights through awareness raising, mobilisation, correlation, surveillance, gatekeeping and agenda setting among other means. Like (ICHRP 2002) argues, ‘human rights issues become legitimate when supported by the media.’ Therefore, in view of the above, this research sought to analyse the print media coverage of human rights in Zambia as characterised by *The Post* and *Zambia Daily Mail* and establish how they engage other actors in protecting and promoting human rights.

1.5 Significance of the study

Policy significance, given the rise in support for human rights, globally and nationally, the timing was ripe for a study of the correlation between media coverage and human rights so as to gain an objective insight into the topic – pioneered in Zambia. Also,

since this research highlighted the complexities of the media's participation in protecting and promoting human rights, it helped provide a foundation for viable strategy(ies) for media to engage in human rights activism. Furthermore, despite the importance attached to human rights, only a handful of studies had examined what the media reported. This study filled in some of the gaps by examining the media's coverage of human rights. Lastly, stakeholders and common people consider human rights as a tool for individual and collective empowerment, social change, development, and conflict resolution among other things thus, necessitated research from all perspectives.

1.6 Objectives

1.6.1 General objective

In general, the research aimed at analysing the print media coverage of human rights in Zambia as characterised by *The Post newspaper* and *Zambia Daily Mail*, and establish how they engage other actors in protecting and promoting human rights.

1.6.2 Specific objectives

- 1.6.2.1 To establish the magnitude and trends of human rights content of *The Post* and *Zambia Daily Mail* newspapers.
- 1.6.2.2 To establish why and how *The Post* and *Zambia Daily Mail* include human rights issues in their content.
- 1.6.2.3 To find out how and the extent to which *The Post* and *Zambia Daily Mail* engage other actors to promote human rights
- 1.6.2.4 To identify the challenges that *The Post* and *Zambia Daily Mail* journalists encounter when covering human rights issues.
- 1.6.2.5 To establish whether *The Post* and *Zambia Daily Mail* human rights content can influence and effect meaningful change to the Zambian society

1.7 Research questions

In this context, the study sought to answer the following main questions:

- 1.7.1 What is the magnitude and trend of human rights coverage in *The Post* and *Zambia Daily Mail* newspapers?

- 1.7.2 Why and how do *The Post* and *Zambia Daily Mail* include human rights issues in their content?
- 1.7.3 How and to what extent do *The Post* and *Zambia Daily Mail* engage other actors to promote and protect human rights?
- 1.7.4 What challenges do *The Post* and *Zambia Daily Mail* journalists face when covering human rights issues?
- 1.7.5 Does *The Post* and *Zambia Daily Mail* human rights content influence and effect meaningful change to the Zambian society?

1.8 Delimitation

The study was carried out in Zambia's Lusaka city (Munali Constituency). Three townships (Avondale, Kaunda Square Stage II and Mtendere) provided the sample for the readership. Individually, two newspapers, *The Post* and the *Zambia Daily Mail*, provided newspaper samples for content analysis, practitioners for survey and other key persons for in-depth interviews.

Lusaka city was favoured because it has an advantage over other cities as it has a multi-ethnic population of migrants from other parts of the country and beyond (KMPG 2012). This attribute provided the researcher with a greater chance of reaching various categories of respondents at a reasonable cost. Further, the two newspapers are housed in Lusaka.

Also, the research by design focused on print media because it was one sure way of cutting on the huge amount of mass media coverage down to an appropriate size for the scope of this study. This also allowed for an eminent and comprehensive study of a segment of the mass media.

1.9 Conclusion

The chapter has specified a background to the study, looked at the role of the media in society vis-à-vis covering human rights in Zambia. It has also provided an overview of the media in Zambia and given a background of the newspapers under study. It has also drawn out the statement of the problem, research objectives and research questions, significance of the study, and the delimitation of the study. The next chapter discusses the literature review that relates to the media coverage of human rights.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter explores the literature documented on the media coverage of human rights. Firstly, the chapter brings out the literature about the media and human rights coverage at global level, then later outlines media and human rights coverage in Africa. It ends by looking at the media and human rights coverage in Zambia.

2.1 Media and human rights in Mexico

An ethnographic study of *how Editors choose which human rights news to cover* using a case study of Mexican newspapers was conducted by McPherson (2012). The study was conducted in Mexico in 2006 in the time preceding and following Mexico's first presidential election which many considered to be the country's transition to democracy. The study was aimed at providing an overview of what journalists try to do when they cover human rights stories and how these aims interact with overt influences on journalism, such as economic considerations and political pressures, to produce human rights news.

To achieve the above objective, the study developed a framework to illustrate how news selection occurred from the informational ether of every news day. The framework outlined that, information was assessed against basic criteria of newsworthiness. And if found to be newsworthy, the more a particular piece of information is in line with a newspaper's journalistic, economic, and political aims relative to other bits of information, the more likely it is to be published.

Thus, (*Ibid*) used the above assessment categories to describe what kind of human rights news survive winnowing at Mexican newspapers.

Firstly, the study, while acknowledging that in the broadest criterion – newsworthiness – was a hard-to-define concept – almost a sixth sense, revealed that even if information that appeared in print was by definition newsworthy, journalists did not, however, judge information on its newsworthiness alone. Much of the news they chose also served ulterior aims – the conglomeration of which could be referred to as a newspaper's editorial line.

Secondly, the research exposed that when journalists were asked about what news is, and in particular what human rights news is, they usually hemmed and hawed before tentatively embarking on an answer. That journalists could not easily describe how it was that they determined newsworthiness, the activity that dominated their working days, was a phenomenon.

Thirdly, the study revealed that Mexican newspapers characterize human rights newsworthiness as being about violations. Human rights news is – as journalists ruefully acknowledged – usually about their violation as one journalist echoed.

Fourthly, the study found out that the more timely a human rights story was, the more newsworthy journalists saw it as being. They referred to such a story as having ‘con-juncture’ (*coyuntura*) because of its relatedness to current events – what other journalists often call a ‘news peg.’

Fifthly, the study revealed that journalists recognized that they had a vital partner in coverage of human rights, and one that equally depends on them: the human rights community. Journalists spoke in particular of their duty to work with Mexico’s human rights commission by publishing their recommendations for redressing human rights violations issued to infringing institutions.

Furthermore, the study bared that some journalists called their human rights reporting an act of consciousness-raising, while others considered it a form of activism or almost-activism. As one reporter described it: ‘What happens to a lot of us working on this beat is that we feel that ... we have to do more than just inform; rather we must participate in the defence and the promotion of human rights.’

Overall, then, journalists involved in human rights reporting at Mexican newspapers see their coverage as both fulfilling their general democratic journalistic aims and meeting particular journalistic aims related to acting as watchdogs against power abuses and serving the public, serving economic and political aims.

Indisputable, (*Ibid*) had a lot of revelations relevant to the understanding of how Editors choose which human rights news to cover. However, by firstly developing a framework, the study was prejudiced in assuming and concluding that only three things (journalistic aims, economic aims and political aims) govern the selection of human rights news for all Mexican newspapers - ‘a straight jacket’ to fit them all. It is

therefore open to question that the three categories are only some of the aims that could lead to coverage of human rights stories. For example, one would contend that during a 'silly season', stories that do not meet any of the measures in the framework, would still command the headlines. Further, religious aims, cultural aims and many other factors outside the economic and political sphere could determine what gets winnowed at a particular time.

2.2 Media and human rights in the USA and Britain

Another study by Ovsiovitch (1993), on *human rights coverage in the media: A quantitative content analysis*, concluded that news media have long been seen as playing an influential role in politics. This influence can be seen in the area of international human rights too. It indicated that news reports are recognized as an informal means of documenting abuses. In turn, this shape public opinion and influence the development of foreign policy and the media helps keep human rights on the international political agenda.

The study explored human rights issues reported in the New York Times, Time magazine, the CBS Evening News, and the Times (London) for a 12 year period, 1978-1989. The findings revealed that media coverage of human rights in all four news sources focused on civil and political rights, most notably to issues involving the integrity of the person and political participation.

And an examination of the geographical news coverage of human rights found emphasis being placed on stories in Eastern Europe and Latin America. Regional coverage usually focused on a small number of countries, most notably the Soviet Union and Poland, in Eastern Europe, and Argentina, Chile and El Salvador, in Latin America.

One important distinction was noted when examining the Times' geographic coverage. The London paper gave priority first to human rights issues involving the European Community. Otherwise, the geographic emphasis was similar to reports in the US media.

The study also examined the linkages between the media's coverage of human rights and the development of foreign policy. Between August and September, 1991, a

questionnaire was mailed to Congressional committee staffers in order to seek their views on the news media's coverage of human rights issues. The respondents acknowledged that media information can influence policy development at least some of the time, while over 40 percent of the respondents believed that news coverage of human rights often influences policy development.

Certainly, Ovsiovitch's study is cardinal to understanding media coverage of human rights, however, the findings on the geographical coverage could be greatly influenced by a lot of things thereby subject to discussion. For example, the concentration of human rights on Latin America and Eastern Europe and given the period of the study, the timing coincides with the capitalist ideological influence on the media given that most of the countries in these regions were aligned to the socialist movement. This is theorized by Karl Marx when he explains how the owners of the means of production (media owners in this case) are capable of using them to achieve their intended goals be it economic, political or social goals (McQuail 2000, p. 76).

And in another study, Nwankwo (2011) reported in a dissertation (*The Role of the Media in Promoting Human Rights: An analysis of the BBC documentary, 'Chocolate: the bitter truth'*.) submitted in partial fulfilment for master's degree in Human Rights Practice that the media do have a role to play in human rights promotion. And that this role is important because the mass media audience is often averse to human rights programmes as they consider them boring. However, the seemingly boring human rights programmes can be made attractive when the media adopt a technique, which attracts the audience interest, and attention to human rights programmes.

2.3 Media and human rights in Africa

In Africa, *The Amnesty International 2011 Report* indicates that, 'much needs to be done to secure human rights in Africa, but "the tide is turning" and mobile phones and FM radio have arguably done more than most other conventional methods to pursue this objective.'

2.3.1 Media and human rights in Ghana

Arguably, African media are important for people to know their rights: A recent study on the impact of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child in Ghana showed that the largest source of information for the public on the Convention and what it means for them is the media (IFJ 1999).

The report further contends that awareness is the key to the promotion of rights. Citizens must be able to celebrate achievements and successes. Media have a role to play in reporting good examples of tolerance, peace, and respect for human rights. It is not all-bad news dominated by conflict and strife. In addition, that promoting human rights required close contact with other NGOs active in areas covered by the programme such as Women's media associations, child rights groups, human rights leagues and other international human rights groups.

2.3.2 Media and human rights in Kenya

And in Kenya, media has been used to further the domestication and implementation of the Protocol on the Rights of Women in Africa. From 2007, as part of the Solidarity for African Women's Rights (SOAWR) coalition advocacy strategies, The African Women's Development and Communication Network (FEMNET) working closely with FAHAMU and the South-African-based Community Media for Development (CMFD) produced a radio drama play entitled "CROSSROADS". This six-part series aimed at creating awareness on the provisions of the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa. The Protocol is a ground-breaking regional human rights instrument that protects the rights of women in Africa with innovative provisions not sufficiently covered in other national and international human rights instruments.

Radio is the most popular mass medium in Africa. With the emergence of the community radio movement, radio is reaching beyond the masses in urban and semi-urban centres to localized communities. Through this creative and easy to understand drama series, it is hoped that more countries will not only ratify the Protocol but also take concrete steps to domesticate and implement the Protocol, so that African women can fully take advantage of its provisions.

And in 2010, FEMNET collaborated with the national Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC) to air the CROSSROADS for a period of six weeks (FEMNET 2012).

2.4 Media and human rights in Zambia

In Zambia, Muchangwe (2012) conducted a study to establish the extent and quality of coverage of adolescent sexual reproductive health (ASRH) coverage by Zambian newspapers (*The Post*, *Times of Zambia* and *Zambia Daily Mail* newspapers) and to ascertain whether this coverage is adequate or not. The research defined adequate as having about 25 percent and above of the stories in a particular newspaper on a topic or subject, over a given period. The study investigated whether these newspapers had policies in place to guide them when covering ASRH.

From the study, Muchangwe discovered that ASRH coverage by Zambian newspapers is very low and is not given the importance or prominence it deserves. And both the quantitative and qualitative analyses of the newspaper content indicated that ASRH issues are given very little priority especially that only 15 articles were covered in the six months selected for analysis. After examining a total of 549 newspaper issues of *The Post*, *Zambia Daily Mail* and *Times of Zambia*, a total of 224 reproductive health articles were found to be the number of articles published during the study period. This culminated to percent lower than 7, thus, indicating low coverage of the same.

Furthermore, research findings also revealed the non-existence of policies to guide coverage of ASRH thereby confirming the triviality the newspapers attach to ASRH issues. Her finding also showed that not much prominence was given to the ASRH articles that were published vis-à-vis placement in the paper; most of the stories were placed in the inside pages and not as page lead or front page stories. In-depth coverage of issues though at a maximum did not really have so many stories to show for it considering that six months of coverage was being analysed.

Chama (2008) conducted another rights related research on the communication strategies of the Human Rights Commission of Zambia (HRCZ) in the dissemination of human rights information and its impact on the public. Chama looked at the public's source of human rights information and how they perceived messages, they received.

Further, he analysed the factors that influence the public to access different types of information.

Nonetheless, (*Ibid*) focused only on the HRCZ engagement of the media including utilization of the newspapers. Thus, this research focused on how the print media engage organisations such as HRCZ. Needless be, his findings revealed that 90.5 percent of the respondents knew something about human rights and accessed human rights information through the media. The majority of the respondents from the public stated that their most appropriate source of human rights information was radio. They also said they first heard about the HRCZ from the radio adding that they regularly accessed human rights information through radio.

Further, the study also revealed that the majority of the ordinary people felt they were not really engaged in the communication of human rights in terms of participatory communication.

In addition, in a study of the communication strategies employed by the Ministry of Labour and Social Security to eliminate the most forms of child labour in Zambia (Chooye-Madondo 2002), established:

‘There is a progressive abuse of children’s rights in Zambia and there is need to take advantage of the functions of mass communication in the communication of the rights of the children in Zambia.’

The functions of mass communication as outlined in (McQuail, 2000, p. 47) include surveillance, correlation, cultural transmission, entertainment, education, and mobilization. Subsequently, (Chooye-Madondo 2002) submitted that the above stated functions were vital in the communication of children’s rights.

2.5 Contribution to literature

The review of literature indicated that a number of studies had been conducted concerning media coverage of human rights, directly or indirectly, even though there is a dearth of literature on Zambia. And that many scholars and researchers consider media to have an indispensable role in the promotion of human rights. However, it also came out clear that there are a lot of factors which play for bits of information to pull through as news, be it human rights information or any other information.

Further, as illustrated throughout this chapter, there are a lot of studies outlining the ways in which social movements, including the human rights movements, have used the mass media to further their cause in the past. However, there had not been a study specifically analysing the print media coverage of human rights in Zambia. Same goes for one on the extent to which they engaged other actors to promote and protect human rights. This research provided that perspective, thus, added to the literature.

2.6 Conclusion

The chapter has presented and reviewed the literature relating to the study while acknowledging the dearth of literature and research relating to the print media coverage of human rights in Zambia. The next chapter looks at the methodology employed in the research.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the specific methodological approaches and procedures adopted for this study. It describes the sample size, sampling techniques, and the data collection methods. The chapter also describes the study population, instrumentation, coding, limitations of study and procedures for data analysis.

3.1 Research Design

The study employed a combination of exploratory and descriptive approaches. This was to ensure that the then understudied area was given sufficient attention from study tools including descriptive statistics.

3.1.1 Research methods

The research used both quantitative and qualitative methods, under which the research exploited the following in data collection:

- a) Content analysis of newspapers (Quantitative)
- b) Quantitative survey (Audience and Journalist survey)
- c) In-depth interviews (Qualitative)

3.1.1.1 Content analysis

The content analysis was the primary data collection method from *The Post* and *Zambia Daily*. According to McQuail (2000, p. 551), content analysis is ‘a technique for the systematic, quantitative and objective description of media texts, that is useful for certain purposes of classifying output, looking for effects and making comparisons between media and over time or between content and “reality”’.

Therefore, news stories, editorials, columns, advertisements and letters to the editor were all used as units of measure. As a result, the researcher conducted a physical search for manifest human rights related content and noted the relevant detail in a special coding sheet in order to establish both the quantity and trends of human rights content as covered by the two newspapers.

Disparately, the two newspapers, *The Post* and *Zambia Daily Mail* were sampled purposively based on their wide coverage, and reach. Put differently, these newspapers circulate to most parts of the country and characterise the major print media and a dichotomy in terms of ownership - the private and public print media. This is so, because between the two state newspapers, *Zambia Daily Mail* was preferred to *Times of Zambia* given the financial woes the former was going through at time of designing the study (Mwenay 2013). Besides, there were also resilient calls from some sections to privatise the paper Mulenga (2013). And looking at the other notable private daily newspapers (*The New Vision* and *The Daily Nation*), very little is known as regards to their impact, circulation and reach, all of which is vital information for profiling. Thus, the above chosen newspapers were substantial for sampling purposes and for consistency in terms of data collection and analysis.

a). Sample size for content analysis

The analysis run for a period of one month, and the month of April [2013] was purposively selected because it is the only month that does not have official human rights related holidays thus envisaged to give a true snapshot of human rights coverage. Owing to this, a total number of 60 newspapers were analysed.

b). Coding sheet

To aid analysis, a pre-coded sheet was used. Simply put, a coding sheet is a basic instrument usually used to gather data when content analysis is the preferred research design in a study. The coding sheet(s) comprised content categories for each unit of measure. See Table 1.

Table 1. Coding sheet(s) summary for content analysis

News stories	Columns
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human rights Classification • Type of article • Domestic or foreign • Usage of research data • Picture • Human rights issue/subject • Total number of stories • Total number of human rights stories • Headline treatment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human rights Classification • Written by Expert • Usage of research data • Prescribing solution • Language used easy to comprehend • Human rights issue/subject • Total number of columns • Total number of HR columns
Letter to the Editor	Editorials
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human rights classification 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human rights classification

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Writer’s location • Usage of research data • Any response • Total number of HR letters 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Usage of research • Is it prescribing solution • Length • Total number of HR editorials
Advertisements	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human rights classification • What is advertisement suggesting • Human rights issue/subject • Number of human rights advertisements 	

Furthermore, the study used the Zambian Constitution, particularly Part III which is the Bill of Rights as a frame of reference. Thus, the analysis across all the above five content categories was based on the following themes as extracted from the Bill of Rights:

- a) Civil rights (e.g. right to life, human dignity, and equality before the law)
- b) Cultural rights (e.g. Language and intellectual property rights)
- c) Political rights (e.g. freedom of association, and right to participate in politics)
- d) Social and economic rights (e.g. social security, health, and education)

3.1.1.2 Quantitative survey

Two quantitative surveys were conducted. In the first quantitative survey, a questionnaire was used to collect data on media coverage of human rights from media practitioners consisting of reporters and editors from the newspapers under study. The questionnaire was self-administered and consisted both open-ended and closed-ended questions. The sample size for media practitioners was 16 for *Zambia Daily Mail* and another 16 for *The Post*. However, only 13 questionnaires were returned from *Zambia Daily Mail*, making a total of 29 media practitioners. The practitioners were randomly picked from the news desks provided by the two newspapers with each desk having almost the same number.

The second quantitative survey was conducted for the audience. The research employed Multi-Stage Cluster Sampling procedure, which is a sampling procedure in which a population is divided into clusters of geographical boundaries. The following steps were taken:

- a) Firstly, Lusaka was purposively chosen, for the reasons outlined in chapter one.

- b) Secondly, the population of Lusaka district was divided into seven constituency clusters and from there, Munali Constituency was randomly selected.
- c) Thirdly, the different townships in Munali Constituency were categorised into three main groups; high density; medium density; and low density townships/residential areas. And from each category, one township was randomly selected. This resulted in the selection of Avondale for low density area, Kaunda Square Stage II for medium density area and Mtendere for high density area.
- d) Further, the researcher did another random sampling of the names of streets and sections in areas that were sampled within each township.
- e) After the above, the researcher used random systematic sampling at the level of households.
- f) To choose a starting point in each street, random sampling was employed.

Based on the above procedure, a sample of 100 households from the three areas; high, medium and low-density areas was selected and questionnaires were proportionally distributed with help from trained research assistants. To ensure proportionate distribution of questionnaires, the following formula was used:

$$S = \frac{h}{H} \times 100$$

H = total number of households for Avondale, Mtendere and Kaunda Square Stage II, h = the total number of households in each particular township, S = number of questionnaires reserved for each township and 100 is the household sample size.

The population of 16 Years and Older who were the target population in Munali Constituency is 154,018 while the total population of Munali constituency is 261,975 with 53,927 households (CSO, 2012). While the individual township households were as follows: Avondale (1,737), Kaunda Square Stage II (2,535), and Mtendere (10,155) (CSO, 2000). This brought the total number of households to 14, 427. See Table 2.

Table 2. *Proportional distribution of audience quantitative survey research sample*

Township	Formula	Questionnaires
Avondale (low density)	$1,737/14,427 \times 100 =$	12.03 (12)
Mtendere (high density)	$10,155/14,427 \times 100 =$	70.38 (70)

KSS II (medium density)	$2,535/14,427 \times 100 =$	17.57 (18)
Total number of questionnaires		99.98 (100)

3.1.1.3 In-depth Interviews

In depth interviews were conducted for the collection of qualitative data and an interview schedule was used for these interviews. Accordingly, interviews were conducted with the Editorial Director and Research Manager for *Zambia Daily Mail* and *The Post* respectively. One more interview was conducted with the HRCZ Chief – Information, Education and Training. In total, three in-depth interviews were conducted. All these were purposively sampled as they are the people endowed with information on the subject either by virtue of their position or experience in media or human rights matters.

3.2 Data analysis

The appropriate statistical suites, SPSS 16.0 and Excel were used to analyse the responses elicited through the media practitioner and audience survey questionnaires. These were analysed by frequency counts and simple percentages among others. In the same vein, responses obtained through the in-depth interview schedule, were analysed and interpreted in line with the research questions raised for the study or themes and sub-themes that emerged from the findings as it were.

3.3 Ethical considerations

Participation in the study was voluntarily; no subject was coerced to take part. Equally, ultimate confidentiality was exercised in terms of subject identity by utilising numbers to identify questionnaires as opposed to names. Further, all the information from the respondents was treated as confidential and solely used for this study.

3.4 Limitations of the study

Limitations related to this study were firstly, the fact that the study was print-media specific and a case study. While the focus on print media was purposive, it is important to underscore the fact that the print media is only one of many mass media outlets. An argument can certainly be made that the print media can be used as a proxy for media coverage as a whole, though that certainly has its limitations. Therefore, generalisation of the findings should be done with caution.

The other important limitation to the study is that some media practitioner respondents were questionnaire averse and fatigued thus took a long time in answering the questionnaires. Others failed to return the questionnaires, however, this did not affect the findings as a substantial sample was still attained and complemented by other methods engaged in study.

3.5 Conclusion

This unit has looked at the methods used in the study, being, content analysis, in-depth interviews and the quantitative surveys as employed in the study. The chapter has also outlined the procedures for sampling and analysis, described the study population, instrumentation, the coding and the limitations of the study. The next chapter is the theoretical and conceptual framework.

CHAPTER FOUR

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

4.0 Introduction

Without absolute unanimity, scholars have advanced many theories to describe the effect and role of the media in society. Similarly, this research found it practical to anchor on the gatekeeping theory and the agenda setting theory. Further, this section defines the key concepts used in the study.

4.1 Conceptual and operational definitions

4.1.1 Definition of concepts

The key concepts were isolated and defined for the benefit of the readers. In this study, the key words used include:

a) Media

Media are channels of communication that serve many diverse functions, such as dissemination of news and information, entertainment, sport with either mass or specialised appeal. Types of media include print and electronic (Taylor 2006). The media for mass communication are radios, newspapers, televisions, magazines, the internet and other specialised communication media.

b) Print media

The modern media as known today began with a printed book though at the time it was regarded as a repository of wisdom not primarily as a means of communication per se. Hence, the successful application of technology to the reproduction of texts in place of handwriting, about the mid-15th century, was merely the first step in the development of a 'media institution'. Thereafter, printing progressively became a new craft and a significant branch of commerce and later printers transformed from traders to publishers (McQuail 2000).

Thus, for this study, print media refers to the lightweight, portable, disposable publications printed on paper and circulated as physical copies in form of books, magazines, newsletters and other related materials with a bias on newspapers. These are published regularly and have frequent appearance.

c) Content

According to McQuail (2000), media content refers to messages produced by a few for the many and delivered to large audiences simultaneously through print or electronic media. Thus, in this study, content particularly refers to news stories, advertisements, columns, and letters-to-editor and editorial comments produced by the media.

d) Promote

According to the Oxford English dictionary (2007), promote means to further progress of something, especially a cause or to support or actively encourage. Thus, in this study, promote means furthering the progress of human rights.

e) Protect

Keep safe from harm or injury and in this study, it entails to defend and guard against loss and infringement of human rights (Ibid 2007).

f) Audience

According to (Allor cited in McQuail 2000, p. 360), ‘the audience exists nowhere; it inhabits no real space, only positions within analytical discourses’. Thus, the term has an abstract and undecided character and the reality to which the term refers is diverse and always varying. Thus, this study defines audience as a collective term for the “receivers” in the simple sequential model of the mass communication process involving source, channel, message, receiver, and effects (Schramm 1955).

g) Media coverage

Media coverage can be defined as the way in which a particular piece of information is presented by media either as news, entertainment or as infotainment. Thus, it can be defined based on two important elements - the type of mass media used be it radio, TV, internet or newspapers, and the style of coverage.

The coverage style could be biased coverage which refers to presentation of information in an inclined manner - coverage is either supporting a particular view or opposing a particular view. It could also be un-biased coverage which refers to impartial presentations of facts and figures in a matter-of-fact manner instead of taking any particular stand on the issue. Lastly, coverage could be interactive which refers to

the presentation of information and also including audience views in it, thereby making the coverage interactive (Manohar 2008).

Thus, as used in this study, media coverage means the extent or degree to which human rights issues are observed, analysed, and reported by the print media as characterised by *The Post newspaper* and *Zambia Daily Mail*.

h) Human rights

Human rights are basic rights and freedom to which all human beings are entitled by merely being human. 'All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and right, they are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in spirit of brotherhood.' Article 1 of the UDHR adopted by General Assembly Resolution 217 (III) of 10th December 1948 (UN 2007). Thus, Human rights are a series of rights and freedoms that all human beings are entitled to and they are about treating others with dignity and respect (Media Trust 2009). Accordingly, this research only embraced those rights outlined in the Bill of Rights, which is part III of the Zambian Constitution.

i) Civil rights

The term 'civil rights' is often used with reference to the rights set out in the first eighteen articles of the UDHR, almost all of which are also set out as binding treaty norms in the ICCPR. From this group, a further set of 'physical integrity rights' has been identified and concerns the right to life, liberty, and security of the person. These offer protection from physical violence against the person, torture and inhuman treatment, arbitrary arrest, detention, exile, slavery and servitude, interference with one's privacy and right of ownership, restriction of one's freedom of movement, and the freedom of thought, conscience, and religion.

Another group of civil rights is referred to under the collective term 'due process rights'. These pertain, among other things, to the right to a public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, the 'presumption of innocence', and legal assistance. Thus, in this study, these are all rights that relate to political and social freedoms and equality of citizens in Zambia as provided for in part III of the Zambian Constitution.

j) Political rights

In general, political rights are those set out in Articles 19 to 21 UDHR and are codified in the ICCPR. They include freedom of expression, freedom of association and assembly, the right to take part in the government of one's country and the right to vote and stand for election at genuine periodic elections held by secret ballot.

k) Economic and social rights

The economic and social rights are listed in Articles 22 to 26 in the UDHR. They are also developed and set out as binding treaty norms in the ICESCR. These rights provide the conditions necessary for prosperity and wellbeing. Economic rights refer, for example, to the right to property, the right to work, which one freely chooses or accepts, the right to a fair wage, a reasonable limitation of working hours, and trade union rights. Social rights are those rights necessary for an adequate standard of living, including rights to health, shelter, food, social care, and the right to education.

l) Cultural rights

The UDHR lists cultural rights in Articles 27 and 28: the right to participate freely in the cultural life of the community, the right to share in scientific advancement and the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary, or artistic production of which one is the author. In this study, cultural rights refer to those rights relating to minority groups and intellectual rights in the Zambian Constitution Bill of Rights.

4.2 Theoretical framework

Many studies have indicated viability of the agenda setting and gatekeeping theories. Therefore, their analysis was helpful in understanding the inclusion or omission of human rights in media content in relation to the media's ability to cover human rights issues.

4.2.1 Gatekeeping theory

Katz and Lazarsfeld (1995), defined Gatekeeping as the controlling of a strategic portion of a channel, so as to have the power of decision over whether whatever is flowing through that channel will enter the group or not. In other words, it involves a series of checkpoints that the news has to pass through before it gets to the public

(McQuail 2000, p. 276). Through this process many people have to decide whether or not the news is to be seen or heard. Gatekeepers of the media are message filters, and they include reporters, writers, editors, producers and even government officials. And like Shoemaker (1991) rightly noted, the concept involves every aspect of message selection, handling and control.

In other ways, gatekeeping refers to the choices and selections made by editors to determine what should appear and what should not appear in a newspaper, attempts to explain the subjectivity that goes with the news production processes. On the whole, it creates a connection between the choices of information that media give to the public to the powers conferred on the gatekeepers, in this case editors and journalists. According to this theory, editorial gatekeepers choose what news to use and how to use them and these selection procedures inevitably result in the reflection of the gatekeepers' ideologies and organisational beliefs (McGregor 1997).

Therefore, the gatekeeping theory becomes relevant to this study as it applies to the approaches taken by the media in reporting everyday events. It is recognized that newspapers report similar events all the time but take different approaches and positions to report these events. This arguably is determined by many factors such as social and political bias and economic demands of shareholders, advertisers, audiences and gate keepers' views. Through gate keeping processes, all newspapers get opportunities to advance their preferred views inter alia, human right in this case.

4.2.2 The Agenda setting theory

The Agenda setting theory is the second theory that relates to this study. A careful discussion would be done on the theory as it relates to the subject matter. Akpabio (2005, p. 176) posits:

‘There can be doubt about the fact that there is more news everyday than the media can possibly accommodate. It is equally true that there could be a dearth of news too much so that what on a good day would not even merit a mention could make headlines. However, because the former scenario is the reality, media gatekeepers using news judgement criteria pick and choose what constitutes the day's news.’

It should be noted that a growing number of studies have attempted to construct integrative models that relate media coverage and public opinion. The interrelationships between these variables are essential to understanding the world in

which people live (Yeali 2007). On this note, various scholars have highlighted different ways the effects of the relationships reflect in the lives of the people. They stressed that the media set agenda on issues and events as mentioned earlier. In other words, it is believed that the media set agenda for various reasons at their disposal as noted above (Akpabio 2005), through the various ways they package and disseminate the news, information, and entertainment contents to the masses.

Notably, McCombs and Shaw coined the term agenda setting in 1972 with a core idea that the media emphasis on an issue influenced the audience to also view the issue as important. The media attach certain weights to news stories through placement, size, and frequency of appearance of such stories. Agenda setting posits that audiences learn these salient issues from the news media, thus incorporating a similar set of weights and importance into their own personal agenda (McQuail, 2000, p. 426). Therefore, by focusing repeated and major attention on an event or set of related events, the media can transfer that event into an issue to be highly discussed by the masses – public agenda. Consequently, agenda setting is viewed as the power of the media to structure issues. This implies that the mass media pre-determines what issues are important in any given society.

Henceforth, this theory is valid to this study in that the media can set the agenda of issues they consider important such as human rights issues. The media can draw the audience's attention when they are presenting human rights issues concerning them. Consequently, the audience internalise the media agenda, attach importance to it and adopt it as their own personal agenda.

4.3 Conclusion

The unit has the chapter has defined the key concepts used in the study. Further, it has discussed the agenda setting theory and the gatekeeping theory as they relate to the study. The next chapter is the presentation of the findings.

CHAPTER FIVE

PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

5.0 Introduction

The chapter presents and interprets the findings of this study. The findings are presented according to the main objectives or research questions as it were. Thus, this section is divided into five main themes and these are: the magnitude and trends of human rights coverage in the newspapers under study; the ways of including human rights issues in reportage; the engagement of other actors in promotion and protection of human rights by the two dailies; the challenges journalists encounter in covering human rights stories; and the ability of the two newspapers to influence meaningful human rights related change in Zambian societies

5.1 Findings

5.1.1 What is magnitude and trend of human rights content of *The Post* and *Zambia Daily Mail* newspapers?

The first objective of the research was to establish the magnitude and trends of human rights coverage by the two newspapers. To attain this objective, the research employed a message content analysis by conducting a physical search for human rights related content and noted the detail in a coding sheet. Accordingly, the two newspapers were assessed independently while news stories, editorials, columns, advertisements and letters to the editor were all used as units of measure.

5.1.1.1 Newspaper content analysis findings

a) News stories

In total, *The Post* published 1,357 stories in the month of April 2013, from which 68 stories were human rights related translating to 5 percent. In terms of classification, the bulk of the stories were civil rights related at 63.2 percent, 17.6 percent economic and social rights, 10.3 percent political rights and 8.8 percent cultural rights. Furthermore, 55 of the 68 stories were primary stories while only 13 stories were secondary. Primary stories are those reported on first time occurrence while secondary refer to those stories reported from courts of law. And in terms of proximity, 82.4

percent domestic while 17.6 percent were foreign. Lastly, only two out of the 68 stories were follow-up stories.

For *Zambia Daily Mail*, a total of 1,254 news stories were published, from which 82 stories were human rights related, a share of 6.5 percent. Further, the classification of these stories showed that most of the stories were inclined to civil rights and economic and social rights at 63.4 percent and 29.3 percent respectively. Political and cultural rights featured least at 3.7 percent each. Further, of the 82 stories, 67 were primary stories while 15 were secondary stories. Another distinction was made showing that 90.2 percent of these stories were domestic news whereas only 9.8 percent were foreign news. Also, only five of the 82 stories were follow-up stories. See Figure 1 for distribution of news stories and distribution of human rights stories and Figure 2 for their classifications respectively.

Figure 1. *Distribution of news stories*

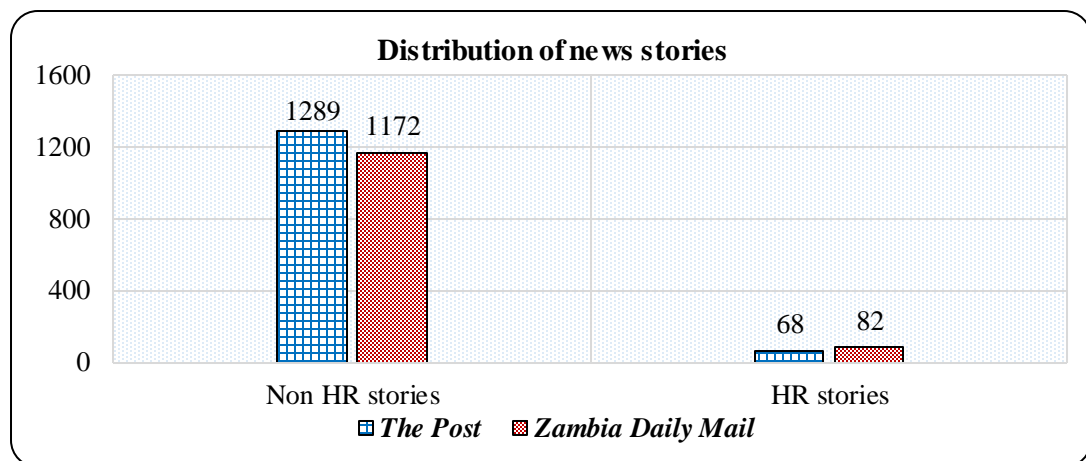
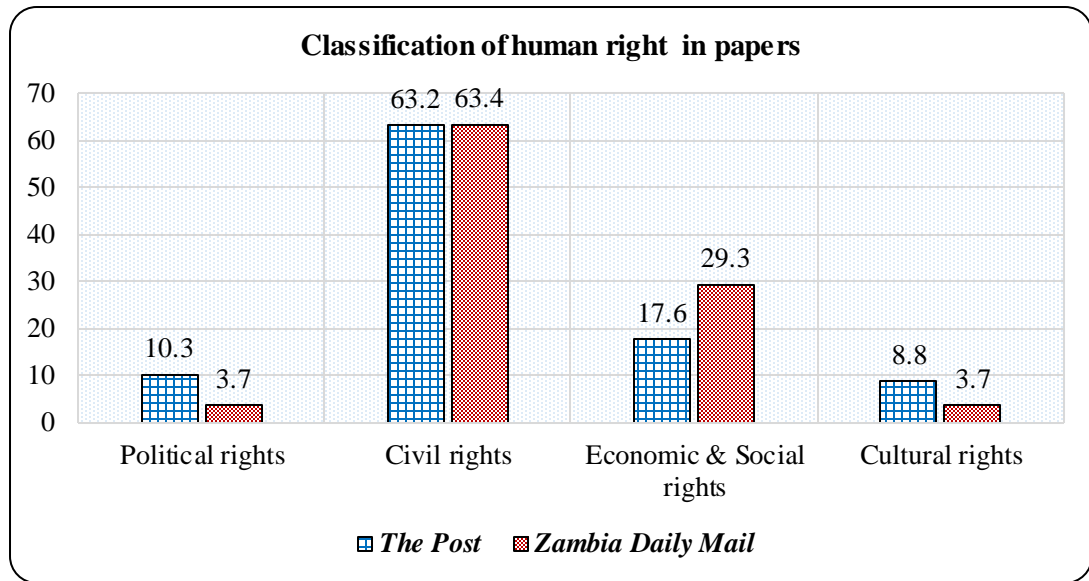


Figure 2. Classification of human right in The Post and Zambia Daily Mail



i. Human rights coverage per issue

Figure 3 and 4 show the distribution of human rights related stories in terms of specific rights. In *The Post*, 30.9 percent of the stories recorded were on children’s rights, 8.8 percent was recorded for right to life and another 8.8 percent for cultural rights. Also, a significant 7.4 percent was recorded for stories on protection from discrimination. In *Zambia Daily Mail*, the distribution of human rights related stories show the majority of the stories recorded were Children’s Rights at 20.7 percent. Also, a significant 15.9 percent of stories on the right to equality of both genders were also recorded. Labour relations, right to life, and rights of suspects recorded 8.5 percent, 7.3 percent and 6.1 percent in that order.

Figure 3. Frequency distribution of human rights news stories in *The Post*

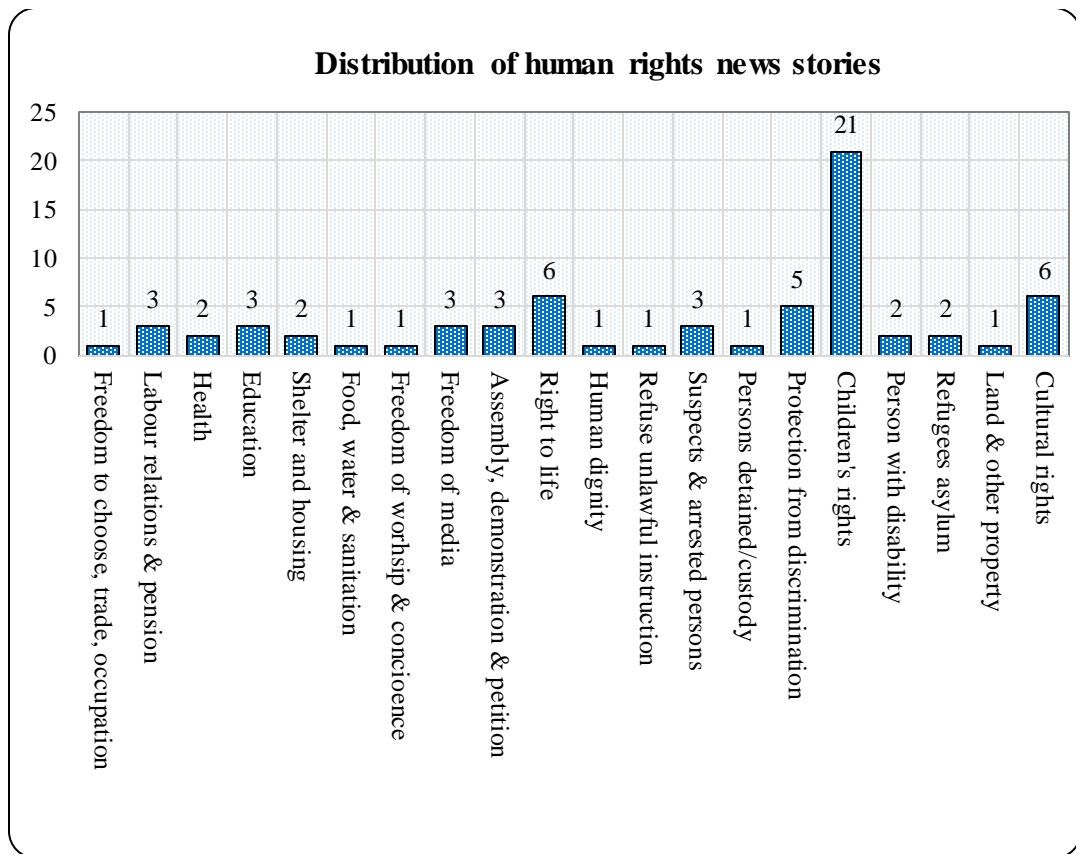
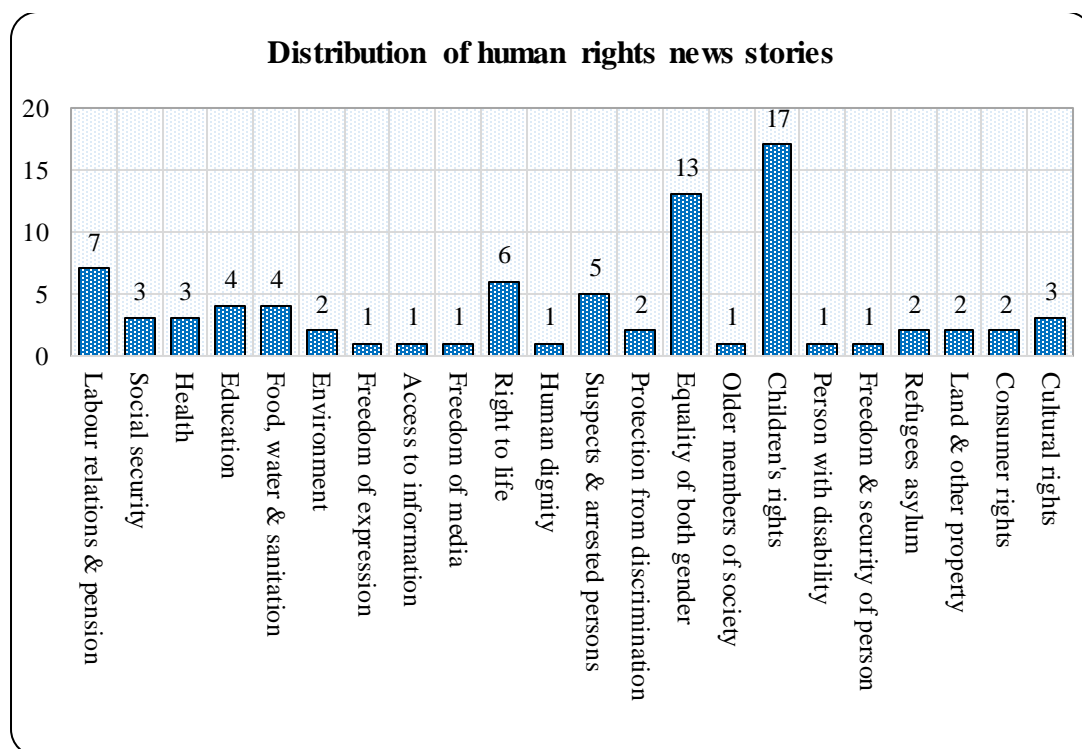


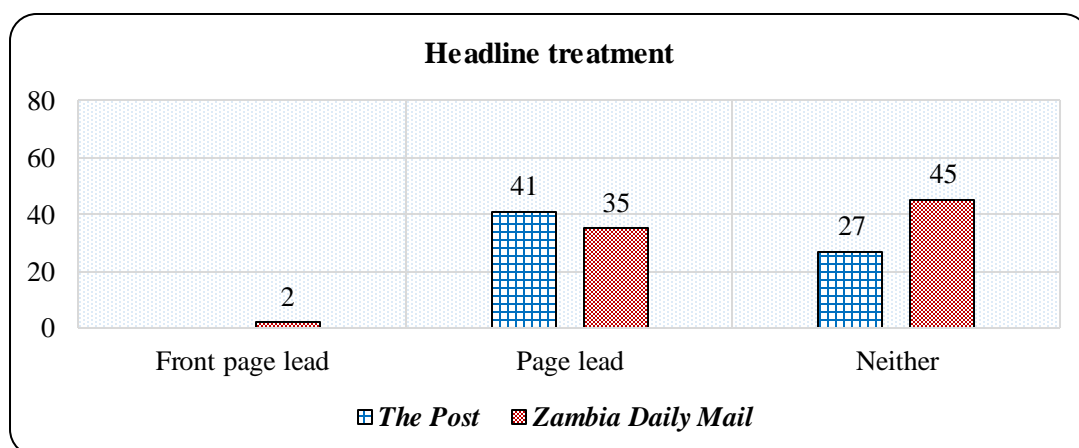
Figure 4. Frequency distribution of human rights news stories in Zambia Daily Mail



ii. Headline treatment

Figure 5 shows Headline treatment in two newspapers. Not a single story was warranted front page Headline (main headline) in *The Post*. However, 41 of the stories were page leads while 27 were neither main headline nor page lead. In *Zambia Daily Mail*, only two out of the 82 stories made it as front page main headline whereas 35 of the stories were page leads. On the other hand, 45 of the stories were neither main headline nor page lead.

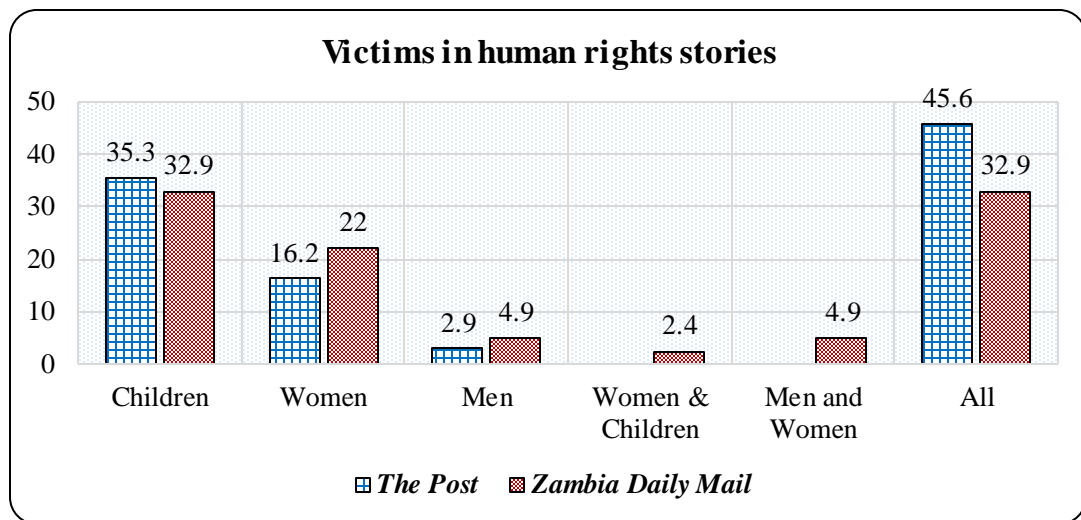
Figure 5. Frequency distribution of Headline treatment in *The Post* and *Zambia Daily Mail*



iii. Victims

On victims, Figure 6 shows that 35.3 percent were children, 16.2 percent were women while only 2.9 percent were men. Further, a significant 45.6 percent of stories involved all; that is children, women and men as victims. And for *Zambia Daily Mail*, Figure 6 indicates that the bulk of the stories, 32.9 percent, involved children as victims with just the same percent of stories involving all (children, women and men). Twenty-two percent of the stories involved women while only 4.9 percent of stories involved men as victims. Also, 4.9 percent and 2.4 percent were the stories involving only men and women, and women and children respectively.

Figure 6. Distribution of victims in human rights stories in *The Post* and *Zambia Daily Mail*



iv. Usage of research and type of story

The study revealed that for *The Post* only 25 stories used research data and that out of these, three were Feature stories. Therefore, all feature stories employed research data while 43 of the Hard news stories lacked usage of research data. And the study also revealed that for *Zambia Daily Mail*, only 11 stories used research data and that out of these, nine were Feature stories. Only one Feature story did not employ research while 70 of the Hard news stories lacked usage of research data. See Table 3 and 4.

Table 3. Type of article and usage of research data cross tabulation *The Post*

		Usage of research data		Total
		Yes	No	
Type of Article	Hard News	22	43	65
	Feature Story	3	0	3
Total		25	43	68

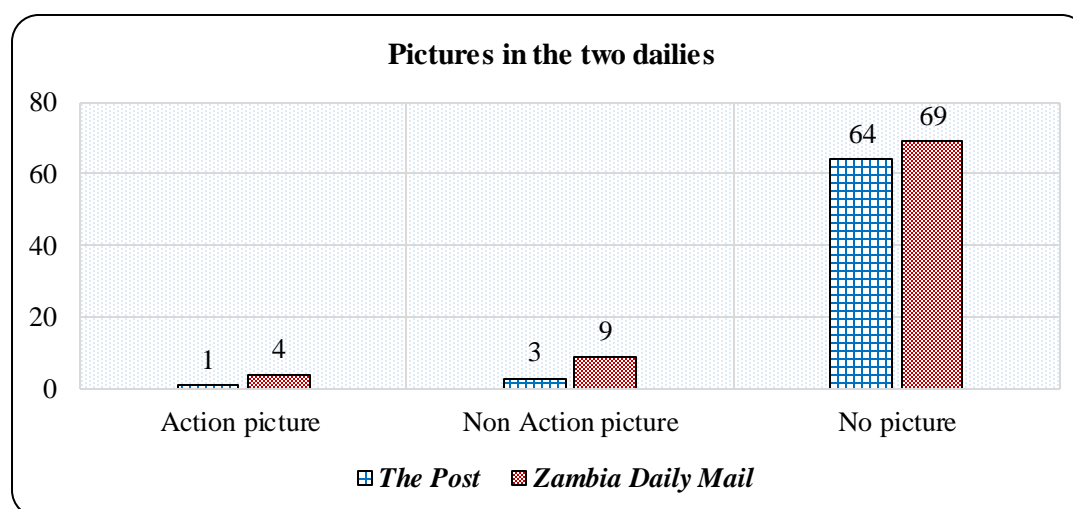
Table 4. Type of article and usage of research data cross tabulation *Zambia Daily Mail*

		Usage of research data		Total
		Yes	No	
Type of Article	Hard News	2	70	72
	Feature Story	9	1	10
Total		11	71	82

v. Pictures

For pictures, the statistics in Figure 7 indicate that the majority of the stories in *The Post*, 64 were not accompanied by any picture while three stories had an accompanying non-action picture. Only one of the stories had an action picture. For *Zambia Daily Mail*, the majority of the stories, 69 were not accompanied by any picture while nine of the stories had a non-action picture. Only four of the stories had an action picture.

Figure 7. Distribution of pictures in *The Post* and *Zambia Daily Mail*



b) Columns

In total, 208 columns were published by the two newspapers in April 2013. *The Post*, had 90 columns from which, only nine were human rights related. This translated to 10 percent of human rights related columns. The proportions indicated that 44.4 percent of the columns bordered on economic and social rights, 33.3 on civil rights and 22.2 percent on political rights. None of the columns were cultural rights inclined. In terms of specific rights, Figure 8 indicates that the right to food, water and sanitation, and consumer rights constituted most of the columns at 22.2 percent each. Furthermore, except for two, all the columns were written by experts. One of the nine columns did not utilize research data. Similarly, only one column had utilised jargon or language not easy to understand to laymen. In terms of providing solutions, all columns provided solutions. The *Zambia Daily Mail* on the one hand, published 118 columns and 23 of these were human rights related. This translated to 19.5 percent of human rights related columns. The proportions indicated that 56.5 percent of the columns bordered on civil rights while 39.1 concerned economic and social rights. Only 4.3 percent of the columns related to political rights. However, there were no cultural rights inclined columns. In terms of specific rights, Figure 9 indicates that education and consumer rights constituted most of the columns at 17.4 percent each. Human dignity was second at 13 percent. Furthermore, all the columns were written by experts and utilized research data. In terms of providing solutions, all but one provided solutions. Similarly, only one column had utilised jargon or language not easy to understand to layman.

Figure 8. Distribution of Columns in The Post

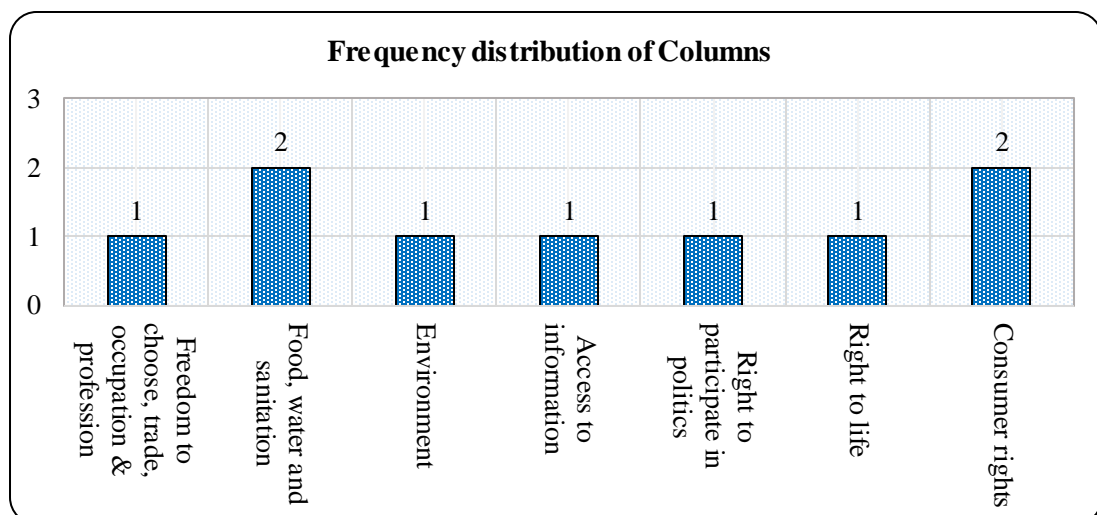
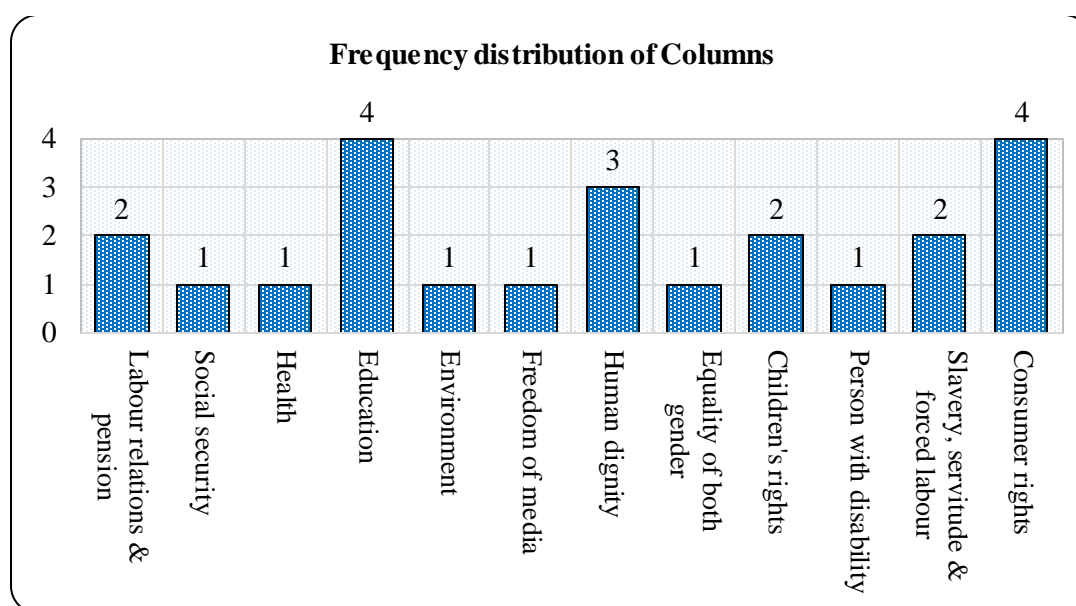


Figure 9. Distribution of Columns in Zambia Daily Mail



c) Editorials

A total of seven human rights related editorials were published by the two newspapers in April 2013. *The Post* had three human rights related Editorials which derived from civil rights, political rights and economic and social rights. No editorial bordered around cultural rights. All the editorials utilised research data, prescribed solutions and had a word count of about 1000 to 1500. The other four editorials were published by *Zambia Daily Mail* and emanated across all the four human rights clusters: civil rights, cultural rights, political rights and economic and social rights. All the editorials prescribed solutions and had a word count not exceeding 500. However, none of the editorials utilised research data – they were all just running commentary. Table 5 and 6 show the distribution of editorials by human rights issue.

Table 5. Distribution of editorials by human rights issue in *The Post*

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Food, water & sanitation	1	33.3	33.3	33.3
Right to participate in politics	1	33.3	33.3	66.7
Children's rights	1	33.3	33.3	100.0
Total	3	100.0	100.0	

Table 6. *Distribution of editorials by human rights issue in Zambia Daily Mail*

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Health	1	25.0	25.0	25.0
Access to information	1	25.0	25.0	50.0
Children's rights	1	25.0	25.0	75.0
Cultural rights	1	25.0	25.0	100.0
Total	4	100.0	100.0	

d) Letters to Editor

In total, the two newspapers published 311 letters to the editor, 143 by *The Post* and 168 by *Zambia Daily Mail*. Further, from *The Post's* 143, only 15 were human rights related representing a percent share of 10.5 percent. All the 15 inclined to either economic and social rights, or civil rights. None of the letters was political right and cultural right linked. In terms of specific human rights, 26.7 percent was education while 20 percent was children's rights. Labour relation and protection from discrimination had 13.3 percent each. See Figure 10.

However, only 33.3 percent of the letters employed usage of research data while 66.7 percent did not. Similarly, only 20 percent of the human rights related letters were responded to, 80 percent were not. The Copperbelt recorded the two of letters while Central province and Lusaka had one each. Eleven of the letters were undesignated. On the one hand, 168 letters were published in *Zambia Daily Mail*, 33 of which were human rights related representing a percent share of 19.6 percent. Five human rights issues were prominent: the environment, social security, health, children's rights, and consumer rights. This further indicated that there were 20 economic and social rights, and 12 civil rights related letters. There was only one political right linked letter and not any on cultural rights. See Figure 11.

Nonetheless, there was no usage of research data in any of the human rights related letters nor was any of the letters responded to. The Copperbelt recorded 10 letters, Central province 7, Lusaka 4, Southern, Northern and North-western each had 1 and 8 were undesignated. There was no human rights letter from Western, Muchinga, Luapula, and Eastern provinces.

Figure 10. Distribution of Letters-to-Editor by human rights issue in *The Post*

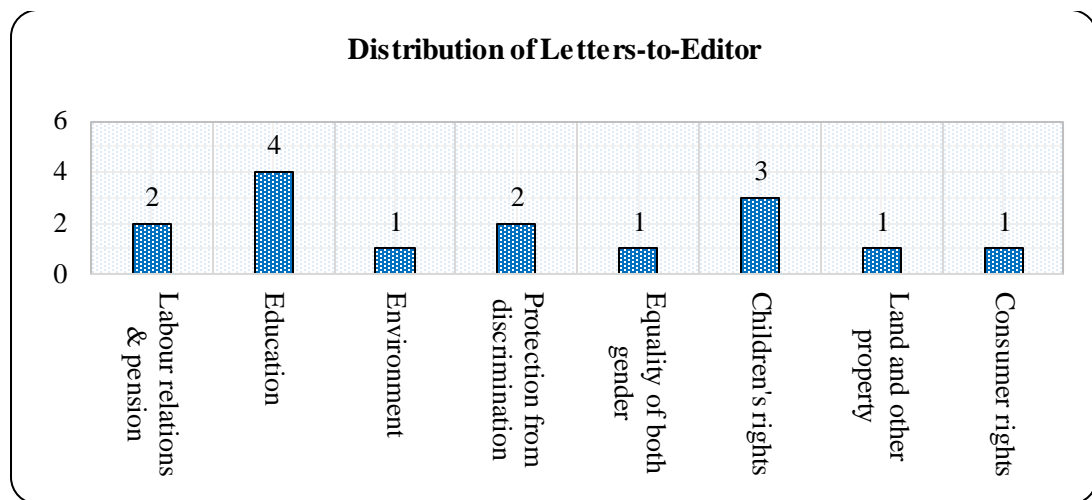
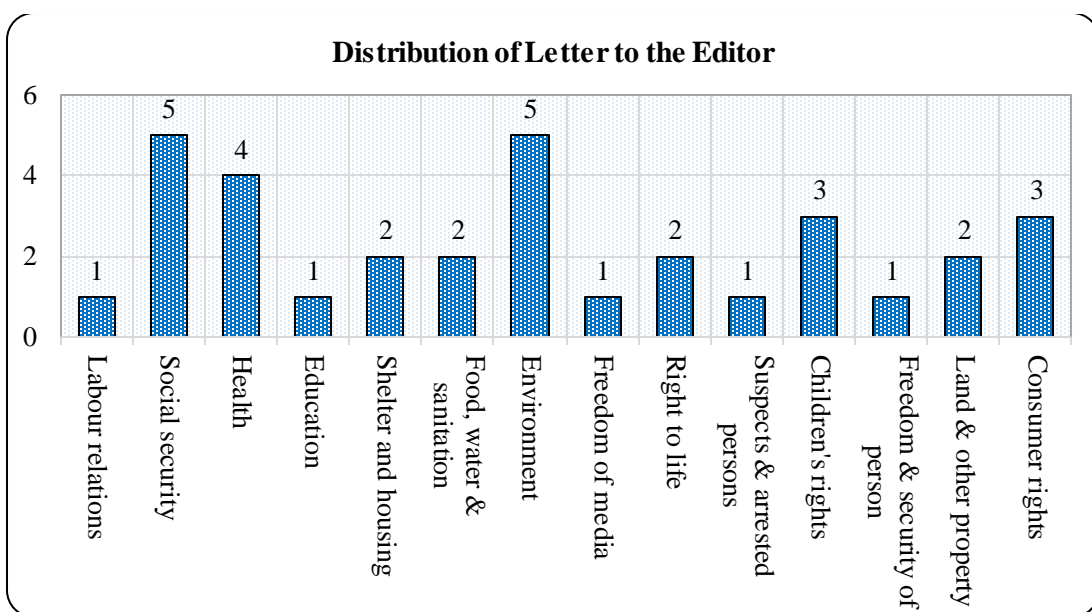


Figure 11. Distribution of Letters-to-Editor by human rights issue in *Zambia Daily Mail*



e) Advertisements

In terms of advertisements, *The Post* carried ten human rights related ads spanning from consumer rights, cultural rights to environmental rights. The consumer right advert was issued by Energy Regulation Board (ERB) and featured five times. It sought to invite the public to a public hearing concerning the revision of electricity tariffs given that consumers have the right to factor into the pricing of products and services.

Additionally, the Zambia Environmental Management Agency (ZEMA) also featured an environmental advert calling upon the public to submit comments for consideration for Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) on four different envisioned projects. The Patents and Companies Registration Agency (PACRA) also featured a cultural rights related ad on piracy and copyright. Therefore, in more general terms, the advertisements lay in the categories of civil, cultural and economic and social rights.

For *Zambia Daily Mail*, eleven human rights advertisements appeared, relating to three rights: consumer rights, labour relations and environment. Firstly, the consumer rights advert issued by ERB featured 6 times. Its core purpose was to invite the public to a public hearing pertaining the revision of electricity tariffs. This stems from fact that consumers have the right to factor into the pricing of products and services. Secondly, the environmental related ad was featured by the ZEMA calling upon the public to submit comments on as an undertaking for an EIA on four different envisioned projects. Lastly, the labour related human rights ad was placed by Government imploring employers to allow their workers to participate in 2013 Labour Day celebrations. Therefore, in more general terms, the advertisements lay in the categories of civil, and economic and social rights. See Table 7 and 8.

Table 7. *Distribution of advertisements by human rights issue in The Post*

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Environment	4	40.0	40.0	40.0
Consumer rights	5	50.0	50.0	90.0
Cultural rights	1	10.0	10.0	100.0
Total	10	100.0	100.0	

Table 8. *Distribution of advertisements by human rights issue in Zambia Daily Mail*

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Labour relations & pension	1	9.1	9.1	9.1
Environment	4	36.4	36.4	45.5
Consumer rights	6	54.5	54.5	100.0
Total	11	100.0	100.0	

5.1.2 Why and how do *The Post* and *Zambia Daily Mail* include human rights issues in their content?

The second objective of the research was to establish why and how *The Post* and *Zambia Daily Mail* include human rights issues in their coverage. To attain this objective, the research conducted in-depth interviews with key informants from the two newspapers.

5.1.2.1 Qualitative findings

Based on the interview with *The Post*'s Research Manager, it was revealed that the inclusion of human rights stories is based on the newspaper's editorial policy. When interviewed on 20 March 2014, Mr Austin Mwangi stated that the newspaper's editorial policy was actually founded on human rights, he explained:

'*The Post*'s editorial policy is actually based on fighting for human rights. Because when you look at our basic issues, fighting corruption, justice, fighting all forms of injustice is part of the Post's editorial policy. Most of the things at political level, which are perpetrated through corruption, even suffering of the people, because it is a right that people should have certain basic needs using their money, the taxes they pay but if people misuse those, they will not be able to have clean water because they have the right to have clean water, food, shelter and to be well-informed so that they participate form informed decisions. So, the policy is centred on promoting human rights.'

The above revelations are corroborated by the findings from the journalist survey, in that almost all of the journalists, 93.8 percent, indicated that their editorial policy placed priority on coverage of human rights issues "moderately" or to a "great extent". This therefore is indicative of how the policy is a major influencer aside the personal conviction of journalist vis-à-vis why *The Post* covers human rights. And regarding how *The Post* includes human rights content, Mwangi revealed that every story was weighed according to editorial guidelines, which included the basic news values and economic goals.

On the other hand, when interviewed on 22 March 2014, *Zambia Daily Mail* Editorial Director, Mr Nebat Mbewe contended that the inclusion of human rights stories is largely based on a deliberate policy by the paper to cover issues relating to children and women.

Furthermore, (*Ibid*) admitted that the *Zambia Daily Mail's* editorial policy was not explicit on human rights, even though it did help to sensitize staff in the coverage of human rights stories. Therefore, ensured that journalists did not become violators of the very rights they sought to promote and protect.

‘Under our editorial policy, we have what we call guidelines, there are several points under the guideline which point to human rights. For instance, taking of pictures of children and women, we are guided by this point that “that pictures of children and women portrayed in bad light shall not be published.” We believe that the dignity of girl and a child should be upheld, so we are very careful on how we portray them. Another point is the tone of language; no vulgar or obscene language will be used in stories even if such words are uttered in court, because many a times we have a privilege of reporting in court of parliament, but we also respect the people’s privacy as well. In fact, talking of privacy, we have a specific one on privacy we say, “[T]he privacy of individuals shall be respected, we note that while journalism may be intrusive in nature, the *Daily Mail* staff avoid invading anyone’s privacy unless there is a very clear public interest in doing so.” So we have to judge whether we doing that in public interest or we just being nosy and infringing on that person’s right to privacy.’

The above findings are upheld by those from the quantitative survey of journalists, in that the majority of the journalists, 46.2 percent, indicated that their editorial policy only moderately placed priority on coverage of human rights while only 38.5 percent said to a great extent. Further, 7.7 percent were not sure, and another 7.7 percent yielded a non-response.

In terms of how *Zambia Daily Mail* included human rights stories in their reportage, it was discovered that the newspaper employed the same traditional editorial procedures applicable to other stories.

‘The [human rights] story is subjected to the same news selection criteria, although within that criteria, we have a “unwritten” guideline of having a human story every day particularly on page one, if we can, of course not always...’ (Mr N Mbewe 2014, pers.comm., 22 March)

5.1.3 How and to what extent do *The Post* and *Zambia Daily Mail* engage other actors to promote human rights?

Both newspapers submitted that they engaged other actors that is, the ordinary people and institutions in the promotion and protection of human rights. When interviewed on 20 March 2014, Mr Austin Mwangi from *The Post* noted:

‘[*The Post*] this institution is very open, people walk in and they are spoken to in a language they speak and journalists are very approachable, people can easily bring photos and now you can have SMS, Column, letters to the Editor, we have Facebook, people can report then also photo journalism by the public, they can send photos of what is happening and they can also be given total confidentiality if they have a story they want to bring and they feel their confidentiality should be kept, as long as it has been proved to be a genuine story...

The letters [to the Editor] have to be newsworthy, ethical letters, also, we want to have variety and see different regions of the country being covered because if you not careful you will find that you can have a page which is full for one person or two people every now and then covering certain fields, maybe they just like to talk about politics. There are thousands of letters that come. It is a very important page in the newspapers because this is where readers are speaking out all that they are suffering including those issues to do with human rights, where they are being violated. So, it is not easy to choose because they are usually thousands for a highly read newspaper. Similarly, text messages have this slot which needs to be increased...

We want every voice to be heard, so like this year, we opened up more areas of coverage, the newspaper should not be a Lusaka based, it is a national newspaper, so a number of correspondent journalists have been employed around the country.’

Similarly, for *Zambia Daily Mail*, when interviewed on 22 March 2014, Mr Nebat Mbewe disclosed that the newspaper did engage other actors through Letters to the Editor, SMS and Columns:

‘[*Zambia Daily Mail*] we have the interactive platform which is usually the letter. They [other actors] can write letters on the problems they have, whether personal, the community as a whole and we have tried to expand this platform not only letters but we get the letters as well through. The main mode of receiving these letters is email and handwritten letters but we also try to encourage them to send through SMS, very short messages and hope to expand the scope so that many people do have an opportunity actually to be engaged.

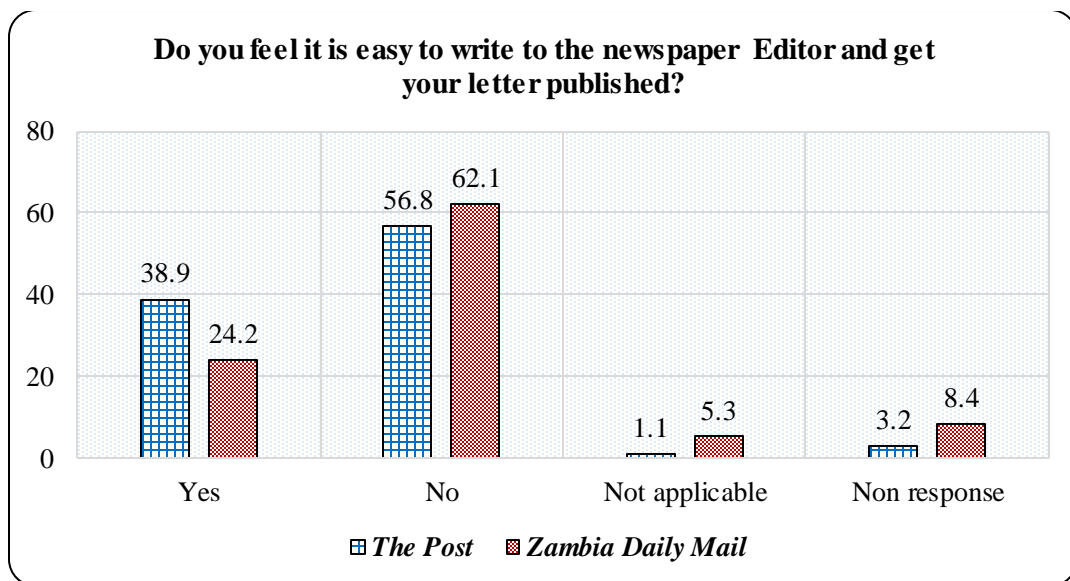
The criteria first of all is that is has to be guided by our editorial policy, it should not be a letter that is insulting, it should not be a letter that is making allegations that cannot be substantiated, it must be personal

attacks on individuals, really it must be on issues that are of particular interest to that individual but probably even beyond that to the community he/she is living in, but we are very careful about publishing letters which could bring us problems in terms of libel or even the individual.’

5.1.3.1 Audience participation

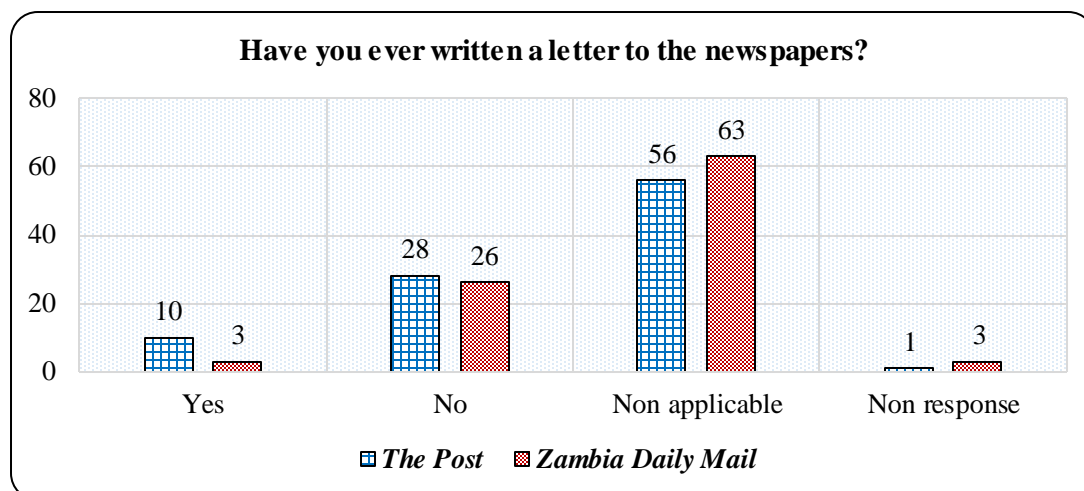
In furtherance to the same objective of finding out how and to what extent *The Post* and *Zambia Daily Mail* engage other actors to promote human rights, the research sought audience perceptions through the audience survey. The survey revealed that a high percentage of 56.8 responded that it is not easy to write to *The Post* Editor and get their letter published while 38.9 percent said it was easy. Three percent gave a non-response answer. With almost the same pattern, 62.1 percent of the respondents indicated that it is not easy to write to the *Zambia Daily Mail* Editor and get their letter published while only 24.2 percent felt it is easy. Another 8.4 percent gave a non-response answer. See Figure 12.

Figure 12. Respondents on how easy it is to write to the editor and get letter published



In terms of actual contribution, a sheer ten people indicated having ever written to *The Post* while 28 said no. One person did not respond while 56 were not applicable. And for *Zambia Daily Mail*, only three people indicated ever having written a letter to the editor, 26 said no, 63 were not applicable while three did not respond to the question. See Figure 13.

Figure 13. Distribution of respondents on letters written



The findings from the readers’ quantitative survey were paired to those obtained from an in-depth interview with Human Rights Commission of Zambia Information, Education and Training - Chief, Samuel Kasankha on March 13 2014. In his words:

‘I have been surprised that even with my name as spokesperson of the Commission [Human Rights Commission of Zambia] sometimes I do not get published even when the issues I am trying to address are very significant. I do not know why.’

5.1.4 What challenges do *The Post* and *Zambia Daily Mail* journalists encounter when covering human rights issues?

5.1.4.1 Media practitioners’ quantitative survey

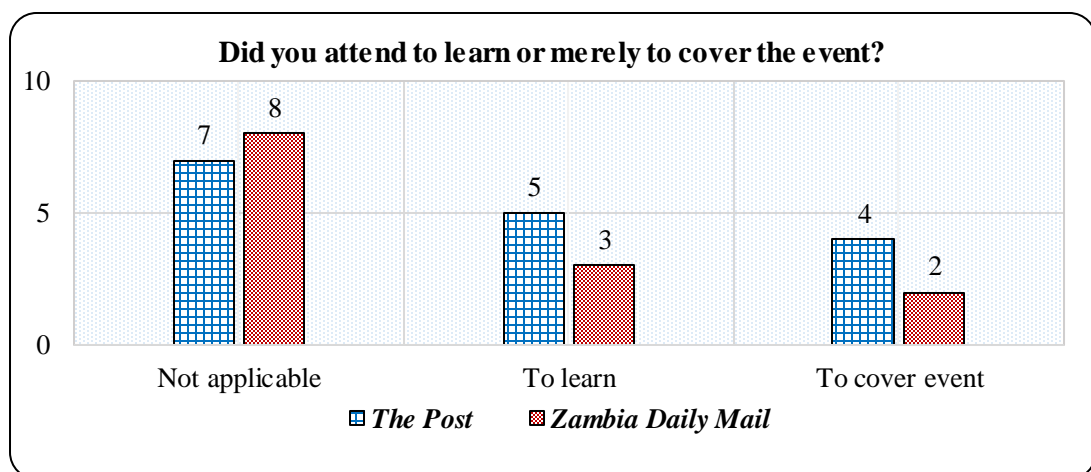
In total, 29 journalist were sampled. For *The Post*, 16 journalists, six female and ten male. The minimum age was 22 and the maximum age was 39. The median age was 28, whereas 27 and 28.88 was the mode and mean respectively. Further, (11) 68.8 percent of them disclosed that they regarded rights as a very important issue worth reporting on while (5) 31.2 percent held human rights only as important an issue to report on. However, even with such importance attached to human rights, only (13) 81.2 percent of the respondents indicated having done a human rights story before. And for *Zambia Daily Mail*, 13 journalists were sampled from which six were female and seven were male. The minimum age was 20 and the maximum age was 41. The median age was 28, whereas 29 and 28 was the mode and mean respectively. The majority of the journalists, 84.6 percent, disclosed that they regarded human rights as

a very important issue worth reporting on while only 15.4 percent held human rights as important an issue to report on. And only 15.4 percent of the respondents indicated having not written a human rights story before.

5.1.4.2 Journalists’ training for human rights reporting

In terms of journalist human rights training in Zambia, as many as 50 percent of *The Post* journalists said the training for journalist in Zambia equipped trainees for human rights reporting while another 50 percent said it did not. Furthermore, of the 16 journalists sampled, 56 percent representing a count of nine indicated having attended a workshop on human rights. And of the nine respondents that indicated having attended a human rights workshop, only five had essentially attended to learn human rights while the other four attended merely to cover the workshop. Even so, all of the nine indicated that the workshop was beneficial to them in terms of human rights knowledge. For *Zambia Daily Mail*, as many as 84.6 percent of the respondents said the training for journalist in Zambia did not equip trainees for human rights reporting while only 14.4 percent said it did. Furthermore, of the 13 journalists sampled, only 38.5 percent representing a count of five indicated having attended a workshop on human rights before while 61.5 had not. And of the five journalists that indicated having attended a human rights workshop, only three had essentially attended to learn human rights while the other two attended merely to cover the workshop. Even so, all of the five indicated that the workshop was beneficial to them in terms of human rights knowledge. See Figure 14.

Figure 14. Reasons for attending human rights workshop



The above was echoed by *Zambia Daily Mail's* editorial director:

‘Most journalists need to be better equipped with the study of human rights to understand what human rights really are. In terms of workshops, maybe once or twice in the very distant past when people may have attended some human rights workshop, not necessarily for training but just to acquaint them on what human rights is, but usually these are general informational workshops there isn't detailed info on it...’ (Mr N Mbewe 2014, pers.comm., 22 March)

Equally, when interviewed on 19 March 2014, Mr Austin Mwangi of *The Post* said journalists were equipped to cover human rights but more needed to be done.

‘More needs to be done especially that there should be some who should just be specialised to handle this, to go in-depth and study more and more, and attend more workshops and seminars. But you find that these are once off things and journalists are more concerned with daily news and have to meet deadlines.’

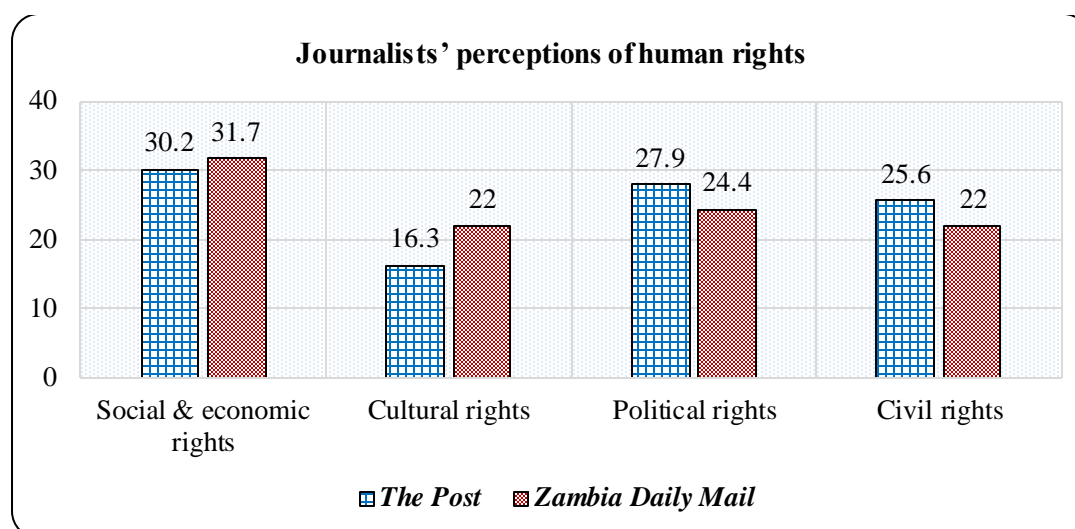
By and large, this resonated to what Mr Samuel Kasankha rightly observed in an interview on 13 March 2014;

‘The majority of people in the media [...] have very scanty knowledge about human rights. This is very visible for instance when either they call you to ask about a human rights violation or they interview you, if it is a programme you have paid for... If you do not get somebody within the system [a human rights expert] or you do not prepare questions, when they start talking you could actually lose the whole focus.’

5.1.4.3 Journalist's perceptions of human rights

Nearly all of *The Post's* respondents, 81 percent, indicated their perception of human rights as Social and economic rights. While as many as 75 percent and 69 percent of respondents associated human rights with Political rights and Civil rights in that order. On the other hand, less than half of the journalists (44 percent) perceived human rights as Cultural rights. And all of the *Zambia Daily Mail* respondents, 100 percent, indicated their perception of human rights as Social and economic rights. While as many as 76.9 percent associated human rights with Political rights, 69.2 percent for Civil rights and another 69.2 percent perceived human rights as Cultural rights. See Figure 15.

Figure 15. Distribution of Post and Zambia Daily Mail Journalists' perceptions of human rights



Journalist also felt the media need to focus on the following issues when reporting human rights. The majority felt it was important to concentrate on Child Rights Protection (CRP) and general awareness of human rights - Human Rights Education (HRE). For *Zambia Daily Mail*, respondents also felt the media need to focus on the following issues when reporting human rights. The majority felt it was important to concentrate on HRE and general awareness of human rights, as well as focusing on the effects of human rights violations. See Table 9 and 10.

Table 9. Distribution of issues *The Post* journalists felt media should focus on

Issue	Responses		Percent of Cases
	N	Percent	
Gender Based Violence (GBV)	1	5.9	8.3
Children's rights	5	29.4	41.7
Women Rights	3	17.6	25.0
Exposing perpetrators & penalty admissible	3	17.6	25.0
Effects of HR violations	1	5.9	8.3
Human Rights Education	4	23.5	33.3
Total	17	100.0	141.7

Table 10. *Distribution of issues Zambia Daily Mail journalists felt media should focus on*

	Responses		Percent of Cases
	N	Percent	
Issues Gender Based Violence (GBV)	3	10.7	25.0
Children's rights	4	14.3	33.3
Women Rights	3	10.7	25.0
Exposing perpetrators & penalty admissible	2	7.1	16.7
Effects of HR violations	5	17.9	41.7
Human Rights Education	11	39.3	91.7
Total	28	100.0	233.3

5.1.4.4 Challenges in human rights reporting

For *The Post*, two challenges came out strong, first being that of Victim unwillingness to disclose information. Second is the bureaucracy or just difficult in obtaining evidence from organisations that are custodians of the information. For example, one journalist cited the Prison Service as one such institution. Others cited lack of support from Editors, threats from perpetrators and norms associated with culture practices. And two challenges came out strong for *Zambia Daily Mail*, first being that of Victim unwillingness to disclose information. Secondly, it was the administrative challenges such as transport. Others cited were the bureaucracy or just difficult in obtaining evidence from organisations that are custodians of the information and threats from perpetrators. See Table 11 and 12.

Table 11. Distribution of challenges in covering human rights issues in *The Post*

		Responses		Percent of Cases
		N	Percent	
Challenges	Lack of support from Editors	1	4.5	6.7
	Threats from Perpetrators	1	4.5	6.7
	Victims averse to disclose information	13	59.1	86.7
	Difficult to obtain info from org./persons	6	27.3	40.0
	Culture and norms	1	4.5	6.7
Total		22	100.0	146.7

Table 12. Distribution of challenges in covering human rights issues in *Zambia Daily Mail*

		Responses		Percent of Cases
		N	Percent	
Challenges	Threats from Perpetrators	1	5.6	10.0
	Victims averse to disclose information	8	44.4	80.0
	Difficult to obtain info from org./persons	4	22.2	40.0
	Transport and logistics	5	27.8	50.0
Total		18	100.0	180.0

Furthermore, from the in-depth, the following information on challenges journalists faced in their quest to cover human rights stories were recorded. According to *Zambia Daily Mail* Editorial Director, ‘the challenge is of course not having the right number of people... not having enough space. We always get a lot of stories that we think deserve going into the newspaper but of course we are limited by space... Then, we have a challenge of sometimes the potential news sources not being readily available to give us the kind of information we have, for instance, police sometimes are key stakeholders in this if we have a human rights story which may require confirmation by the police. They might not be able to tell us almost immediately.’ (Mr N Mbewe 2014, pers.comm., 22 March)

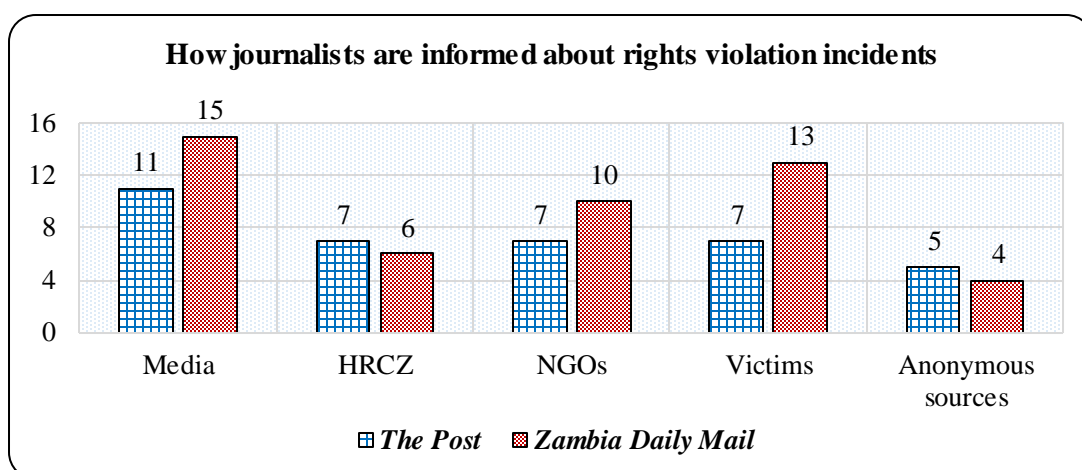
And *The Post* newspapers Research Manager noted challenges relating to norms and culture, adding that some people may not want to talk about certain things and these

conflict with human rights. Thus, *The Post* revealed that this makes it hard for victims to express themselves to journalists, thereby making it very difficult to probe human rights stories (Mr A Mwange 2014, pers.comm., 22 March).

5.1.4.5 Journalist’s sources of human rights violation incidents

Almost all of the respondents from *The Post*, 15, indicated that they are informed of human rights violations through the media, 13 and ten indicated being informed about violations through Victims and NGOs respectively. Very few cited Tips as a way of learning human rights violation incidents and six indicated the HRCZ. From *Zambia Daily Mail*, eleven of respondents indicated that they are informed of human rights violation through the media while Victims, NGOs and HRCZ had seven respondents each. Less than half of the respondents, 5, cited Tips. See Figure 16.

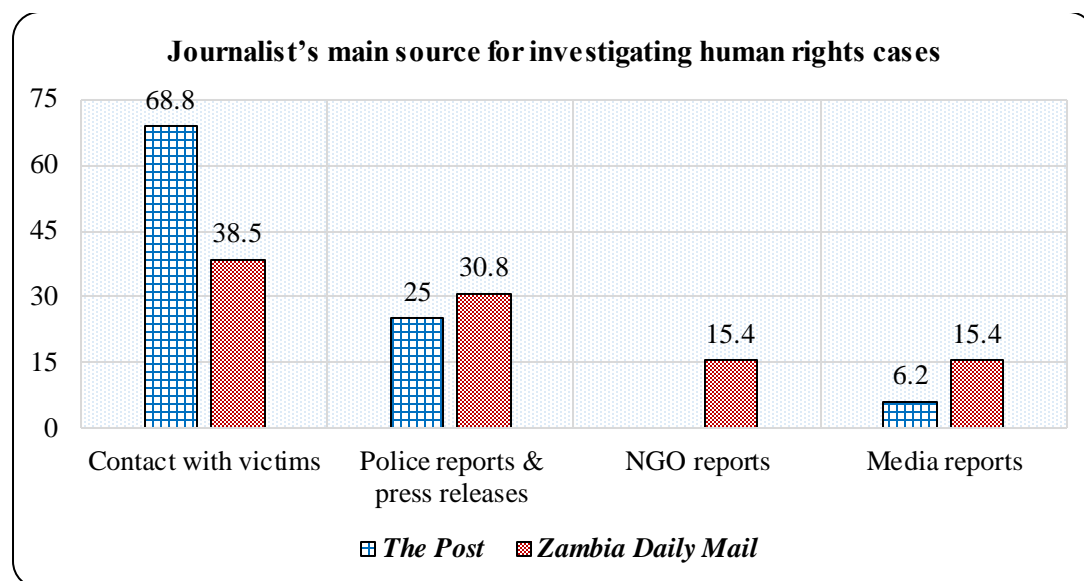
Figure 16. How journalists are informed of human rights violation incidents



5.1.4.6 Journalists’ sources for investigating and reporting human rights cases

During the process of investigating and or follow-up and reporting human rights cases, 68.8 percent of *The Post* respondents said they contacted victims, 25 percent claimed using sources in the police reports and press releases, and only 6.2 percent turned to media reports. For *Zambia Daily Mail* respondents, 38.5 percent said they contacted victims, 30.8 percent claimed using sources in the police reports and press releases. NGO reports and media reports, had an equal footing at only 15.4 percent utilised each. See Figure 17.

Figure 17. Distribution of journalist's main source for investigating human rights cases



5.1.5 Can *The Post* and *Zambia Daily Mail* human rights content influence and effect meaningful change to the Zambian society?

Public quantitative survey was used to establish whether *The Post* and *Zambia Daily Mail* human rights content is influencing and effecting meaningful change to the Zambian society.

5.1.5.1 Public quantitative survey

A total of 100 questionnaires were administered equitably to all the three study areas: 70 Mtendere (High density), 18 Kaunda Square Stage II (Medium density) and 12 Avondale (Low density). Though, from the 100, only 95 questionnaires were returned. Three were not returned from Mtendere and two from Kaunda Square Stage II.

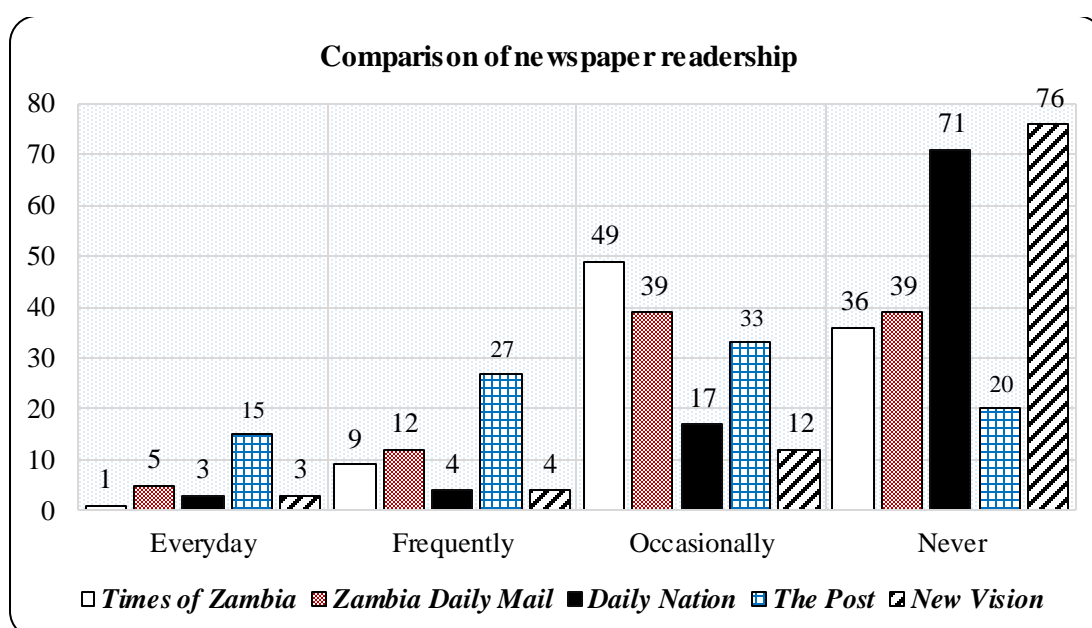
In this survey, there were slightly more male respondents than females, 54.7 percent were males while 45.3 percent were females. The age statistical distribution of the respondents designate that the minimum age was 16 and the maximum age was 61. Further, the median age was 25.5, whereas 19 and 29.88 were the mode and mean respectively.

In terms of education attainment of the respondents, 66.3 percent had attained secondary education, 21.1 percent college education, 6.3 percent had university education and another 6.3 percent had primary education.

a) Newspaper readership

On newspaper readership, statistics in Figure 18 show that *The Post* with 98.9 percent readers is by far the most read newspaper while the *New Vision* is the least read newspaper with only 20 percent of people reading it occasionally. The research also indicated that the *Times of Zambia* with 62.1 of the respondents reading frequently and occasionally is the most read newspaper after *The Post*. The *Zambia Daily Mail* ranked third with a 59 percent readership whereas the *Daily Nation* recorded a readership of 25.1 percent, only slightly higher than the *New Vision*.

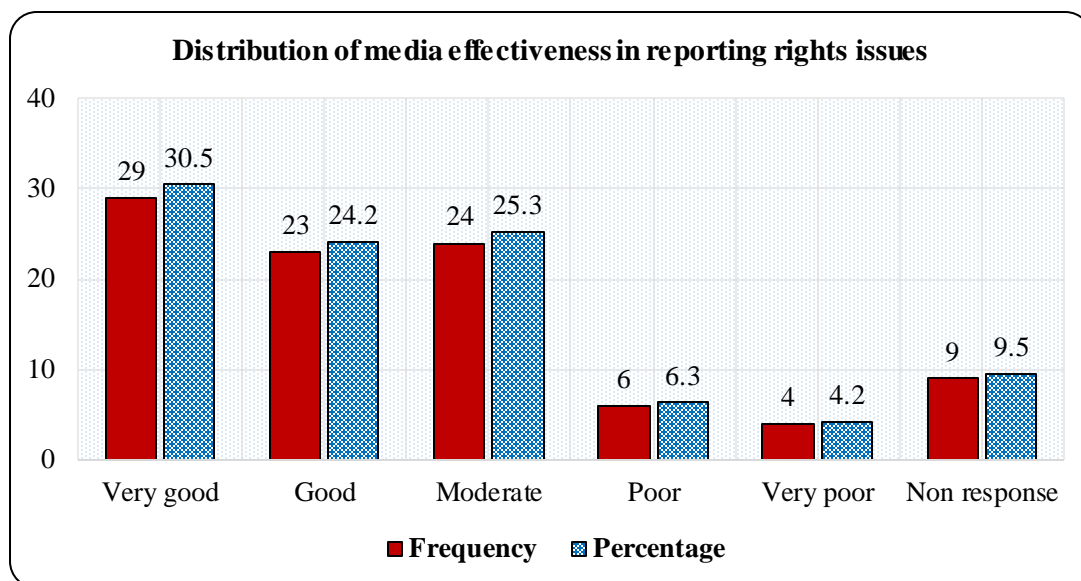
Figure 18. Distribution of newspapers by readership



b) Media effectiveness in reporting human rights issues

In Figure 19, 30.5 percent of the respondents indicated that human rights reportage by the media in general was very good, 24.2 percent said it was good, 25.3 said moderate, 4.3 and 4.2 percent said it was poor and very poor respectively while 9.5 percent did not respond. This therefore shows that 80 percent of the respondents are generally satisfied with the media's reporting on human rights issues.

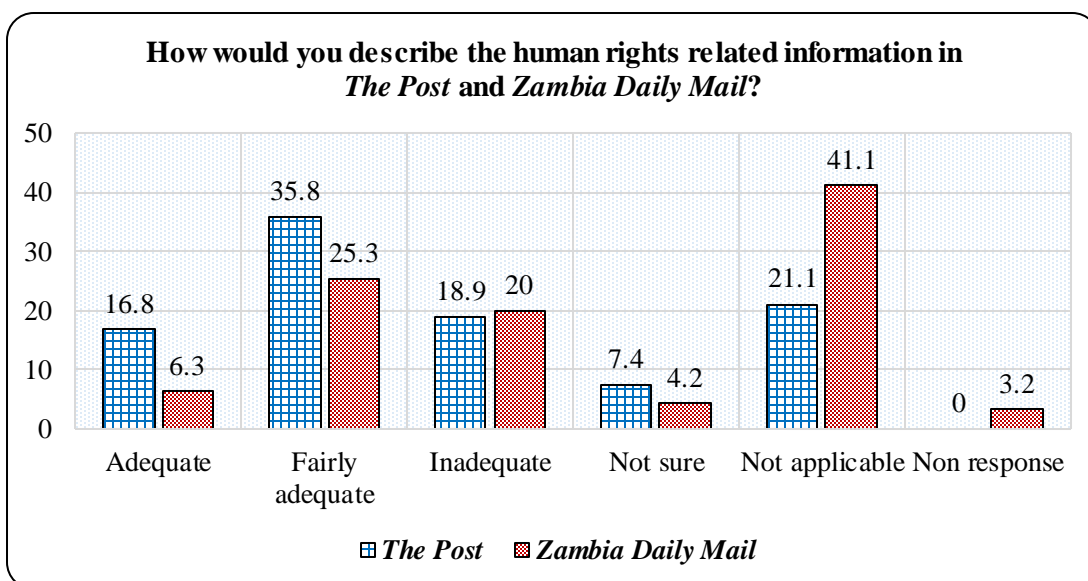
Figure 19. Distribution of media effectiveness in reporting human rights issues



c) Public perceptions of the newspapers on reporting human rights

In Figure 20 it was established that generally, more than half of the valid audience (52.6 percent for *The Post* and 31.6 for *Zambia Daily Mail*) described the human rights related information they read in the two papers as either adequate and fairly adequate while only a small percentage for each newspaper were not sure.

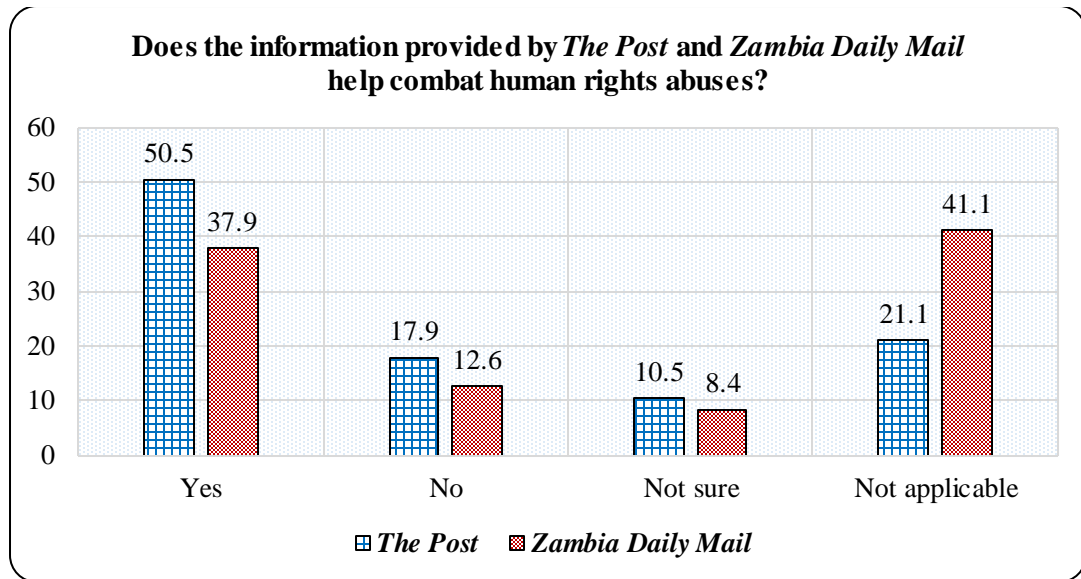
Figure 20. Description of the human rights related information in *Post* and *Zambia Daily Mail*



d) Does the information provided by the newspapers help combat human rights abuse?

In terms of the ability to help combat human rights abuse, 50.5 percent for *The Post* and 37.9 percent for *Zambia Daily Mail*, indicated that the information provided by the two newspapers was helpful in combating human rights abuse. See Figure 21.

Figure 21. Does the information provided by the papers help combat human rights abuses?



However, even with a substantial percentage of respondents agreeing that the information provided by the two newspapers was helpful, only a handful (30.5 percent) of the respondents felt there were human rights related changes in their community that could directly be attributed to *The Post*, 47.4 percent felt that there was no notable change that could be attributed to the newspaper, and 22.1 percent were not applicable. Correspondingly, only 21.1 percent of the respondents felt there was human rights related change in their community that could directly be attributed to *Zambia Daily Mail*, 36.8 percent of the respondents felt there was no change to attribute to the newspaper while 42.1 percent were not applicable. See Figure 22 and Table 13 and 14.

Figure 22. Distribution of respondents on change brought about by the two newspapers

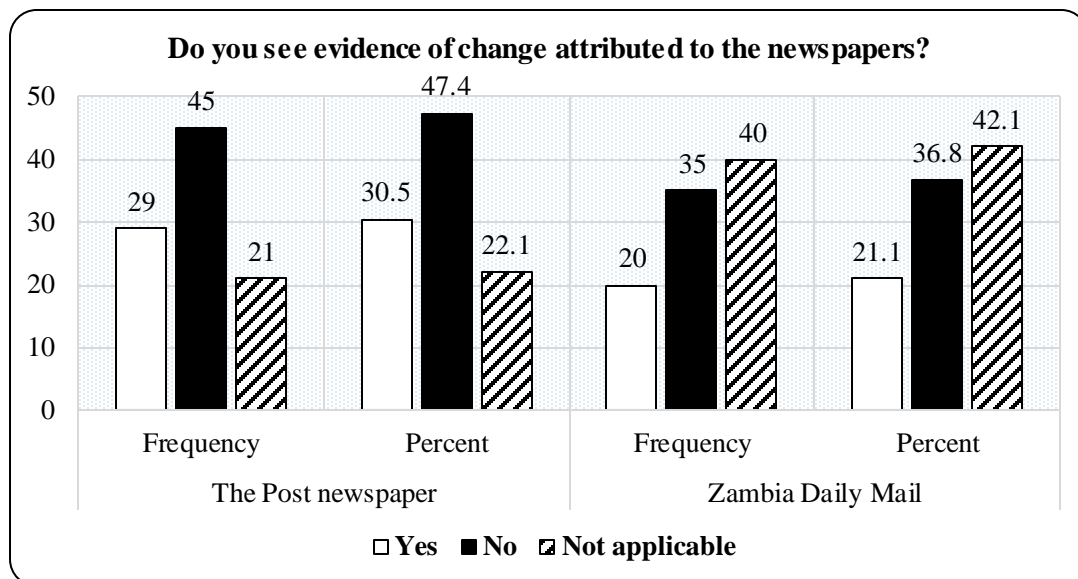


Table 13. Distribution of respondents on change brought about by The Post

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Reduction in cases of human rights abuse	15	15.8	15.8	15.8
General awareness of community in human rights	3	3.2	3.2	18.9
Improved infrastructure & service provision	3	3.2	3.2	22.1
Not applicable	67	70.5	70.5	92.6
Non response	7	7.4	7.4	100.0
Total	95	100.0	100.0	

Table 14. Distribution of respondents on change brought about by Zambia Daily Mail

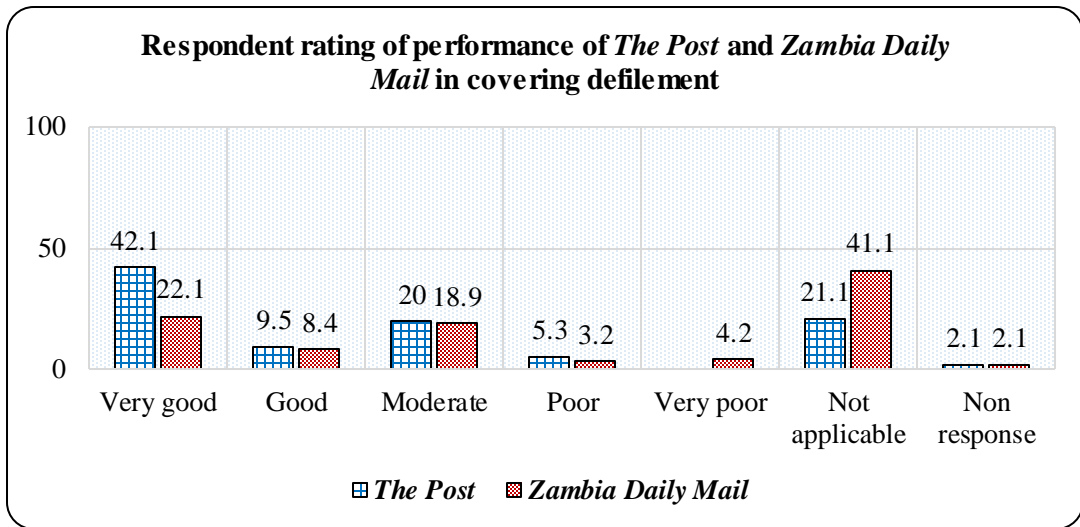
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Reduction in cases of human rights abuse	11	11.6	11.6	11.6
General awareness of community in human rights	4	4.2	4.2	15.8
Improved infrastructure & service provision	1	1.1	1.1	16.8
Not applicable	76	80.0	80.0	96.8
Non response	3	3.2	3.2	100.0
Total	95	100.0	100.0	

e) **Performance of the newspapers in covering specific human rights issues**

i. **Defilement**

Figure 23 indicates that 42.1 percent rated *The Post's* coverage of Defilement as very good, 9.5 percent good, 20 percent fair, 5.3 percent poor and 21.1 percent were non-applicable. The statistics therefore show that 71.6 percent of readers rated the coverage of defilement by *The Post* moderate and above. The percent for non-applicable remained the same for *The Post* in all subsequent issues. And Figure 23 indicates that for *Zambia Daily Mail*, 22.1 percent and 8.4 percent rated the coverage very good and good respectively, 18.9 percent moderate, 3.2 percent poor, 4.2 percent very poor, and 41.1 percent were non-applicable while 2.1 percent was non-response. Thus, 49.5 percent of the respondents rated *Zambia Daily Mail's* coverage as moderate and above. Significantly, the percent for non-applicable remained the same for the subsequent issues.

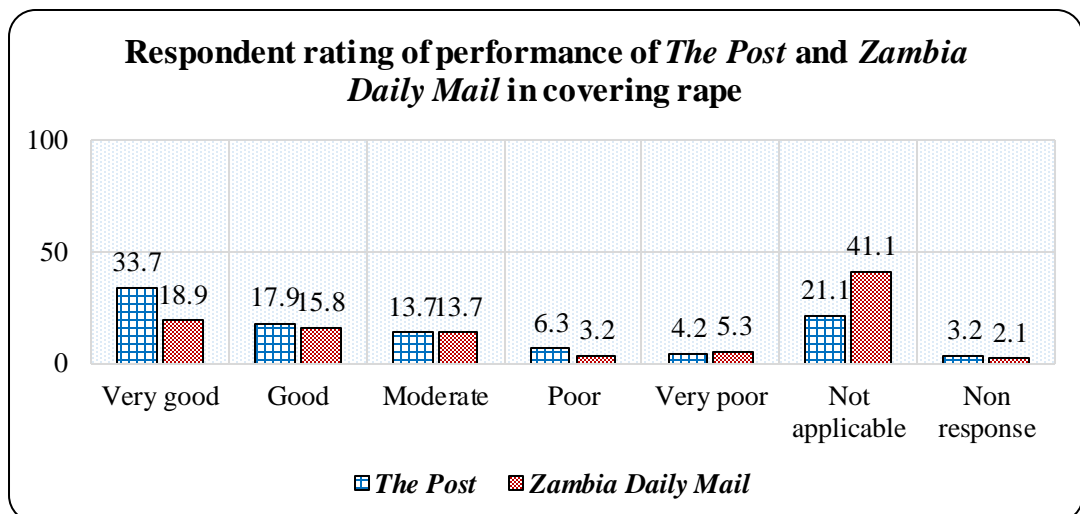
Figure 23. Performance of *The Post* and *Zambia Daily Mail* in covering defilement



ii. Rape

Figure 24 shows that 33.7 percent rated *The Post's* coverage of Rape as very good, 17.9 percent as good, and 13.7 percent as moderate, 6.3 and 4.2 percent as poor and very poor singly while 3.2 did not respond. Therefore, 65.3 percent of the respondents rated *The Post's* coverage of rape as moderate and above. And for *Zambia Daily Mail*, 18.9 percent rated the coverage of rape very good, 15.8 percent high, 13.7 percent moderate, 5.3 percent very poor, 3.2 percent poor and 2.1 percent non-response. From this information, it can be deduced that less than half of the respondents, 48.4 percent, rated *Zambia Daily Mail's* coverage of rape as moderate and above.

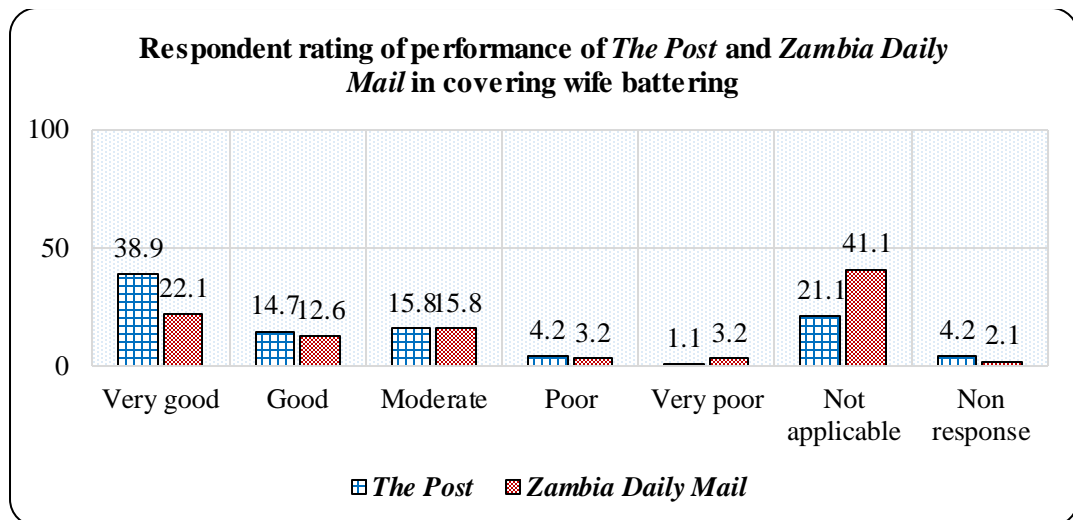
Figure 24. Performance of *The Post* and *Zambia Daily Mail* in covering rape



iii. Wife battering

Figure 25 shows that 38.9 percent rated *The Post's* coverage of Wife battering as very good, 14.7 percent as good, and 15.8 percent as moderate, 4.2 percent and 1.1 percent as poor and very poor in that order and 4.2 did not respond. Therefore, 69.5 of the respondents rated *The Post's* coverage of wife battering as moderate and above. For *Zambia Daily Mail*, findings show that 22.1 percent rated its coverage of Wife battering as very good, 12.6 percent as good, and 15.8 percent as moderate, 3.2 percent poor and very poor for each and 2.1 percent did not respond. It can be deduced that 50.5 percent of the respondents rated *Zambia Daily Mail's* coverage of wife battering moderate and above.

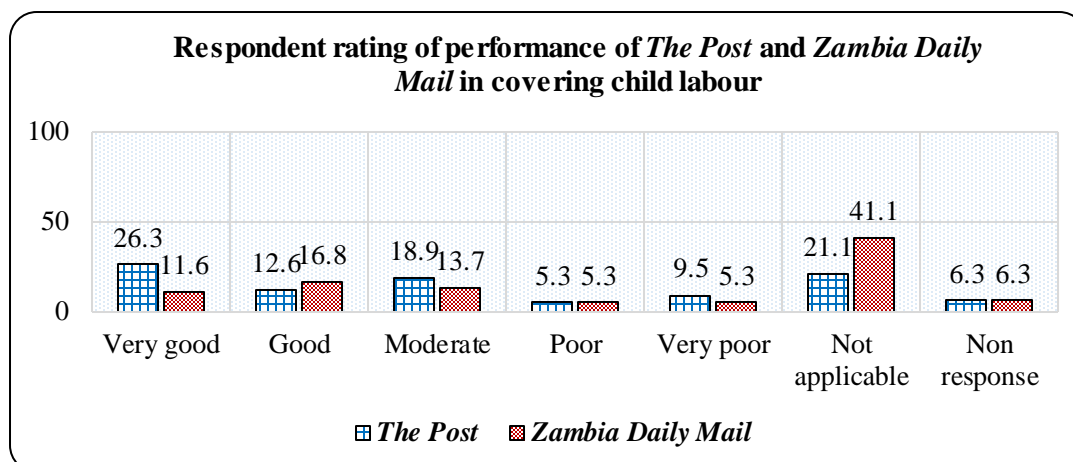
Figure 25. Performance of *The Post* and *Zambia Daily Mail* in covering wife battering



iv. Child labour

On coverage of Child labour, 26.6 percent of the respondents rated *The Post* very good, 12.6 percent rated as good, 18.9 percent rated it as being moderate, and 5.3 percent rated it as poor, 9.5 percent as being very poor and 6.3 percent gave a non-response. This data show that more than half of the respondents 57.9 percent rated *The Post's* coverage of child labour as moderate and above. Findings for *Zambia Daily Mail* indicate that 11.6 percent rated the coverage of Child labour as very good, 16.8 percent as good, and 13.7 percent as moderate, 5.3 percent poor and very poor for each and 6.3 percent did not respond. It can be inferred that 42.1 of the respondents rated *Zambia Daily Mail's* coverage of child labour moderate and above. See Figure 26.

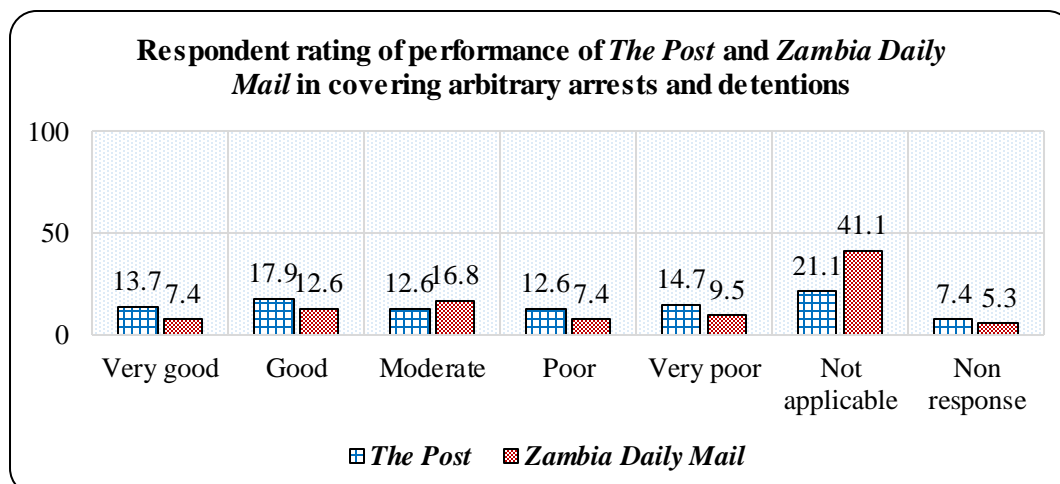
Figure 26. Performance of *The Post* and *Zambia Daily Mail* in covering child labour



v. Arbitrary arrests and detention

Statistics show that 13.7 percent rated *The Post's* coverage of Arbitrary arrests and detentions very good, 17.9 percent as good, 12.6 percent moderate, 12.6 percent poor and 14.7 very poor while 7.4 percent gave a non-response. The statistics therefore shows that only 44.2 percent of *The Post's* readers rate it moderate and above in covering arbitrary arrests and detentions. On coverage of arbitrary arrests and detentions by *Zambia Daily Mail*, only 7.4 percent of the respondents rated it very good, 12.6 percent rated it as good, 16.8 percent rated it as being moderate, and 7.4 percent rated it as poor, 9.5 percent as being very poor and 5.3 percent gave a non-response. This data show that less than half of the respondents 36.8 rated *Zambia Daily Mail's* coverage of arbitrary arrest and detention moderate and above. See Figure 27.

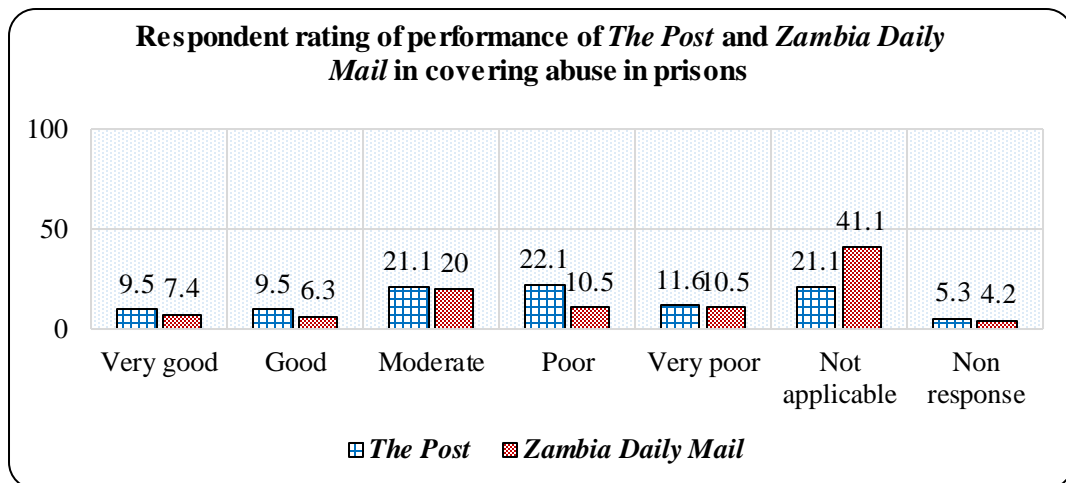
Figure 27. Performance of *The Post* and *ZDM* in covering arbitrary arrests and detentions



vi. Abuse in prisons

Figure 28 shows that only 9.5 percent of respondents rated *The Post's* coverage of abuse in prisons as very good, 9.5 percent as good, and 21.1 percent as moderate, 22.1 and 11.6 percent as poor and very poor singly while 5.3 did not respond. Therefore, only 40 percent of the respondents rated *The Post's* coverage of abuse in prisons moderate and above. For *Zambia Daily Mail*, statistics indicate that 7.4 percent of the respondents rated the coverage of abuse in prisons as very good, 6.3 percent as good, 20 percent rated it as being moderate, 10.5 percent rated it poorly, 10.5 as being very poor and 4.2 percent did not respond. It can be said from the statistics that only 33.7 percent of the readers rated it moderate and above.

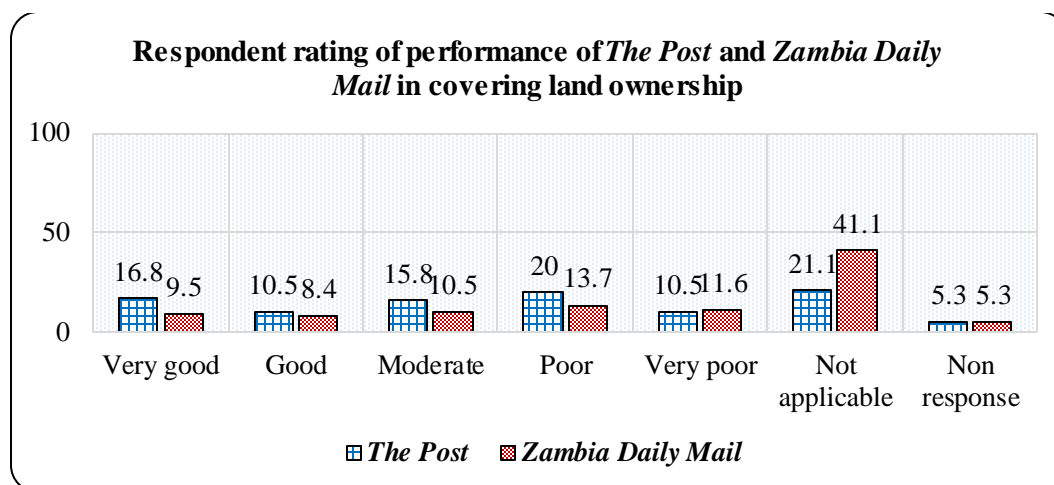
Figure 28. Performance of *The Post* and *Zambia Daily Mail* in covering abuse in prisons



vii. Land ownership

Figure 29 shows that 16.8 percent rated *The Post's* coverage of Land ownership as very good, 10.5 as good, 15.8 as moderate, 20 percent as poor, 10.5 percent as very poor and 5.3 percent did not respond. The statistics therefore shows that only 43.2 percent of respondents rated *The Post* moderate and above on this issue. On land rights coverage by *Zambia Daily Mail*, 9.5 percent rated *Zambia Daily Mail's* coverage of Land ownership as very good, 8.4 as good, 10.5 as moderate, 13.7 percent as poor, 11.6 percent as very poor and 5.3 percent did not respond. The statistics therefore reveal that only 28.4 percent of respondents rated *Zambia Daily Mail* moderate and above on this issue.

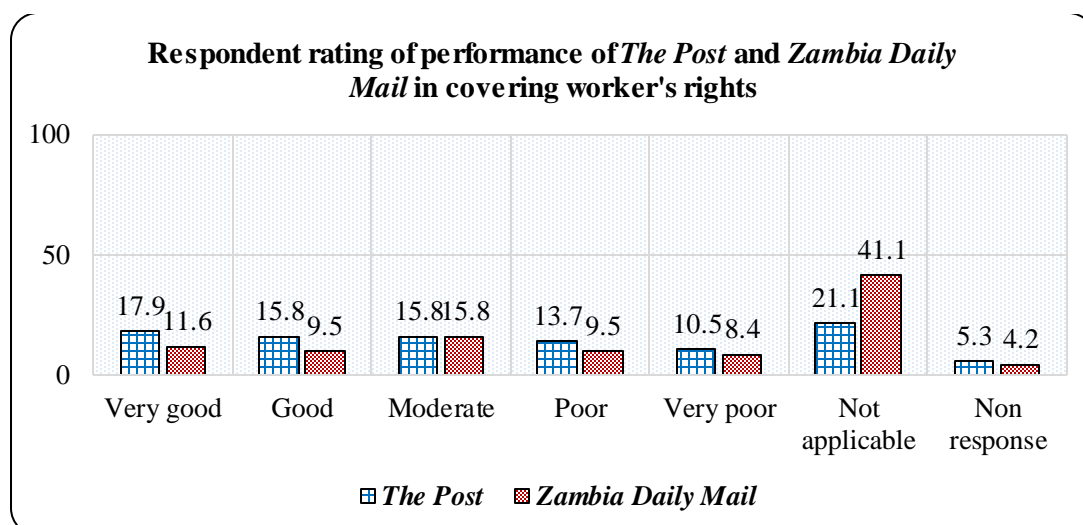
Figure 29. Performance of *The Post* and *Zambia Daily Mail* in covering land ownership rights



viii. Worker’s rights

In Figure 30, statistics show that 17.9 percent rated *The Post’s* coverage of worker’s rights very good, 15.8 percent as good, another 15.8 percent moderate, 13.7 percent poor and 10.5 very poor while 5.3 percent gave a non- response. The statistics therefore shows that 49.5 percent of the readers rate the coverage of worker’s rights by the newspaper as moderate and above. For *Zambia Daily Mail*, indicates that 11.6 percent rated coverage of worker’s rights very good, 9.5 percent as good, 15.8 percent moderate, 9.5 percent poor and 8.4 percent very poor while 4.2 percent gave a non- response. The statistics therefore shows that only 36.8 percent of the readers rate the coverage worker’s rights by the newspaper as moderate and above.

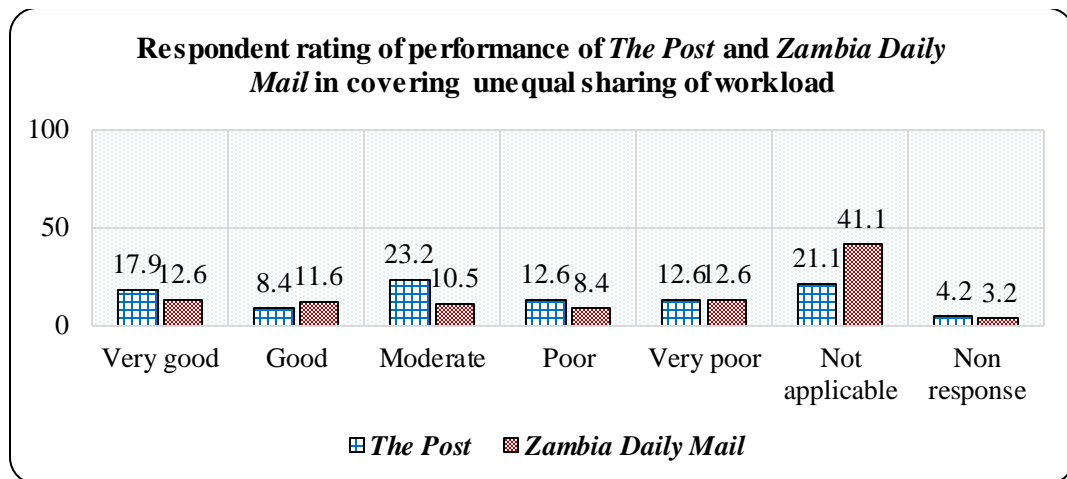
Figure 30. Performance of *The Post* and *Zambia Daily Mail* in covering worker’s rights



ix. Unequal sharing of workload

On unequal sharing of workload, Figure 31 shows that 17.9 percent rated *The Post*'s coverage as very good, 8.4 percent good, 23.2 percent moderate, 12.6 percent very poor, another 12.6 percent poor and 4.2 percent non-response. From this information, it can be deduced that less than half of the respondents, 49.5 percent, rated *The Post*'s coverage the issue moderate and above. And the same Figure shows that 12.6 percent rated *Zambia Daily Mail*'s coverage of unequal workload sharing very good, 11.6 percent good, 10.5 percent moderate, 8.4 percent poor, 12.6 percent very poor and 3.2 percent non-response. From this information, only 34.7 percent of the respondents rated the newspaper's coverage of the issue moderate and above.

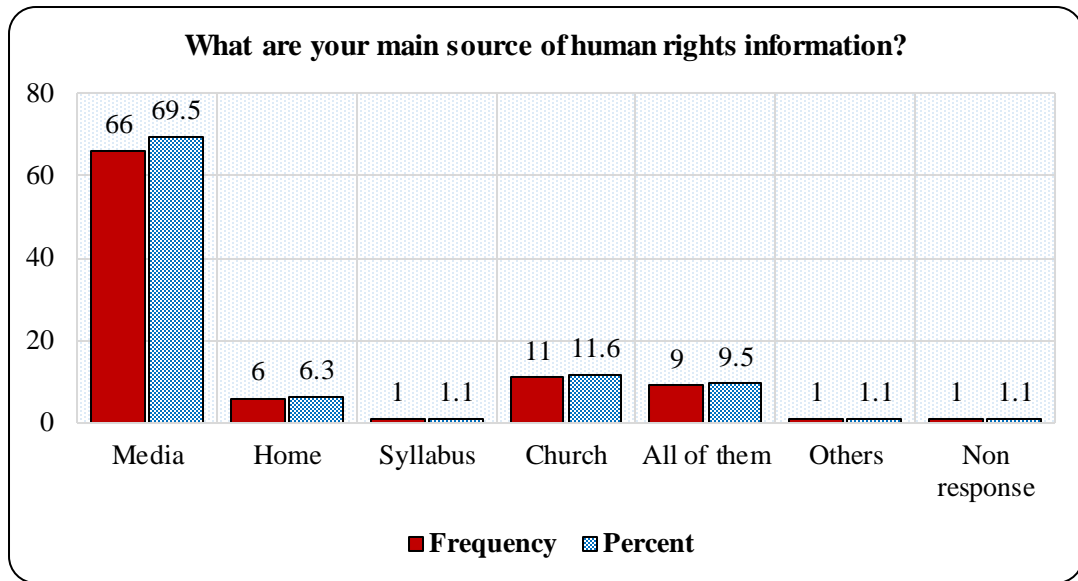
Figure 31. Performance of *The Post* and ZDM in covering unequal sharing of workload



f) Public's main channel of human rights information

In Figure 32, statistics indicated that 69.5 percent of the respondents said they acquired information on human rights from the media while 11.6 percent of the 95 people surveyed indorsed the church as their main channel of receiving human rights information. The home and syllabus ascribed 6.3 and 1.1 percent respectively. Also, 9.5 percent of the respondents acquire their knowledge about human rights issues from all of the above sources while 1.1 percent did not indicate receiving human rights information from any of the sources. Further, 1.1 percent of respondents attributed others place(s) such as workplace as their main channel of receiving human rights information. Another 1.1 percent did not respond.

Figure 32. Distribution of respondent main source of human rights information



5.2 Conclusion

This unit has presented the findings in five main themes which have been generated from the research objects. Therefore, under each theme, only relevant sub-questions from the questionnaires, in-depth and content analysis were presented. And given that the research triangulated, data was presented in such a way that it validated the findings of the other methodology. The next chapter is the discussion and conclusion.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

6.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings of the study in relation to print media coverage of human rights in Zambia as characterised by *The Post* and *Zambia Daily Mail*. The section is essentially divided into themes emanating from the research objectives and research questions of the study. These were: the magnitude of human rights content in the above-mentioned newspapers; the ability of the papers to influence meaningful human rights related change in Zambian societies; the ways of including human rights issues in reportage; and the engagement of other actors in promotion and protection of human rights by the two dailies.

6.1 Discussion of findings

6.1.1 What is magnitude and trend of human rights content of *The Post* and *Zambia Daily Mail* newspapers?

The discoveries presented in chapter six are indicative that the coverage of human rights by the two newspapers is low. For instance, the percentage of human rights stories in the two newspapers averaged 5.74 percent. In other words, for every 17 stories one reads from these newspapers, only one is human rights related. And individually, if the average number of stories in the *Zambia Daily Mail* is 41.8 stories per day, this comes to only an average 2.7 human rights related stories per edition. Whereas for *The Post* with an average of 45.2 stories per day, it interprets to a paltry of 2.3 human rights related stories per day. Even measured against the 25 percent scale used by Muchangwe (2012) to mean 'adequate' coverage in her research on ARSH coverage by Zambian newspapers, *The Post* and *Zambia Daily Mail* human rights coverage still falls incredibly short.

Furthermore, it was established that though with a relatively few number of stories, *Zambia Daily Mail* had more human rights related stories compared to *The Post*. Nonetheless, this variance is explained by the fact that the former has a dedicated gender desk referred to as the *Femail*, which runs on Thursday and Saturday. And substantiating this, is the fact that a significant number of human rights stories recorded in *Zambia Daily Mail* were associated to children's rights (mainly early marriages and

defilement) as well as the right to equality of both genders at 20.7 percent and 15.9 percent respectively.

However, the trends of human rights coverage along with the low magnitude of human rights content are affected by a lot of factors. Notable, is the seeming absence of human rights mainstreaming in the journalism curriculum in Zambia. For instance, expressively, 50 percent of *The Post* journalists admitted that the training for journalist in Zambia did not equip trainees for human rights reporting. And only five of the 16 sampled indicated ever attending a workshop to learn about human rights. The representation was even worse for *Zambia Daily Mail* where 11 of the 13 journalists sampled revealed that the training did not equip trainees for human rights reporting. And only three out of 13 had attended a workshop to learn human rights.

Notwithstanding the fact that the newspapers under study are, although low, covering human rights issues, the research established that the trend in covering these issues was disproportionate amongst the four human rights classifications established at the beginning of this study (civil rights, economic and social rights, political rights, and cultural rights). The leanings in coverage indicate that the concentration was largely on civil rights, 63.2 percent in *The Post* and 63.4 percent for *Zambia Daily Mail*. Equally, a similar trend was reflected in the journalist's perception of human rights, in that the majority of them largely associated human rights to civil and political rights. For example, when asked what issues journalists should focus on in covering human rights, not a single response pertained to cultural rights. Therefore, this entails serious neglect and or ignorance of cultural rights on the part of media practitioners. However, given that human rights cannot be rank ordered, narrowed or bundled, the media should broaden coverage to capture all the human rights, including cultural rights that are least covered. Noteworthy, the inclination to civil rights coverage resonates with the findings of Ovsiovitch (1993), who found that in all the four news sources, reportage was focused on civil and political rights.

Further, aside the disproportionate coverage of human rights, it was also established that human rights stories in both newspapers were not given the due eminence vis-à-vis headline treatment. For instance, only two human rights related stories out of 150 were warranted front page headline (all from *Zambia Daily Mail*). However, a significant number, 76 of the stories were page leads, on the inside pages. Just as a

big number of stories, 72, were neither main headline nor page leads – thereby deemed unimportant by this measure. The placement of a story in a newspaper is considered commensurate to its importance - those on front page are presumably more important than those inside the paper.

Also, the study revealed that only 36 (two-thirds from *The Post*) stories showed evidence of having used research data and that out of these, 12 were feature stories. Thus, all feature stories except for one, employed research. The rest of the 113 hard news stories lacked evidence of usage of research data. And given that more human rights hard news stories were published, then much of the information printed was inadequate as hard news stories do not give journalists the luxury of time to research and cover issues in depth due to routine editorial deadlines. Hard news only mostly end on explaining the ‘what’, ‘where’ and ‘when’ of the story, leaving out the ‘how’ and ‘why’ and at best ephemerally answered, which are the question feature stories seek to answer.

Alongside the lack of evidence of research, the majority of the stories, 133 were not accompanied by any picture while 12 of the stories had an accompanying picture though non-action to the story. And only five of the stories had an action picture. The saying ‘a picture is worth a thousand words’ demonstrates the importance of pictures and the information they convey. While text is important, pictures can make a point clearer. However, as established, only five stories had meaningful pictures, the other 12 stories had pictures that were not directly relevant to the stories, mainly mug shots of bureaucrats such as ministers. And given that pictures have the potential to draw the reader into a story and enrich understanding of the issue, having only five of them does not do any reasonableness to the human rights stories published in the two newspapers.

With regards to columns, there is a distinctive difference between the two newspapers. One-fifth of columns in *Zambia Daily Mail* are human rights related and one-tenth for *The Post*, so, the former is adequately covering human rights issues while the latter’s coverage is low. Put differently, the number of human rights columns in *Zambia Daily Mail* is more than twofold that in *The Post* (23 and nine respectively). However, the 10.5 percent coverage difference between the two newspapers is explained by the fact that *Zambia Daily Mail* has three standing Columns by: the Human Rights Commission Zambia (*Whose Human Rights Anyway?*), the Competition and

Consumer Protection Commission (*CCPC Corner*), and Workers Compensation Fund Control Board (*Workers' Compensation Corner*). Accordingly, about two-thirds of the columns by the above mentioned institutions were civil rights related, thus, the increased number in such rights. Whereas for *The Post*, most of the columns were economic and social rights related. This exceptional feature is attributed to a standing weekly column by the Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection (JCTR). Though meant for various issues, the column largely attentions on economic and social rights related issues. Further, the non-existence of a column on cultural rights in both newspapers only corroborates the neglect of such rights in Zambia.

A total of seven human rights related Editorials were published during period under study, three from *The Post* and four from *Zambia Daily Mail*. In terms of human rights specificity, the editorials bordered on civil rights, cultural rights, political rights and economic and social rights except for *The Post* which did not feature any on cultural rights. It was also well established that editorials in *Zambia Daily Mail* each had a word count less than 500 and did appear not to have utilised research data – they were simply running commentary while those from *The Post* each ranged between 1000 - 1500 words and explicitly showed evidence of the use of research data. Editorial importance is also determined by its length or amount of space it is allocated in the newspaper. And as noted, *Zambia Daily Mail* editorials were below 500 words confirming that less priority was given the correlation endeavour. Likewise, this was manifested in the lack of utilisation of research data, meaning they lacked in detail hence depriving facts to efficiently inform human rights.

With regards to advertisements, the control of placement lays mainly with the client and newspapers attract advertisement based on many things such as circulation as well as the charges: rate card. Consequently, as examined in this study, relates to the measurement of audience participation in human rights protection and promotion through advertisement. And though only 21 advertisements were recorded, the limited number of advertisements recorded could be explained by the fact that the research purposively sampled the month of April because it has no human rights related holiday. Thus, the low number of advertisements could be attributed to the lack of human rights events to stimulate advertisement. Further, of 21 advertisements recorded, 11 for *Zambia Daily Mail* and 10 for *The Post*, it was established that the advertisements in one paper were mirrored in the other. The only exception was for the Labour relations

and pension rights advertisement and the Cultural rights advertisements which only featured in the *Zambia Daily Mail* and *The Post* respectively.

6.1.2 Why and how do *The Post* and *Zambia Daily Mail* include human rights issues in their content?

The findings on responses of journalists on why newspapers cover human rights issues indicate that of the total 29 journalists sampled, all regarded human rights as either as a very important or only important issue to report on. Therefore, from such representation, it was clear that the importance journalists attach to human rights is one reason for the inclusion of human rights issues in the reportage.

The in-depth interviews also revealed that human rights coverage is an issue of policy, for both newspapers. However, even if the newspapers credit their policy to, especially *The Post*, the obtaining coverage does not corroborate with this stance. For example, *The Post* has no column, desk or beat dedicated to human rights. Human rights issues are covered horizontally or under the guise of court news, but it is expected of a newspaper found on the premise of human rights protection and promotion to have emphasis on the same.

In terms of how human rights stories survive winnowing to ultimately make news, it is pretty clear from the findings that human rights stories are not more special than other issues worth reporting. For example, when interviewed on 22 March 2014, Mr Nebat Mbewe submitted:

‘[Human rights stories] they are special in their own way but as I said earlier, they are competing with other stories, so they are on equal footing, I don’t think they are any higher or any lower than other stories.’

The above simply means that human rights related stories, like all stories, are subjected to the normal news selection criteria. Implying, the newspapers use the same news judgement system by employing the news values while taking into account the economic goals of the paper and the competition.

Accordingly, these findings are consistent with those of McPherson (2012) in the literature review when he established that in Mexican newspapers, information was assessed against basic criteria of newsworthiness. And if found to be newsworthy, the more a particular piece of information, the more likely it is to be published.

This is particularly true because in media studies, it is expected that news values come first regardless of the beat. Thus, human rights stories are only likely to get special treatment in specialised publications such as human rights magazines. Elsewhere, human rights content must compete for space and survive winnowing to get published.

From the above, it is clear from the human rights related news selection procedures that the gatekeeping theory is valid. In other words, editors from the two newspapers, through gatekeeping make choices and selections on what appears and what does not appear in the final output. This creates a connection between the choices of human rights information that *The Post* and *Zambia Daily Mail* give to the public and the powers conferred on editors and journalists. Further, it has also been established that these newspapers have a deliberate policy, editorial policy for *The Post* and coverage of children and women rights for *Zambia Daily Mail*. Therefore, this means that the newspapers do actively engage in agenda-setting through coverage of some issues and overlooking others thereby influencing what people view as important issues.

6.1.3 How and to what extent do *The Post* and *Zambia Daily Mail* engage other actors to promote human rights?

Various parameters were used to assess audience participation in the promotion and protection of human rights. They included but were not limited to, letters to the Editor, advertisements, and the overall audience perception vis-à-vis participation. Also, the general media policy on the same.

It is clear from the findings that there is a dichotomy on the aspect of engagement between the media houses and the audience. Whereas the media contend that they are very open to working with other actors, the latter feel it is not easy for them to participate in terms of contributing to the human rights cause through the two newspapers, be it by column or letter to the editor.

For example, in terms of Letters to the Editor, a high percentage of 57.9 audience respondents held that it was demanding to write to *The Post* Editor and get their letters published while almost the same pattern, 64.2 percent of the respondents indicated that it is difficult to write to the *Zambia Daily Mail*. All the same, of the number that felt it

was easy to write to these newspapers, only 10 out of 39 people and 3 out of 32 people for *The Post* and *Zambia Daily Mail* respectively attested to having contributed.

Therefore, this significantly shows a lack of audience engagement with the media. Correspondingly, these revelations are in tandem with those discussed in chapter four where Chama (2008) established during his research on the communication strategies of the HRCZ that the majority of the ordinary people felt they were not really engaged in the communication of human rights in terms of participatory communication. Nevertheless, results also indicate that the majority of the respondents only thought it was difficult even before they tried to write to the two newspapers.

And even with such negative perception on the part of the audience on participation through letters to the editor, the *Zambia Daily Mail* and *The Post* maintained that they were open to any person or institution that could write quality work to contribute in terms of Columns and letters to the Editor. Mindless the open policy claims, statistics and the in-depth revelation may be indicative that the newspapers were not so open to allowing people's participation or that they had not publicized their open policy to the people. And so, this open policy held by the newspapers that anyone with quality work could write a column, remained latent because it was not advertised thus people or human rights specialized organisations remain ignorant about available space, hence the low volumes in human rights related columns and letters to the editor. However, the fact that letters are subjected to a lot of scrutiny confirms the validity of the gatekeeping theory as adopted for use in this study.

Further, the two newspapers acknowledge that the engagement of other actors in the promotion and protection of human rights is very important. This philosophy was also revealed in the findings of (McPherson, 2012):

‘Journalists recognized that they had a vital partner in coverage of human rights, and one that equally depends on them: the human rights community. Journalists spoke in particular of their duty to work with Mexico’s human rights commissions by publishing their recommendations for redressing human rights violations issued to infringing institutions.’

6.1.4 What challenges do *The Post* and *Zambia Daily Mail* journalists encounter when covering human rights issues?

It is clear that journalist's coverage of human rights is greatly impacted by various challenges. This research exposed three major challenges: 1) victim unwillingness to disclose information; 2) the bureaucracy or difficulty in obtaining evidence from organisations that are custodians of the documents; and 3) administrative challenges relating to transport and logistics. Other challenges were lack of support from Editors, threats from Perpetrators, culture and norms, and limited space for stories.

However, the challenge relating to transport and logistics did not feature on those advanced by *The Post* quantitative survey and in-depth interview. This could stem from the fact that the newspaper is enjoying substantial profits to ease operations as self-proclaimed through an editorial, 'we control close to 70 per cent of our county's advertising revenue – that is the revenue for all advertising media, including television, radio, billboards, magazines, fliers and other newspapers.' (*The Post Newspapers*, 6 March 2014).

And seen differently, the averseness of victims in giving out information is an indication that the media still has an immense role of sensitizing the masses until such a point when they will be willing to speak out about violations easily. Sensitisation is particularly essential because 20 out of 29 journalists designated Victims as an avenue, only second from the Media at 26 out of 29 when asked: "How are you informed of human rights violation incidents?" And during investigating and reporting human rights cases, the majority of the respondents, 68.8 percent for *The Post* and 38.5 for *Zambia Daily Mail* said they contacted victims. These percentages indicate the hitch which victim averseness poses, thus, the need for continued sensitization.

Furthermore, the findings on challenges in covering human rights issues are similar to those discussed in chapter four (Muchangwe 2012), though her focus was on a specific set of human rights (ARSH). She found that twelve of the 18 reporters from *Times of Zambia* and *Zambia Daily Mail* disclosed that lack of transport was another challenge they faced and the same number of journalists indicated that there was unwillingness of people or sources to talk openly about sexual reproductive health issues. Other challenges included limited space, and inadequate personnel.

6.1.5 Can *The Post* and *Zambia Daily Mail* human rights content influence and effect meaningful change to the Zambian society?

From the public survey, it is clear that 54.7 percent of the respondents are generally satisfied with the general media's reporting on human rights issues. Consequently, that proportion think the media in general is effective in this regard. And in terms of specific media, only 50.5 percent of the respondents indicated that the information provided by *The Post* was helpful in combating human rights abuse and only 37.9 percent for *Zambia Daily Mail*. These findings show that on average, the information provided by the two newspapers is only helping in a small way to combat human rights abuse.

This is attested by the fact that only a handful (30.5 percent) of the respondents felt there were human rights related changes in their community that could directly be attributed to *The Post*. Correspondingly, a much smaller number (21.1 percent) felt the same for *Zambia Daily Mail*.

This also reflected when the audience rated the coverage of the isolated recurring human rights abuses in Zambia. These issues included defilement, rape, wife battering, land grabbing, rights of suspects and detention, and unequal sharing of workload.

However, it still appears there is some recorded change attributable to media coverage of human right in Zambia though minimal. As HRCZ noted, the media had only been influential to the extent that sometimes they brought out violations and caused an uproar in the community and thereby causing authorities to act – they are largely reactive. However, this influence was very limited:

‘To the extent that sometimes they bring out violations and cause an uproar in the community and causing authorities to act; I would say yes, but this is very limited. Very good example was the Mazabuka torture case which came out through the media, the woman complained and it was reported through the media that she had been tortured and that has led to some punitive action against the police but otherwise a lot more of those things happen on a nightly basis, people are being battered right here in Lusaka, people are battered in police stations, the media know that but they are waiting for somebody like that lady to come out and say, “no, I was beaten and then report it”. Otherwise, it is very limited. So, it is qualified effectiveness, if I can call it that.’ (Mr S Kasankha 2014, pers.comm., 13 March)

Further, the audience's perceptions and Mr Kasankha's sentiments corroborated with those obtained from the in-depth interview with Mr Nebat Mbewe on 22 March 2014, who contended that more needed to be done in terms of human rights coverage. Equally, *The Post* newspapers shared the same sentiments, 'it has not been very easy, but successes have been recorded.'

Thus, it can be concluded that *The Post* and *Zambia Daily Mail* human rights content had only influenced and effected meaningful change to the Zambian society to a less extent. However, it was clear that the agenda setting theory of the media adopted in this study was valid. In that, to bring about the aforementioned human rights related changes, *The Post* and *Zambia Daily Mail* has incorporated some weights and importance on some human rights by focusing repeated and major attention on human rights cases or set of related events, and ultimately transferred those events into highly discussed issues by the masses (public agenda), what Mr Kasankha refers to as 'an uproar in the community'.

In so doing, the two newspapers have helped set the human rights agenda. For example, the *Zambia Daily Mail* has a deliberate policy to campaign for rights of children and women through the *Femail*. Further, the public talked about the reduction in cases of human rights abuse and other rights related crisis such as road development and clean water supply attributable to works by the two newspapers (McQuail, 2000, p. 79).

6.2 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the findings of the study in relation to print media coverage of human rights in Zambia as characterised by *The Post* and *Zambia Daily Mail*. The section was essentially divided into themes that emanated from the research objectives and research questions. The next chapter concludes the study and makes recommendations based on the findings.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.0 Introduction

This section concludes the study, makes five key recommendations to media houses, institutions of higher learning and government among other stakeholders. The recommendations are based on the research findings. Further, the section proposes potential areas of research related to this study.

7.1 Conclusion

This research was aimed at analysing the print media coverage of human rights in Zambia as characterised by *The Post* and *Zambia Daily Mail* and establish how they engage other actors in protecting and promoting human rights. To archive the above, the study used both quantitative and qualitative methods to collect data from the audience, a human rights expert, newspaper staff, and did a content analysis of the newspapers for month of April 2013. SPSS, Excel and themes were used to analyse data. And from the above broad aim, the study drew five specific objectives which have been met as below:

The first objective was establish the magnitude and trends of human rights content in the abovementioned newspapers. Accordingly, it has been established that the human rights magnitude in the two dailies is low across all the five units of analysis, news stories, columns, editorial, letters-to-editor and advertisements, excepting columns in *Zambia Daily Mail* with one-fifth being human rights related. Further, there is unequal coverage - more civil rights, economic and social rights, and less on political rights and cultural rights issues covered. Also, only two out of 133 articles made main headline, only five out of 133 stories had action pictures, and majority of stories seemed not to employ research data.

The second objective was to establish why and how the two newspapers include human rights issues in their content. The research established that the inclusion of rights in the abovementioned papers is an issue of both policy and personal journalistic conviction and that v issues included are subjected to the normal news selection criteria.

Thirdly, the research aimed at finding out how and to what extent *The Post* and *Zambia Daily Mail* engage other actors to promote and protect human rights and it has been learnt that there is a dichotomy on the aspect of engagement between the newspapers and the other actors. The former contend that they are very open to working with other actors while the latter feel they are not engaged or availed the platform to participate.

Fourthly, the research aimed at identifying the challenges that journalist face when reporting human rights stories and these included: victim unwillingness to disclose information; the bureaucracy in obtaining evidence from organisations in custody of information; and organisational challenges about transport and logistics.

And on whether the human rights content of *The Post* and *Zambia Daily Mail* can influence and effect meaningful change to the Zambian society. The research established that there are a few pockets of change attributable to the two newspapers – marginal change.

Lastly, the research showed that the majority of the people, 69.5 percent, only learn and acquire information on human rights from the media. This underscores the important role the media has in the promotion and protection of human rights, thus, the need for such a study.

Conclusively, these findings confirm the earlier assertion held by the researcher that the media, as characterized by the two dailies, are doing less than necessary to protection and promotion of human rights in their coverage.

7.2 Recommendations

Following the findings and the subsequent discussion, with learning on the challenges that journalist encounter when covering human rights issues, the research recommends that:

- 1) Government enacts the FoIB for the media to effectively promote and protect human rights. This recommendation ties to the challenge that journalists face in trying to access human rights related information in places such as prisons. Without the FoIB being enacted, pertinent information will remain untapped on the pretense of confidentiality and national security at the expensive of people's rights.

- 2) Colleges, through the Ministry of Education and the Technical Education, Vocational and Entrepreneurship Training Authority (TEVETA) and universities should intensify teaching of and increase the number of human rights courses. This goes hand in hand with the need for refresher courses at media house level in order for journalists to stay abreast with international and domestic trends in human rights reportage. In addition, the media training institutes in Zambia could capitalize on the UN envisioned programme to mainstream human rights in all formal education syllabi, regardless of the field.³
- 3) The newspapers play the mobilization and or advocacy role more often; run commentary on stories such as court cases as opposed to just reporting the verdict (they just end to say the person has been imprisoned) without any further information on the “why”. Hence, feature stories can focus on identifying perpetrators and probing more so that when the “whys” are learnt, the right interventions can be put in place.
- 4) The media covers all segments of human rights. As exposed in this study, the focus tends to be on Civil rights and Social and economic rights, and given that rights cannot be rank ordered, the media should balance by providing stories to include both political rights and cultural rights as well. Especially that the state tends to be a major violator of the former and the fact that the latter is difficult to classify and not so developed, thus, people tend to have their cultural rights violated without them knowing – ignorance is bliss.
- 5) The media publicises more on the available opportunities for audience engagement or participation as well as the procedures to which audience input such as letters to the editor, SMS and columns are subjected.

7.3 Further research

As alluded to in the significance of study and chapter two, media and human rights research from all perspectives is necessary especially that not much has been done in Zambia. Therefore, this research is only a fraction as there is still room for studies on media and human rights.

³ The Human Rights Commission of Zambia (HRCZ) with the help of UN has a long term plan of mainstreaming human rights in all syllabi of formal education in Zambian schools across all disciplines.

The study proposes further investigations on how the usage of social media could sometimes promote human rights violation. Thus, the proposal for a study on how best people can accept and use phones and social media well enough to understand messages without being human rights violators. Another potential area of study is to establish the viability and value of newspapers to have a human rights desk rated against horizontal human rights coverage. Lastly, is a replication of this study with the electronic media and the online media.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 'A': Questionnaire for Reporters

Research Topic: Print Media Coverage of Human Rights in Zambia: A Case Study of *The Post Newspapers* and *Zambia Daily Mail*

Questionnaire serial No:

Interviewer's Name:

Date of interview:/...../.....

Dear Respondent,

The researcher is a postgraduate student at the University of Zambia. As a requirement, the researcher is conducting a survey on the above-mentioned topic.

You have been randomly selected to participate in the research as a respondent. Please answer questions in this questionnaire as accurately as possible. The information you will give will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

To this effect, you are **NOT** required to provide your name on this questionnaire. Please answer accordingly by ticking [] in the appropriate brackets and where space is given, write your answer in full, giving as much information as possible.

The researcher appreciates your cooperation in advance.

Yours faithfully,

Thomas Mwakonkha Sakala

SECTION A: BACKGROUND

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use only**

1. Sex

- 1. Male []
- 2. Female []

2. How old were you on your last birthday.....

3. Highest educational level attained

- 1. Secondary []
- 2. College []
- 3. University []
- 4. Other, specify.....

4. Marital status

- 1. Married []
- 2. Single []
- 3. Divorced []
- 4. Widowed []
- 6. Separated []

5. Residential Area

6. How long have you worked with your media house?

- 1. Less than a year []
- 2. 1-3 years []
- 3. 4-6 years []
- 4. Above 7 years []

7. What is your position at work?

- 1. Reporter []
- 2. Senior Reporter []
- 3. Sub-editor []
- 4. Editor []
- 5. Trainee []
- 6. Others, specify.....

SECTION B: REPORTING PATTERNS, SOURCES AND CONTENT

For official use only

8. How important do you regard human rights as an issue worth reporting on?

- 1. Very Important []
- 2. Important []
- 3. Not important []
- 4. Slightly Important []

9. Have you ever done a human rights story? (If 'YES', skip to question 11)

- 1. Yes []
- 2. No []

10. Why?

.....

11. How are you informed of human rights violation incidents? (Tick all applicable)

- | | Yes | No |
|--|-----|-----|
| 1. Media | [] | [] |
| 2. Human Rights Commission of Zambia | [] | [] |
| 3. Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) | [] | [] |
| 4. Victims | [] | [] |
| 5. Anonymous sources (Tips) | [] | [] |
| 6. Other(s), specify..... | | |

12. What is your main source for investigating/follow-up and reporting human rights cases? (Tick only one)

- 1. Contact with victims []
- 2. Police reports and press releases []
- 3. NGO reports []
- 4. Media reports []
- 5. Courts of law []
- 6. Anonymous sources (Tips) []
- 7. Other(s), specify.....

13. What challenges do you face when covering human rights stories?

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.

14. What issues do you think media should focus on when reporting human rights?

.....
.....

SECTION C: HUMAN RIGHTS AND EDITORIAL POLICY KNOWHOW

For official use only

15. What is your perception of human rights? (Tick all applicable)
- | | Yes | No | |
|---|-----|-----|--|
| 1. Social and economic rights (e.g. right to education) | [] | [] | |
| 2. Cultural rights (e.g. rights of minorities) | [] | [] | |
| 3. Political rights (e.g. freedom of expression) | [] | [] | |
| 4. Civil rights (e.g. equality before the law) | [] | [] | |
| 5. Others, specify..... | | | |
16. Do you think the training for a journalist in Zambia adequately equips trainees for human rights reporting?
1. Yes []
2. No []
17. Have you ever attended any human rights workshop/training? (If 'NO', skip to question 20)
1. Yes []
2. No []
18. Did you attend to learn or merely to cover the event?
1. To learn []
2. To cover the event []
19. Did you benefit from the workshop/ training?
1. Yes []
2. No []
20. Do you feel yourself sensitized regarding human rights issues?
1. Yes []
2. No []
21. Are you familiar with your media house's editorial policy?
1. Yes []
2. No []
22. If your answer to question 21 is 'YES', to what extent does it place priority on coverage of human rights issues?
1. Greater extent []
2. Moderately []
3. Lesser extent []
4. Not sure []

Go through the Questionnaire to make sure all questions have been responded to

THANK YOU SO MUCH FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION

Appendix ‘B’: In-Depth Interview Guide (HRCZ)

Research Topic: Print Media Coverage of Human Rights in Zambia: A Case Study of *the Post Newspapers* and *Zambia Daily Mail*

In-depth Interview No:

Interviewer’s Name:

BACKGROUND

Date of interview:/...../.....

Interviewee’s Name:.....

Organisation:.....

Position:.....

Years with institution:.....

Contact
info:.....

QUESTIONS

1. What do you understand about human rights?
 - o Perceptions
 - o Intersection between media and human rights
2. Does your organization actively seek media attention?
 - o How?
3. In general, how do you rate the effectiveness of the media in reporting human rights?
4. In your experience, what major print media outlets have been particularly useful and helpful to your organization?
5. Do you read newspapers?
 - o *The Post* and *Zambia Daily Mail*
 - o Does the information provided by the above newspapers help in combating human rights abuses? To what extent? Examples?
 - o If No, what are they doing wrong?
6. Does your organization already have any sort of list of the existing Media houses that you work with?
 - o How? Why?
 - o If not in place, would such a thing be useful for your organization to have?
7. Do you think media practitioners are prepared well enough to cover human rights stories?
 - o Syllabi/ Meetings/Workshops
 - o If not, what have you done to help address situation?
8. How successful do you think the media are in covering human rights?
 - o How do you inform this belief?
 - o Do you have a dedicated human rights column (GBV, CRP, HR) in any of the newspapers?
 - o How easy is it to have a column or to write a letter to the Editor?
9. What human rights stories do you think *The Post* and *Zambia Daily Mail* prioritise?
Civil, Political, Cultural, and Social and Economic rights?
10. What sort of information would your organization like to have from a research on 'media coverage of human rights'?
 - o Gaps/new areas/unsearched
11. Is there anything else about human rights communications you think I might be interested to know about?

Appendix ‘C’: Media Expert In-Depth Interview Guide

Research Topic: Print Media Coverage of Human Rights in Zambia: A Case Study of *the Post Newspapers* and *Zambia Daily Mail*

In-depth Interview No:

Interviewer’s Name:

BACKGROUND

Date of interview:/...../.....

Interviewee’s Name:.....

Organisation:.....

Position:.....

Years with institution:.....

Contact
info:.....

QUESTIONS

- 1) What do you understand about human rights?
 - Perceptions
 - Intersection between media and human rights
- 2) Do you have an Editorial Policy?
 - What does it say with regards to human rights?
 - If no policy or provision in policy, what informs your decision to cover human rights issues?
- 3) Does your organization already have any sort of list of the existing human rights related organizations?
 - How? Why?
 - If not in place, would such a thing be useful for your organization to have?
- 4) In your experience, what institutions/sources have been particularly useful for your organization or particularly open to the idea of working with you on human rights coverage?
- 5) Do you think media practitioners are prepared well enough to cover human rights stories?
 - Syllabi/ Meetings/Workshops
- 6) Does your institution actively engage in investigating human rights issues?
 - Examples?
 - Impact?
 - Challenges in probing such stories?
- 7) How successful does your medium believe it is in covering human rights?
 - How does your organization inform this belief?
 - Do you have a dedicated human rights desk/beat? GBV? CRP?
 - Human rights column?
- 8) What human rights stories are prioritised?
 - Why?
- 9) Who calls the shots, who decides “audience interest”?
- 10) How do you engage the ordinary person in coverage of human rights?
 - Letters to the editor
 - As subjects/Victims/Sources
 - If not, why?
- 11) How do other actors factor into the coverage (government, PR firms, NGOs etc.)?
- 12) In your organisation, what other factors influence the amount and quality of human rights coverage?
 - Competing stories/drive for sells
- 13) To what extent are new trends (advent of technology such as Facebook hosting – news feeds) in communication impacting on human rights coverage?
 - Do they enhance? How?
 - Do they hinder? How?
- 14) What sort of information would your organization like to have from a study on human rights coverage by media?
 - Gaps
 - New areas/unsearched

15) Is there anything else about human rights communications you think I might be interested to know about?

Appendix 'D': Readership Survey Questionnaire

Research Topic: Print Media Coverage of Human Rights in Zambia: A Case Study of *the Post Newspapers* and *Zambia Daily Mail*

Questionnaire serial No:

Interviewer's Name:

Date of interview:/...../.....

Dear Respondent,

The researcher is a postgraduate student at the University of Zambia. As a requirement, the researcher is conducting a survey on the above-mentioned topic.

You have been randomly selected to participate in the research as a respondent. Please answer questions in this questionnaire as accurately as possible. The information you will give will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

To this effect, you are **NOT** required to provide your name on this questionnaire. Please answer accordingly by ticking [] in the appropriate brackets and where space is given, write your answer in full, giving as much information as possible.

The researcher appreciates your cooperation in advance.

Yours faithfully,

Thomas Mwakonkha Sakala

QUESTIONNAIRE SERIAL NO.....

MASTERS QUANTITATIVE SURVEY

QID	QUESTION NUMBER	DESCRIPTION
	Residence	
	Address: (Physical location) Tel.
	a) Province	
	b) District	
	Name of interviewer	
	Date of interview	____/____/____/ DD/MM/YYYY
	Name of field editor	
	Date of editing	____/____/____/ DD/MM/YYYY
	Name of data entry clerk	
	Date of completion	____/____/____/ DD/MM/YYYY

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use only

SECTION A: BACKGROUND

1. Sex

- 1. Male []
- 2. Female []

2. How old were you on your last birthday.....

3. Highest educational level attained

- 1. Primary []
- 2. Secondary []
- 3. College []
- 4. University []
- 5. Nil []

4. Marital status?

- 1. Married []
- 2. Single []
- 3. Divorced []
- 4. Widowed []
- 5. Separated []

5. Residential Area

6. Average income per month

- 1. Below K206 []
- 2. Between K207 – K619 []
- 3. Between K620 – K1239 []
- 4. Between K1240 – K2479 []
- 5. Above K2,480 []

7. What language of communication do you use most of the time at home?

- 1. English []
- 2. Tonga []
- 3. Lozi []
- 4. Bemba []
- 5. Nyanja []
- 6. Lunda []
- 7. Luvale []
- 8. Kaonde []
- 9. Other, specify.....

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SECTION B: MEDIA KNOWLEDGE, READERSHIP SURVEY AND USAGE

8. How often do you read each of the below newspapers?

	1. E/day	2 .Frequently	3. Occasionally	4 .Never
A. <i>Times of Zambia</i>				
B. <i>Zambia Daily Mail</i>				
C. <i>Daily Nation</i>				
D. <i>The Post</i>				
E. <i>New Vision</i>				

9. If your answer to question 8 B or D is NEVER, what reason would you give for not reading the newspapers? (If does not read both *Post* and *Zambia Daily Mail*, answer question 10 and skip to question 19)

	1. Boring	2. Never heard of it	3. Expensive	4. Lack of access
A. <i>The Post</i>				
B. <i>Zambia Daily Mail</i>				

10. How do you rate the effectiveness of the media in reporting human rights issues?

- 1. Very good []
- 2. Good []
- 3. Moderate []
- 4. Poor []
- 5. Very poor []

--

11. How would you describe the human rights related information you read in newspapers?

	1. Adequate	2. Fairly adequate	3. Inadequate	4. Not sure
A. <i>The Post</i>				
B. <i>Zambia Daily Mail</i>				

12. What issues do you think *The Post Newspaper* concentrates on in the dissemination of human rights information? (Tick all applicable)

- | | Yes | No |
|---|-----|-----|
| 1. Social and economic rights (e.g. right to education) | [] | [] |
| 2. Cultural rights (e.g. rights of minorities) | [] | [] |
| 3. Political rights (e.g. freedom of expression) | [] | [] |
| 4. Civil rights (e.g. equality before the law) | [] | [] |

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13. What issues do you think *Zambia Daily Mail* concentrates on in the dissemination of human rights information? (Tick all applicable)

- | | Yes | No |
|---|-----|-----|
| 1. Social and economic rights (e.g. right to education) | [] | [] |
| 2. Cultural rights(e.g. rights of minorities) | [] | [] |
| 3. Political rights (e.g. freedom of expression) | [] | [] |
| 4. Civil rights (e.g. equality before the law) | [] | [] |

14. In your own opinion, how would you rate the performance of *The Post Newspaper* in covering the below human rights issues?

Human right issue	1. V/good	2. Good	3. Moderate	4. Poor	5. V/poor
A. Defilement					
B. Rape					
C. Wife battering					
D. Child labour					
E. Arbitrary arrest and detention					
F. Abuse in prisons					
G. Land ownership					
H. Workers' rights					
I. Unequal sharing of workload (Gender)					

15. In your own opinion, how would you rate the performance of *Zambia Daily Mail* in covering the below issues?

Human right issue	1. V/good	2. Good	3. Moderate	4. Poor	5. V/ poor
A. Defilement					
B. Rape					
C. Wife battering					
D. Child labour					
E. Arbitrary arrest and detention					
F. Abuse in prisons					
G. Land ownership					
H. Workers' rights					
I. Unequal sharing of workload (Gender)					

16. Does the information provided by the newspapers help in the combating of human rights abuses?

A. *The Post Newspaper*

2. Yes [] 2. No [] 3. Not sure []

B. *Zambia Daily Mail*

1. Yes [] 2. No [] 3. Not sure []

17. Do you see any evidence of human rights related change in your community this year that can be attributed to these newspapers?

A. *The Post Newspapers*
1. Yes [] 2. No []

B. *Zambia Daily Mail*
1. Yes [] 2. No []

18. If 'YES', what?

A. *The Post Newspapers*
.....
.....

B. *Zambia Daily Mail*
.....
.....

SECTION C: PARTICIPATION AND OWNERSHIP

19. Do you feel it is it easy for an individual to write to the Editor and get their letter published in these newspaper?

A. *The Post Newspapers*
1. Yes [] 2. No []

B. *Zambia Daily Mail*
1. Yes [] 2. No []

20. If YES to above, have you ever contributed in any way?

A. *The Post Newspapers*
1. Yes [] 2. No []

B. *Zambia Daily Mail*
1. Yes [] 2. No []

21. What is your main channel for human rights information? (*Tick only one*)

- 1. Media []
- 2. Home []
- 3. Syllabus []
- 4. Church []
- 5. Public Address Van []
- 6. All above sources []
- 7. Others, specify.....

--

Go through the Questionnaire to make sure all questions have been responded to

THANK YOU SO MUCH FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION

Appendix 'F': Content Analysis Coding Sheet

Coding sheet for news stories			
Theme	Variables and code values in SPSS		
Human rights classification	1. Political Rights		
	2. Civil Rights		
	3. Economic and Social Rights		
	4. Cultural Rights		
Reactive or Proactive	1. Reactive		
	2. Proactive		
Type of article	1. Hard news		
	2. Feature story		
Headline treatment	1. Front page lead		
	2. Page lead		
	3. Neither		
Victim	1. Children		
	2. Women		
	3. Men		
	4. Women and Children		
	5. Men and Children		
	6. Women and Men		
	7. Men, Women and Children		
Follow-up story	1. Yes		
	2. No		
Foreign or Domestic	1. Domestic		
	2. Foreign		
Usage of research data	1. Yes		
	2. No		
Primary or Secondary coverage	1. Primary		
	2. Secondary		
Picture	1. Yes – Action picture		
	2. Yes – Non-action picture		
	3. No picture		

Human rights Issue/subject	E.g. Education, freedom of expression, Health, CRP		
Total number of stories			
Number of human rights stories			

Coding sheet for Columns			
Theme	Variables and code values in SPSS		
Human rights Classification	1. Political Rights		
	2. Civil Rights		
	3. Economic and Social Rights		
	4. Cultural Rights		
Written by Expert	1. Yes		
	2. No		
Is it prescribing solution	1. Yes		
	2. No		
Reactive or Proactive	1. Reactive		
	2. Proactive		
Usage of research data	1. Yes		
	2. No		
Language used easy to comprehend	1. Yes		
	2. No		
Human rights issue/subject			
Total number of columns			
Total number of human rights columns			
Coding sheet for Letters to the editor			
Theme	Variables and code values in SPSS		
Human rights classification	1. Political Rights		
	2. Civil Rights		
	3. Economic and Social Rights		
	4. Cultural Rights		

Writer's location	1. Lusaka		
	2. Copperbelt		
	3. Muchinga		
	4. Eastern		
	5. Western		
	6. Southern		
	7. Luapula		
	8. Central		
	9. North-western		
	10. Northern		
Usage of research data	1. Yes		
	2. No		
Any response	1. Yes		
	2. No		
Coding sheet for Editorials			
Theme	Variables and code values in SPSS		
Human rights classification	1. Political Rights		
	2. Civil Rights		
	3. Economic and Social Rights		
	4. Cultural Rights		
Is it prescribing solution	1. Yes		
	2. No		
Usage of research data	1. Yes		
	2. No		
Length	1. Below 500		
	2. 500-1000		
	3. 1000-1500		
	4. 1500-2000		
	5. Above 2000		

Coding sheet for Advertisements			
Theme	Variables and code values in SPSS		
Human rights classification	1. Political Rights		
	2. Civil Rights		
	3. Economic and Social Rights		
	4. Cultural Rights		
What is advert suggesting	1. Awareness		
	2. Call to action		

	3. Call to conference		
	4. Others		
Human rights issue/subject			
Number of human rights adverts			

Appendix 'G': Human rights classifications

Content analysis was based on the themes: Civil, Political, Cultural, and Economic and Social Rights

Civil Rights	Political rights
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Right to life • Human dignity • Equality before the law • Fair administration • Right to refuse unlawful instruction • Right to justice • Rights of suspects and arrested persons • Rights of persons detained or in custody • Fair trial • Protection from discrimination • Equality of both gender • Older members of society • Children (protection of young persons) • Family • Persons with disability • Freedom and security of person • Privacy • Slavery, servitude and forced labour • Refugees and asylum • Land and other property • Consumer rights • Freedom of movement and residence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Freedom of expression • Freedom of worship and conscience • Access to information • Freedom of media • Freedom not to disclose source • Independence of public media • Freedom of association • Right to participate in politics • Assembly, demonstration, picketing, lock out and petition
Cultural rights	Economic and social rights
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Language and culture • Intellectual property rights • Minority groups 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Freedom to choose trade, occupation and profession • Labour relations and pension

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social security • Health • Education • Shelter and housing • Food, water and sanitation • Environment
--	--

Appendix ‘H’: List of interviewees

1. Name: Samuel Kasankha
 Position: Chief – Information, Education and Training
 Organisation: Human Rights Commission of Zambia (HRCZ)
 Years with institution: 9 Years
 Date of interview: 13/03/14

2. Name: Austin Mwange
 Position: Research Manager
 Organisation: The Post Newspapers
 Years with institution: 4 Years
 Date of interview: 20/03/14

3. Name: Nebat Mbewe
 Organisation: Zambia Daily Mail
 Position: Director - Editorial
 Years with institution: 25 Years
 Date of interview: 22/03/14