

**A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE PRESS
COVERAGE OF THE ARREST AND RELEASE OF DR.
KENNETH DAVID KAUNDA IN THE *POST*, *ZAMBIA
DAILY MAIL* AND *THE TIMES OF ZAMBIA*.**

by

Mulife M Malambo

Thesis
(M.M.C.)

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**A dissertation submitted to the University of Zambia in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Mass Communication
(MMC).**

The University Of Zambia

Lusaka

April 2005



**A Comparative Analysis of the Press Coverage of the Arrest and Release
of Dr. Kenneth David Kaunda in the *Post*, *Zambia Daily Mail* and
the Times of Zambia - First President of Zambia.**

by

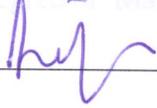
Mulife M Malambo

This dissertation is submitted to the University of Zambia in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Mass Communication.

Declaration

I declare that this thesis has not been submitted for a degree in this or any other university.

Full Name: Mulife Musiwa Malambo

Signature: 

Date: April 2005

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Approval

This dissertation of Mulife M Malambo has been approved as fulfilling the partial requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Mass Communication by the University of Zambia.

1. Chairperson, Board of Examiners

Signature



Date

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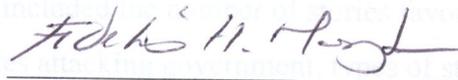
2. Supervisor

Billy Nkunika Signature



30/05/05

3. Fidelis Muzyamba
Examiner



20/05/05

Abstract

Some people argue that there is a difference in the way the government owned media and the private media report political issues. This study was conducted to determine how the press coverage of Zambia's first, President Dr. Kenneth Kaunda's arrest, detention, trial and subsequent release differed in the government owned *Times of Zambia and Zambia Daily Mail* and the privately owned *The Post* newspaper. In conducting the research, first a review of literature was done. The methodology used in the study as well as the results are also given, ending with a discussion. The study found that the type of newspaper, i.e., whether government or privately - owned influenced the nature of coverage of the arrest, detention and release of Dr. Kaunda. This conclusion was reached after analysing a number of variables in the three newspapers under study. The variables included the number of stories favourable to Dr. Kaunda in the three newspapers, number of stories attacking government, types of stories, stories on reactions from the Zambian community on Dr. Kaunda's arrest and release and stories with reactions from the international community. It was found that *The Post* gave more favourable coverage to Dr. Kaunda than the *Times of Zambia* and the *Zambia Daily Mail*. The study also found that *The Post* carried more stories attacking the government and the ruling MMD compared to the *Times of Zambia* and the *Zambia Daily Mail*, thus endorsing the assertion that the type of newspaper influenced the nature of the coverage of Dr. Kaunda's arrest through to his subsequent release. This study concludes that journalists working for the government-owned newspapers are inhibited in their reporting of political issues and usually tend to treat their stories from a government angle.

Dedication

To all my children, Mulako, Musiwa, Muyunda, Njekwa, Sitali, Mulife and Mabuku. I hope this piece of work will serve as an inspiration for greater heights to them.

Acknowledgements

Working on a piece of work such as this one certainly needs a lot of effort and dedication from an individual. However, it is also true to state that without the support of others, it would be difficult to accomplish this kind of task satisfactorily and on time.

It is in this regard that I feel indebted to all the individuals who contributed in their own ways to the successful completion of my research and thesis. I must hasten to add that it may be difficult to acknowledge by name everyone who helped in this effort. It is not deliberate but human omission. I hope that those I might omit will accept my humble apologies.

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University of Zambia

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List of abbreviations/acronyms in the report

AFP	Agence France Presse
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
AJR	American Journalism Review
ANC	African National Congress
BSA	British South Africa Company
CMPA	Centre for Media and Public Affairs
CNN	Cable News Network
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
FODEP	Foundation for Democratic Process
KK	Kenneth Kaunda
LonRho	London Rhodesia Company
<i>MAIL</i>	<i>Zambia Daily Mail</i>
MMD	Movement for Multi Party Democracy
MISA	Media Institute of Southern Africa
NCC	National Christian Coalition
NRANC	Northern Rhodesia Africa National Congress
PANA	Pan African News Agency
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
<i>TIMES</i>	<i>Times of Zambia</i>
UFP	United Federal Party
UNIP	United National Independence Party
ZAMNWA	Zambia Media Women Association
ZIMA	Zambia Independent Media Association

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1.0 Introduction.

This chapter gives a brief background to the problem that stimulated the researcher's interest to undertake this study. It also gives a brief background of Dr. Kenneth David Kaunda, the first President of the Republic of Zambia whose press coverage of his arrest, detention, trial and subsequent release between 1997-98 is the focus of this study. The Chapter also presents, among other things, the statement of the problem, objectives of the study, the significance of the study and the general structure of the dissertation.

1.1 Background to the study.

In an unprecedented move in the history of Zambia, the founding President of the nation, then in the opposition, Kenneth David Kaunda, popularly known as KK, was arrested on December 25, 1997 and later charged with misprision of treason. As a former Zambian Head of State and international statesman, Dr. Kaunda's arrest and subsequent detention and trial undoubtedly became one of the major stories, not only in Zambia, but the world over.

A few days before the announcement of a foiled coup, Dr. Kaunda had predicted an explosion in Zambia in an interview with a *Post* newspaper reporter (*Post* December 18, 1998). Two days before the announcement of the foiled coup, Dr. Kaunda left the country to start a marathon tour of a number of countries.

Dr. Kaunda maintained his innocence from the time rumours linking him to the foiled coup started circulating while he was in Zimbabwe. He repeatedly said in press interviews that he had not run away from anything and would be back in the country as soon as he had finished the commitments on his itinerary. And indeed, true to his word, he returned home on 22nd December 1997, only to be arrested two days later, on Christmas day. As pointed out above, his arrest, detention and trial raised local and world interest.

1.1.1 Reactions to Dr. Kaunda's arrest.

Commenting on Dr. Kaunda's arrest, Roger Chongwe, an outspoken human rights lawyer and activist, as well as chairman of the opposition Zambia Alliance for Progress (ZAP) wrote in *The Post newspaper* that Dr. Kaunda was no ordinary person.

We are in this case dealing not with an ordinary citizen, but a person who was the first President of the country and whose arrest and subsequent detention attracted the world's attention (*The Post*, June 4, 1998).

National Christian Coalition (NCC) president, Nevers Mumba said it was a joke and insult to pretend that there was nothing happening in the nation as far as the imprisonment of opposition leaders was concerned (*The Post*, December 31, 1997).

He added that people were confused as they did not know whether the government was serious or not with the detention of Dr. Kaunda and warned that such events would cause the donor community to hold back aid to Zambia (*ibid.*).

President Frederick Chiluba himself told a press conference announcing the removal of Dr. Kaunda from prison and his subsequent placement under house arrest that he had received requests from other imminent leaders like President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe and former Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere to look after Dr. Kaunda properly. He therefore considered his case separately, as he had not received any requests from anybody to consider the cases of the other suspects. Despite the requests however, government still went ahead and kept Dr Kaunda in detention. Consequently Dr Kaunda went on a hunger strike and it was only after Nyerere visited him at Mukobeko Maximum prison in Kabwe that he convinced him to break his fasting.

On the international scene, British Minister of State at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office Tony Lloyd cancelled his scheduled visit to Zambia due to Kaunda's detention (*Times of Zambia*, Jan 4, 1998).

1.1.2 Dr. Kenneth David Kaunda.

In his book, “End of an era” (1986) Mwanakatwe concludes that history had shown that Kenneth Kaunda was destined to become fascinating if not a controversial political figure in Zambia.

Dr. Kaunda was born in 1924 to Julizya David Kaunda and Helen Nyam Nyirenda in Chinsali, in the Northern province. According to Mwanakatwe (ibid), Kaunda’s acknowledged humility, generosity, and hatred for any form of oppression of the human being in his early years of his political career was as a result of his family’s strong Christian background.

At the age of 16, Kaunda completed Standard 6 and two years later qualified as a trained teacher with an elementary teacher’s certificate. In 1941, young Kaunda travelled from his birthplace of Lubwa Mission in Chinsali to Munali Secondary School in Lusaka in search of further education (Mwanakatwe, 1986).

Kaunda had great interest in music, singing and playing the guitar, which he continued at Munali. He also participated in the Boy Scouts activities and played football. According to Mwanakatwe (ibid), it was at Munali where qualities of Kaunda’s leadership emerged. He was appointed a dormitory chief at 19 years, younger than most of his school mates.

John Mwanakatwe who was also a student at Munali during the same period (early 1940’s) states in his book that one of the teachers at Munali who had great influence on Kaunda was a South African named Daniel Sonquishe.

Daniel Sonquishe and Kaunda became close friends, sharing a passion for the guitar. On Saturdays when Kaunda went to help clean Sonquishe’s house, they talked politics. Sonquishe’s constant message was simple: things had by then gone too far along the road to racial discrimination in South Africa for Africans but it was not too late, he said, in Northern Rhodesia. Kaunda thinks this injunction from Sonquishe was what steered him into politics (Mwanakatwe, 1998:33).

On 22 January 1964 Dr. Kaunda was invited by the Governor of Northern Rhodesia, Sir Evelyn Hone, to form a government and was appointed Prime Minister. At 39 years that time, Kaunda became the youngest Prime Minister in the Commonwealth (ibid.). On 24th October 1964, Zambia became a sovereign republic and Dr. Kaunda became its first President.

In international politics Dr. Kaunda was prominent as a peace maker, an unrelenting fighter against colonialism and apartheid in South Africa. He has also been a staunch supporter of Pan Africanism . This probably explains why Dr. Kaunda's arrest detention and trial 28 years after he led the country to independence raised great concern the world over.

1.1.3 The October 28, 1997 coup attempt.

Six years after Dr. Kaunda relinquished political power, in the early hours of October 28, 1997 Zambians woke up to an announcement by an army captain, Stephen Lungu alias " Captain Solo", that there had been a coup and the ruling Movement for Multi Party Democracy (MMD) government overthrown. However, by mid-morning, government troops had regained control of the State Radio Station at the Mass Media Complex where the announcement was made and the captain and his allies arrested.

Ninety days later, the Republican President, Frederick Chiluba proposed and parliament approved a 90-day State of Emergency, which was scheduled to end in February 1998. The state of Emergency allowed the government to detain suspects for 28 days without trial. By the end of the year, the government had detained 86 persons including former President Kaunda.

1.2 Justification of the study.

In Zambia, the government-owned newspapers namely, the *Times of Zambia* and the *Zambia Daily Mail* have been accused of being pro-government when covering political issues particularly those relating to the opposition, while the privately owned press, especially *The Post*, has been accused of being anti-government and sensational. Ironically these accusations were also made during the Second Republic when Dr Kaunda himself was President of the country.

The main justification of the study lies in the fact that to date, there is no such study done in Zambia involving a prominent person, let alone a former President. This study will therefore lay the ground work for future research in this area in Zambia.

1.3 Objectives.

The purpose of this study is to determine how the coverage of Dr. Kaunda's arrest, detention and trial differed in the three major newspapers in Zambia named above.

The specific objectives are:

1. To examine and compare how the stories published in the private and government media differed with regard to support for Dr. Kaunda.
2. To determine the reaction, as reported by the three newspapers, to Dr. Kaunda's arrest by both the international and local communities.

1.4 Research questions

- 1) How did the coverage of Dr.Kaunda's arrest trial and subsequent release in the three newspapers differ.
- 2) How did the three newspapers prioritise their reporting of Dr.Kaunda.

1.5 Thesis outline.

This dissertation consists of seven chapters.

The introductory chapter gives the general background of the study and also briefly outlines the justification , objectives, methods used, e.t.c.

The second chapter briefly tackles the press and politics in Zambia since the colonial days to the period under study. It gives a brief background of the political situation in Zambia since the colonial days, through independence, to the one party system and back to multiparty politics. The chapter also gives a brief background of the development of the press in Zambia from the colonial days to the end of the period under study.

Chapter three tackles literature review while chapter four explains the theoretical framework and focuses on the gatekeeping theory . It gives some of the definitions of gatekeeping and gatekeeper, its history, levels of application, and its strengths and weaknesses.

The methodology used in the study is given in chapter five.

In chapter six the researcher presents the results with the first section of the chapter giving a qualitative analysis of the findings. The second part presents the statistical tables and interpretation of the tables.

Chapter seven offers the discussion and conclusion .

1.6 Conclusion.

As stated earlier, this chapter set out to give a general overview of this research. It gave among other issues, the background to the study, the objectives of the study and methods of the study.

CHAPTER 2

Politics And The Press In Zambia

2.0 Introduction.

In this chapter the researcher will briefly trace the political history of Zambia as well as the history of the press from the colonial days to the end of the period under study and also try to show the relationship between the two.

2.1 Colonial Rule.

According to Oliver and Atmore (1981) the impact of colonial rule on African societies varied greatly, not only from one territory to another, but also from one part to another. Before colonialism, people in Zambia lived under independent chiefs and Kings. Most of them subsisted by farming, fishing, ranching and hunting and produced surplus.

The colonial period in tropical Africa lasted for about 70 years. The first 30 years of this period may be called the years of establishment. The next 30 years, the years of active development and the last 10, the years of retreat.

After the colonial powers divided Africa among themselves, they lost most of the interest they had in the continent. There were few parts of Africa, which were expected to produce immediate wealth. The European nations had partitioned Africa mainly in order to ensure that they would be excluded from regions, which might prove valuable in the future (Oliver and Atmore, 1981:129).

At the end of the 19th century, European states took a much narrower view of the functions of government, even within their own frontiers.

It was felt in Europe that the main duty of governments in the new African colonies was to maintain law and order. Where European governments assumed direct responsibility for the government of their new colonies, the strictest economy was practised.

2.1.1 Federation.

In 1924, the British Colonial Office assumed responsibility for administering Northern Rhodesia. In 1953, Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and Nyasaland (Malawi) were joined together to form the Central African Federation, despite opposition from the Africans.

African protests in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland against colonial rule began with religious sects especially the Watchtower Sect. More overt political resistance began with the voluntary welfare societies organised by a tiny minority of Africans with Western primary education.

These societies became widespread with urbanisation that was taking place in the 1930's. The societies later grouped into the federation of African societies in 1946. Within two years, this federation had transformed itself into the Northern Rhodesia African National Congress (NRANC).

Tordoff and Molteno (1974) write that the African National Congress (ANC) as NRANC soon became known – led the unsuccessful anti-federation struggle of the early 1950's. But a more militant offshoot, the Zambia African National Congress which was succeeded by the United National Independence Party (UNIP) after it was banned in 1959, spearheaded the final stages of the independence struggle which was victorious in 1964 (Tordoff and Molteno, 1974: 3).

2.1.2 Independence.

The new black government immediately embarked on development programmes including a massive education drive to provide equal education opportunities for all. Kenneth Kaunda, who became president of the new republic, propounded the philosophy of humanism, which placed man at the centre of all activity.

2.2 From multiparty to one party and back to one party.

Since independence on 24th October 1964, Zambia has had four constitutions. The 1964 Constitution was a multi-party democratic constitution. In December 1972, Zambia introduced a one party “ participatory democracy” leading to the 1973 Constitution. The one-party constitution provided for the existence of only one political party - UNIP.

All the other existing political parties were proscribed and it became illegal to form any other political party. All forms of political participation was thereafter channeled through the party UNIP (Momba, 1997). Among the salient features of the one-party system was the provision in the constitution for the supremacy of the party above the state. All party organs became supreme to parallel state organs. For example, Members of the UNIP Central Committee (MCC’s) were superior to cabinet ministers.

In 1990, Zambia reverted to multi partyism with the repeal of Article 4 of the 1973 Constitution. On 24th August 1991, Dr. Kaunda assented to the Constitution of Zambia Act No 1 that ushered in the Third Republic (UNIP, 1997:5). However, the opposition was soon galvanised into what came to be known as the Movement for Multi party Democracy (MMD).

After two decades of one-party rule, free and fair multiparty elections were held in November 1991 which resulted in the victory of the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) and the election of Frederick Chiluba, a former trade unionist, as President of the country. He replaced Dr. Kaunda who had ruled the country for 27 years, ushering in the Third Republic. With the Third Republic came an independent press.

In November 1996 the second “multiparty elections” were held and Chiluba was re-elected President of the country. The MMD won 131 of the 150 seats in the National Assembly but the results were disputed by the opposition because they objected to Constitutional amendments enacted in May 1996 which banned chiefs from active participation in politics and barred-first generation citizens from ruling the country. Since Dr. Kaunda’s parents were Malawians he was disqualified from seeking the Presidency. UNIP which was the largest opposition party boycotted the elections in protest.

2.3 Brief History of the Zambian Press.

As the struggle against colonialism gained momentum, the nationalist leaders recognized the power of the press as an instrument of change. According to Barton (1979), there were one or two missionary news-sheets in Northern Rhodesia but nothing serious appeared in them until the *Livingstone Mail* was founded in 1906 by Leopold Frank Moore.

2.3.1. Livingstone Pioneer.

Kasoma (1987) traces the first newspaper ever published in Zambia (then Northern Rhodesia) to the *Livingstone Pioneer*, which was first published in 1906 in Livingstone and was owned by W. Tranter . The paper did not last long.

2.3.2 Livingstone Mail.

In the same year, Leopold Frank Moore started a rival newspaper the *Livingstone Mail*. However, this was a white man's newspaper owned by a white man designed to be read by the whitemen who were coming in from South Africa and Southern Rhodesia (Barton 1979:126).

For the *Livingstone Mail*, blacks were dirty people whom whites were to keep away from. Blacks were portrayed as loafers and criminals whom the government was supposed to clear off Livingstone streets for the safety of whites (Kasoma,1987:22).

According to Kasoma (ibid.) the *Livingstone Mail* never ran stories about Africans unless they were of direct concern to whites.

Although the *Mail* remained the only newspaper published in Northern Rhodesia at that time, the *Bulawayo Chronicle* , published in Southern Rhodesia was the most widely circulated and perhaps the most influential in the country.

Those who could read studied newspapers such as the *Bulawayo Chronicle* and Leopold Moore's vociferous *Livingstone Mail* founded in 1906. From these journals Africans learnt about the arguments over

amalgamation with Southern Rhodesia and discovered that Europeans could disagree violently among themselves (Hall p.116).

Despite the fact that the *Livingstone Mail* dates back to 1906, 1944 seems to mark the beginning of national newspaper enterprise in Northern Rhodesia (Ainslie,1966). This was the year in which the Bantu Press's Southern Rhodesia subsidiary, African Newspapers launched the *Bantu Mirror* which was intended to circulate in Northern Rhodesia (ibid.).

2.3.3 Northern Rhodesian Advertiser and Copperbelt Times

Around the 1930's there were other newspapers that were started which represented white interests. Among them were the *Northern Rhodesia Advertiser* established and edited by F. Mackenzie on February 9 1935 (Kasoma p. 27).

According to Kasoma (ibid.) it was not the first newspaper to be published in the country as a whole. Neither was it the second newspaper to be published in the country. The *Copperbelt Times*, a weekly newspaper that had started in Chingola on 18th March, 1932 and was still being published when the *Northern Rhodesian Advertiser* came out in Ndola had this double distinction. The *Copperbelt Times*, a brain child of two miners E.C. Wykerd and E.B Hovelmeir ran for eleven years until it was superseded by *The Northern News* in 1943.

According to Kasoma (ibid.), the *Copperbelt Times* appears to have been a channel of communicating local gossip and social news of white miners around mine camps. (P.27).

2.3.4 Northern News

The *Northern News* was founded in 1943 and became the first daily newspaper in Northern Rhodesia on 5 January 1953.

According to Kasoma's research, to state that the *Northern News* was mainly the new name of the old *Copperbelt Times* given to it when Wykerd and Hovelmeir moved their presses from Chingola to Ndola after being joined by Roy Welensky is a gross understatement. Many hands were involved in the changes including those of government (p.34).

However, according to Kasoma (ibid.) the fact remains that the Northern Rhodesia Government had no financial stake in *the Northern News*.

According to Hall (1965) the *Northern News* spoke for the bulk of non-Africans when it contrasted the record of the United Federal Party (UFP) with that of the nationalists.

It asked pointedly whether the achievements of the past were to be cast aside for the gamble that men who have never sat in a parliament and whose party has a past record of violence and a present record of intimidation, can do better. Kaunda protested that the newspaper was carrying out a ruthless war of cheap and intentional propaganda against UNIP. It has done everything to paint my party as a party of devils and wrong doers (Hall : 217).

According to Kasoma (1987) Welensky bought out the entire shareholding of the newspaper in 1944 and was the majority shareholder in the paper until December 1950 when he sold it to the Southern Rhodesia-based Argus company.

When Welensky became the sole owner of *The Northern News*, he made sure that the paper was his political mouth piece.

2.3.5 *Central African Post*.

When the *Northern News* was started, it was not taken seriously by the British colonial administration. Moreover, African nationalism was still so much in its early stages that, according to the *Northern News*, “ it did not even offend the Whites ” (Barton:127).

However, it did offend one Scotsman by the name of Alexander Scott who was a retired physician. Scott knew next to nothing about newspaper work but to counter Welenskys' *Northern News*, he founded the *Central African Post* in 1948 (ibid).

Dr Alexander Scott had just retired from medical practice and is said to have been very politically minded although he knew almost nothing about newspaper work.

His wife explained that: “because the best way of ensuring continued expression of one’s views in print is to be one’s own newspaper proprietor, the idea of starting a paper of his own in Lusaka appealed to Dr Scott as the most exciting way of spending his retirement (Ainslie, 1966).

However, like the other newspapers during that time, the *Central African Post* was a newspaper for White settlers.

According to Kasoma’s research (1987) the *Central African Post* was very much anti-black. The research, for example, shows that in 1950, the *Central African Post* published 20 editorials against Africans and only six in their support. In the same year, only one editorial was against Whites while four were in their support.

But, in due course, the *Central African Post* editor whom Scott had employed from Britain did something unexpected of in white newspapers that time in any part of tropical Africa: report African news and even more revolutionary, publish letters from Africans (Barton 1979).

As word spread that African letters were being printed, a regular flood began to arrive from Africans all over the world and further a field.

When a young crop of politicians just beginning to emerge including a short-trousered, barefooted young man named Kenneth Kaunda realized that they could get into print, the *Central African Post* found itself in confrontation with the colonial government.”
(Barton: 128).

In due course, more and more nationalists looked to the *Central African Post* to give a fair show of their views and increasingly, editorial support in its leader column (Barton:128).

2.3.6 *Mutende*

According to Hall (1965) when in 1933 the first meeting of the United African Welfare Association of Northern Rhodesia (UAWA) was held in Kafue, it was a flop.

However, one significant request at the meeting was that government should start a newspaper for Africans, since the country's only journal (then) the *Livingstone Mail* was directed at Europeans.

Such a request had been made by Africans in Livingstone six years earlier but was ignored. When the government finally launched *Mutende* in 1936, it was not in consideration of African-wishes, but as a counter-blast to Watchtower Literature (Hall :119).

Mutende's role of informing the Africans about news of events within and outside the territory was considered the least important (Kasoma : 47).

Mutende became very unpopular among Africans and on 30th December, 1952, the paper folded up and was superseded by the *African Eagle* in 1953 which folded up in 1962.

2.3.7 *Bantu Press*.

Dr Alexander Scott later on went into partnership with a Salisbury Company owned by David Paver who was instrumental in the creation of the South African Bantu Press. Despite its name, Bantu Press was concerned with maintaining the status quo in Southern Africa.

Thus, given the racist nature of the established white press, a need had clearly been created for a press for blacks.

2.4 Contemporary **Zambian press.**

In order to understand the nature of the press coverage of Kaunda by the three newspapers under study, it is necessary to have a brief insight of the development of the Zambian press.

According to Kasoma (1986) who has done extensive research on the development of the press in Zambia, the contemporary Zambian press evolved largely between 1957 and 1965.

2.4.1 The *African Times*

Without considering ownership the *African Times* though short-lived, is documented as the first truly African newspaper. It was started by Scott on 6 November 1957 and folded up on 21st March 1958.

The newspaper entered the Northern Rhodesia newspaper field at a time when the country was at its political crossroads and Africans were turning more and more to the language of violence and destruction (Kasoma, 1987).

The Managing Director of the *African Times* was Frank Burton . Elias Mtepuka, an experienced African journalist who earlier used to work for the *Daily Mirror* in London was the editor.

As time went on, Mtepuka was ruthless and consistent in his editorials, many of which were diatribes against the Federation. He also supported the more dynamic members of the ANC of whom Kenneth Kaunda was emerging as leader. The news columns of *African Times* followed the same pattern of carrying negative news about the Federation and mostly positive news about African nationalists (*ibid.*, p.66).

The *African Times* closed down on 14 March 1958 after its new owners Founder Building Society of Southern Rhodesia withdrew its Financial support as its chairman A E P Robinson was a well known supporter of the Federation (Kasoma *ibid.*).

2.4. 2 *African Life*

After the *African Times* folded up, another newspaper, *African Life* was started in December 1958. It was published and edited by Sikota Wina and started as a magazine until 1st November 1959 when it became a newspaper. It is worth noting

that this was the first time that an African in Northern Rhodesia had published a newspaper.

However, *African Life* was virtually a UNIP mouth-piece. Wina had connections with the top leadership of UNIP and eventually joined the party as its publicity chief. The paper published many inside stories about UNIP which other newspapers could not get (Kasoma, 1987).

The newspaper was so extremely pro-UNIP that the other major political party in existence at the time in Northern Rhodesia, the African National Congress (ANC) complained through its Secretary General Job Michello that the African press was no longer asking his party for interviews and permission to attend meetings and that he was only approached for details of his party's meetings after they had taken place. Michello vowed not to cooperate with such a press. The paper stopped publishing in 1961 due to "hard economic realities" (*ibid.* p.6).

2.4.3 (Central) African Mail

The *African Mail*, which later became the *Central African Mail* was started in 1960. This is the newspaper that in 1983 became the *Zambia Daily Mail* (Kasoma p.69). Dr. Alexander Scot who started the *African Times* in 1957 played a notable role in the founding of this newspaper (Kasoma, p. 69).

David Astor, editor of the *London observer* helped finance the newspaper with funds from his own Cushion Trust after being approached by Richard Hall through his friend Anthony Sampson. Astor, Hall and Scot first established the African Mail, Ltd, the company that published the *African Mail* and Hall became the editor.

The *African Mail* was the first African Newspaper to give wide publicity to African nationalists both at home and abroad. When its circulation extended to the entire Federation its name was changed to the *Central African Mail* (*ibid.*).

Its editorial policy was generally to support UNIP, the principal African political party in Northern Rhodesia at the time. The newspaper also strongly opposed Welensky and the Federation. In addition the Northern Rhodesia Government officially was sympathetic to the newspaper as it regarded the feelings expressed by the *Central African Mail* as reflective of the Africans as a whole and saw the newspaper's role as that of a safety valve. (ibid p.74).

2.4.4 Northern News / Times of Zambia.

Kasoma (1987) documents that an unprecedented rate of newspaper consolidation took place in 1964. Fearing that the pro-white record of their news would have repercussions in the attitude of the new indigenous government the South African-based Argus Group together with its Southern Rhodesia-based subsidiary, the Rhodesia Printing and Publishing Company pulled out from the about to be independent nation as newspaper publishers.

According to Kasoma (ibid) the first newspaper the Argus gave up was the *Central African Post* in February 1964. It was incorporated into *The Northern News*, another Argus Newspaper. In December 1964, the Argus sold *The Northern News* to the London Rhodesia Mining and Land Company (Lonrho).

Shortly before acquiring the Northern News Lonrho also bought Northern Rhodesia's only other Daily Newspaper, the *Zambia Times* and its Sunday version, *Zambia News* which was also the country's first and only Sunday newspaper. Max Heinrich, an enterprising white businessman, had started the two newspapers in Kitwe in August 1965 heavily subsidizing them with profits from his prosperous brewing enterprise. (ibid p. 84).

According to Kasoma, the purchase of *Zambia Times* and *Zambia News* was part of a package deal for Heinrich's businesses and the two newspapers were the first ones to be owned by Lonrho which was founded in 1909.

When the Salisbury-based Lonrho Managing Director Roland Rowland wanted to close down both the *Zambia Times* and the *Zambia News* the government advised him to keep the Sunday newspaper and to move *Zambia News* to The Northern News plant in Ndola where it continued

under the same name. Rowland killed the *Zambia Times* and renamed *The Northern News*, *The Times of Zambia* which first appeared on 30 June, 1965.

2.4.5 *Zambia (Daily) Mail*.

In 1965, the government expressed concern at one foreign company, – Lonrho - ,owning all the national newspapers in the country. It owned *the Northern News (Times of Zambia) Zambia Times and Zambia News*. The only other newspaper outside Lonrho was the *Central African Mail*. In May 1965, the government announced it would keep the *Central African mail* (Kasoma ibid p.111). The *Central African Mail* later changed its name to *Zambia Mail* and become a daily on 15 July, 1969.

The *Zambia Mail* in its first year was hardly critical of government in its editorials earning itself the nickname “Government Gazzette”.

In an editorial to mark the occasion of it becoming a Daily it said.

As a government newspaper owned ultimately by the Zambian people, the Mail is completely committed to the development and progress of the nation and to improving the lot of the common man. In fulfilling this role, it will aim at giving full and accurate coverage to the Government 's plan and policies. It will try to explain these policies to the people and with support for them. It will defend the Government when necessary, but will not white wash government departments, when mistakes are made. (Kasoma :114).

Although the government acquired the *Zambia (Daily) Mail* in 1965, it was only recognised as its mouth-piece at the beginning of 1970 (ibid.).

The *Times of Zambia* remained in private hands until 1982, despite an announcement by Kaunda in 1975 that UNIP had taken it over.

2.4.6 The *National Mirror*

By the early 70's the *National Mirror* was the only private newspaper in the country and was owned by a consortium of Christian churches that had opened a multimedia centre.

2.5 Press Freedom

Kasoma notes that between 1975 and 1983, there was a bitter struggle by the *Times of Zambia* and the *Zambia Daily Mail* for press freedom.

For the newspaperman, this freedom was derived from the Constitutional right of every individual to spread and receive ideas.... For the politician, the party had a right to stop the press from publishing news and ideas, which were objectionable to it, particularly those, which painted the party in unfavourable light (Kasoma :134).

A classic example Kasoma cites to illustrate this is a 1981 incident in which the then UNIP Secretary General, Humphrey Mulemba , and effectively number two to the President of the Republic, sent his aides to get a copy of a *Times of Zambia* story from the newspaper's Kitwe offices. Mulemba wanted to satisfy himself the story of a meeting he addressed earlier had been written in a manner he agreed with, before publication.

The aides pulled chief reporter Arnold Kapelembi out of bed and made him climb a wall into the telex room to get the script of the story. Thereafter, the story was taken, together with Kapelembi, to Mulemba to go through. It was only after Mulemba had satisfied himself there was nothing objectionable in it that Kapelembi was released.

Thus, it would appear that the state, having experienced biased coverage by the white-owned press, also believed it had the right to use the newly acquired press to its advantage. Hence since the take-over of the *Times of Zambia* and the *Zambia Daily Mail* by the state the two newspapers have always been very careful in how they report issues both in the Second and Third Republics. It is this tight control of the government media that has raised a lot of concern.

Chirwa (1997) notes in his book *The Press in Zambia* that Freedom of the press is essentially:

The latitude and conditionality that accords a media practitioner the liberty to access and gather information, select and publish material in order to serve the public good without any interference or censorship from any quarters, provided of course that liberty is within the limits set by the individual rights of citizens.

(Chirwa, 1997:25).

He adds that often the press has been described as the Fourth Estate, others being the Executive, Judiciary and Legislature. Full and accurate information on matters of public interest is the measure by which institutions and governments and all others in positions of authority are held accountable to and by the public. As such, the media serve as watchdogs against the abuse of power and against corruption (Chirwa, 1997:25).

Moore (1991) notes that freedom of the press means being free, fair and truthful and can not be imposed by an outside body.

Fairness and truth are relative due to who is doing the evaluation, based on their biases. The profession demands an objective treatment of those things. The journalist to be true to the profession must subscribe to the ethics of the profession without exception. A reporter's job is to seek out the news, find the truth, report what was said or done, and who said it or did it (Moore, 1991:56).

However, in the Third Republic, the MMD government also seems to have maintained a tight control on the government media including the *Times of Zambia* and the *Zambia Daily Mail*, despite its 1991 promises to privatize the media once in power. In fact, as Momba (1997) notes, the main-stream media in Zambia are for all practical purposes extensions of the ruling party – in this case biased against Dr Kaunda in its coverage since he was no longer in power but in the opposition.

Momba (ibid.) notes that for democracy to thrive, there should be a press which will fairly and accurately report the activities and policies of the various political parties whether in government or in the opposition.

He adds that in Zambia, the two main daily newspapers (sic) are all government controlled, and states that their role since the 1991 elections has been to undermine the opposition parties while also showing open bias towards the ruling party.

McCullum (1998) told a journalist's national consultative assembly in Lusaka :

When public media slants its news towards government, political parties or other sacred cows without fairness and balance, they become little more than propaganda sheets for politicians. When the private media slants its coverage towards the negative and sensational simply to sell more papers or advertising space, then they treat information as they do any other commodity. It is like selling soap
(McCullum, 1998:5).

Journalism at its best acts as an honest broker between the powerful and the ordinary citizens. Professional, fair, honest and ethical journalists provide the public with information they must have in order to make intelligent decisions in a democratic society. Without that information, fairly presented, democracy cannot function effectively. It is three legged (Moore 1991: 41).

McCullum (1998) feels that the role of a free and responsible media is essential if emerging democracies are to become more than simply election-day events without developing a culture which includes the human rights of free expression, association and dissent.

2.6 The Press in the Third Republic.

When the MMD came to power in 1991, it generated great hopes for the rebirth of democracy not only in Zambia but throughout Africa as Zambia was one of the first countries to hold successful elections after 17 years of one party rule.

The MMD leadership promised the Zambian people many things, among them to undertake press reforms. The MMD argued that it was not possible to have democratic elections with a biased press. Thus, privatisation of the mass media was one of the early things it promised to do once in office (Momba, 1997:174).

A number of privately-owned publications were launched with the advent of multi-party politics in the 1990's. Among these were the *Daily Express*, followed by the *Weekly Post* (now *The Post*) which was established by a group of 27 businessmen in 1992. Others that followed included *The Sun*, *Crime News* (later renamed the *Confidential*), *The Chronicle*, *Sport on Monday* and *The Monitor*.

According to Chirwa (1997), political events such as the food riots and looting mainly on the Copperbelt and the demonstrations started by university students in Lusaka followed by a coup attempt announced by army Lt. Mwamba Luchembe in June 1990 essentially engendered accelerated calls for a radical change from the existing one-party state to multi-partiism.

The event also gave rise to the need for some suitable media for free expression of political thought and speech. This agitation for free expression of speech and thought was seen in the growing number of newspapers and magazines, registered in 1990 and 1991 by the National Archives of Zambia (ibid.).

By October 1991, not less than 25 newspapers and three magazines had been registered. In contrast, only four newspapers had been registered between June and November 1990. Most significant among the then newly registered newspapers that continue to be published is the *Post*. It started towards the end of Dr. Kaunda's reign on 26 July 1991 as an independent newspaper sponsored by local business people with the motto, "The paper that digs deeper".

Despite this seemingly healthy development, Kasoma (1999) in his inaugural lecture as professor of journalism and mass communication, likens the private press in Africa to a watchdog, which has been constantly in chains. The dog, having suddenly been freed, goes wild

barking at and biting everyone in sight including those who have not provoked it, to express its freedom.

Most of the private press of the 1990's in Africa has behaved in similar fashion. It has wantonly attacked those in government, opposition and even private citizens, to the point of fabricating some of the information all in the name of a free press (Kasoma, 1999: 17).

In comparing the private and state media, Kabwe (1997), notes that print media reports in state media on the opposition, during the run up to the 1995 general elections were heavily laden with biased value judgements.

According to the US Department of State Country Report on Zambia, the MMD's use of government resources including the state-owned media put the fairness of the elections into question (Department of State, 1998).

A survey of the media coverage of competing political parties conducted by the Foundation for Democratic Process (FODEP) during the election campaign period revealed glaring disparities in the allocation of space and airtime among the competitors (Kabwe, 1998).

It showed that the *Times of Zambia* carried a total of 63 election stories. Out of these, MMD alone had as much as 40, while the opposition as a whole had only 23. The *Zambia Daily Mail*, which had done a total of 55 stories allowed the entire opposition only 20 coverages while the MMD alone was covered 35 times.

Kabwe (1997) also cites a *Daily Mail* story of November 25, 1996, in which it was reported that six journalists; who included acting *Zambia Information Services* Deputy Director Nalishebo Mundia, *Zambia National Broadcasting Services (ZNBC)* Commercial Manager Abias Moyo, and News editor Dominic Chimanyika Sub Editor Gershom Musonda, and Radio 2 Manager Charles Banda were all given indefinite suspensions on allegations that they conspired with the

Zambia Independent Monitoring Team (ZIMT) President Alfred Zulu, whose organisation, together with other monitors, had declared the elections as not being free and fair.

Furthermore there was the dismissal of the *Times of Zambia* Managing Editor Arthur Simuchoba whose only crime was to run opinion columns which were critical of the government.

On May 1, 1998, while Kaunda was still in detention, *The Post* ran a story that a *Daily Mail* reporter Joy Sata was facing disciplinary action for exposing and condemning the newspaper's editorial practices of censoring stories critical of the government.

Sata is said to have made the remarks on a television programme on the *ZNBC* on which she had appeared as a panellist on a World Press Freedom day programme, representing the Zambia Media Women Association (ZAMWA).

Sata is alleged to have said on the programme that most stories which were critical of government, were not published in the state owned and government controlled newspapers.

Most of the times, she said, a reporter wanted to do a good story but was told to start it with a government position and not that of the source, Sata said. She added that reporters working for these media institutions usually ended up censoring themselves if they came across critical stories against government because they would not be published.

The *Daily Mail* management, despite the fact that Sata was representing ZAMWA, was quick to respond:

Ms Sata as a mere reporter is a junior member of staff with neither authority nor competence to talk to the nation about such policy matters. She appeared on the programme purely as a ZAMWA representative and it is unfortunate that she chose to misrepresent the editorial board on which she does not even sit (*Post*, May 1, 1998).

Management then followed this up with a letter asking her to show cause why disciplinary action should not be taken against her. However, the impending disciplinary action was discontinued after action alerts against the newspaper by the Zambia Independent Media Association (ZIMA), the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) and ZAMWA.

The MMD government persisted throughout 1998 in its attempts to limit press freedom. For example, during the Habeas Corpus hearing for Kaunda after his arrest, some journalists were subjected to rigorous and intimidating searches before entering the court room.

A 1998 country report on Zambia by the Committee to Protect Journalists noted that as the government sought to limit coverage of the trials of the alleged coup plotters, some journalists and media outlets reporting on the proceedings found themselves in trouble.

A story filed by Anthony Mukwita in the *Weekly Guardian*, dated 16 January 1998, said that police denied three correspondents for the foreign press, Jowie Mwiinga (Reuters), Katongo Chisupa of Agence France Presse (AFP) and Musengwa Kayaya of Pan African News Agency (PANA), from entering the court claiming it was full.

On April 17, police detained Dickson Jere, a reporter for *The Post* in connection with an interview he had conducted with Kaunda before the attempted coup in which he predicted an explosion in Zambia (*The Post*, April 18, 1998).

On February 1, police assaulted Amy Mertz, a camera person for the Cable News Network (CNN) when she attempted to film Kenneth Kaunda, the former president and leader of the opposition United National Independent Party (UNIP) outside the high court where he was facing charges of alleged involvement in the coup (*The Post*, February 2, 1998).

Other television journalists from the South Africa Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) who included television journalists Graham Robertson and Eddie Tadera, were also later harassed and barred from covering Kaunda's court proceedings.

The state continued to control and exercise considerable influence over state owned *Times of Zambia* and *Zambia Daily Mail* which continued to toe government line on important issues.

Thus, as Momba (1997) notes, although the MMD was critical of state-ownership of the main mass media when it was fighting to dislodge Kaunda and UNIP from power, it rejected all calls to privatise the two main newspapers namely the *Times of Zambia*, the *Zambia Daily Mail* as well as *Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC)*.

In fact, in 1997, the government announced its intentions to legislate a Media Council Bill that would have limited press freedom. Had it been successful in enacting the bill, it would have, among other things, made it a requirement for journalists to have government approved minimum educational qualifications and a license to practice journalism. Journalists in Zambia feared that if the proposed Bill had been passed into law, some of President Chiluba's most vocal critics in the private media would have been made jobless.

After considerable criticism and protest, the government withdrew the bill. As a result of this attempt to stifle press freedom by the government, media practitioners from both the private and government media in Zambia opted for self regulation by forming a Media Complaints Council.

Given the above background, what then was the nature of the press coverage in the *Zambia Daily Mail*, *The Post* and the *Times of Zambia* of Kaunda's arrest, detention and trial ? The following chapter gives the literature review.

CHAPTER 3

Literature Review

3.0 Introduction

This section will tackle literature review from two perspectives. The first section will review literature on media coverage of presidents and other celebrities as well as a review of how the Zambian media has covered some important news events in the past. The second part reviews some literature on media and politics.

3.1 Media coverage of political figures and celebrities

The issue of media coverage of political figures or major events over a period of time is one area that has received little attention, if any, in Africa and Zambia in particular. In fact, this researcher found very little evidence to show that any studies of this nature have ever been undertaken in Zambia. Literature available on the press coverage of politicians including that of celebrities, is mostly of studies done in the countries in the North. This study was done to investigate how the three major newspapers in Zambia covered one of its top politicians, the first President, Dr Kenneth Kaunda.

3.1.1 Coverage of Mandela's release from prison

In Africa there is no doubt that Nelson Mandela was one of the most widely covered political figures by the press, not only in Africa but the whole world. Unprecedented world attention shifted to Mandela when his release from prison was imminent in 1990, after spending 27 years in prison .

Although this researcher did not come across any evidence showing any research having been done of how the African media covered the issue, there are some studies that have been done by institutions in the North such as Media Watch (<http://.media.com/>).

In analysing the media coverage of Mandela, Media Watch (1990) found that Mandela's 27 years in South African prisons transformed him into a powerful international symbol of the fight

against South Africa's apartheid system. The study also found that coverage of Mandela was notably long on adulation and short on investigation (ibid.).

A study it did of evening news coverage of Mandela's release during the first three weeks of February 1990 found that reporters often compared Mandela to the Pope, Jesus Christ and Moses. But not one story discussed Mandela's embrace of communism and only a few CNN reports mentioned his alleged role in acts of terrorism (ibid.).

The findings of the Media Watch study are of interest to this study as they give us a feel of how the media treated an eminent African personality in whose class Kaunda is. Like Mandela, Kaunda is a highly respected personality the world over. He has greatly contributed to the liberation of countries in Southern Africa, and even after leaving the Presidency, his influence in national and international politics is still evident. Therefore how the media covered his arrest and subsequent release is of great interest to the media fraternity in particular and the general public, especially the difference in coverage between the private and government media.

The Media Watch study of Mandela found that TV reporters called Mandela a political prisoner eight times in a number of news casts, but never referred to Mandela as a saboteur or terrorist, even though Amnesty International declared in 1985 that Mandela had participated in planning acts of sabotage and inciting violence, so that he could no longer fulfill the criteria for the classification as a political prisoner (ibid.).

Another Media Watch study of Mandela's coverage done in March 1990 found that after years of hyping Nelson Mandela as the poster child of South African sanctions lobby, it was not surprising that the press paid so much attention to his release from prison. The study also found that while the coverage had plenty of volume, it had lacked depth.

A Washington Post TV critic, Tom Shales, commented that instead of hard facts or insights, reporters competed to see who could heap the most praise on Mandela, as if to establish their credentials as right-thinking libertarians (ibid.).

The study concluded by claiming that the media were selling a revolutionary as a “moderate” and that although apartheid had to end, they (media) were failing to do their job by ignoring what they saw as Mandela’s full agenda.

These studies are beneficial in having an insight of how Kaunda was covered by the Zambian media during his arrest and subsequent release.

It is interesting to note that the government media was full of praises for Kaunda when he was in power and always portrayed him as the “father of the nation”. He was never criticized by the government media.

3.1.2 Coverage of the Kennedy’s Presidential campaigns.

Another interesting study done of eminent political personalities was that of three American politicians and brothers John , Robert and Edward Kennedy (<http://time.com/daily.special/kenned>).

For Fedler, Smith and Meeke (1983), the 1980 American presidential election provided an ideal opportunity to re-examine *Time* and *Newsweek*’s fairness and to compare their coverage of presidential campaigns launched by John, Robert and Edward Kennedy.

In a content analysis of news coverage given the Kennedy campaigns, the authors found that identified , rather than anonymous sources, were more likely to agree with the magazines’ editorial point.

Every news story published by *Time* and *Newsweek* about John Kennedy’s primary campaign beginning January 1, 1960 and ending with his nomination at the democratic convention of that summer were examined by the authors.

News stories about Robert Kennedy were also analysed from January 1, 1968 until the week of his assassination, and news stories about Edward Kennedy were analysed from January 1, 1980, until the week of Jimmy Carter’s re - nomination.

The study also examined *Time* and *Newsweek's* use of identified and anonymous sources. The authors wanted to learn whether the magazines usually quote sources who reflect and reinforce, rather than contradict their editorial view points (Fedler, Smith and Meeke 1983:490).

The study concluded that through their selection of facts, wording and emphasis, *Time* and *Newsweek* presented consistent caricatures of John, Robert and Edward Kennedy.

According to the study, during his 1960 campaign, John was portrayed as an attractive, candid, popular and courageous leader. The study also showed that the Kennedy's age and religion had disappeared as issues, and that *Time* tended to use more colourful phrasing.

This research also tried to use some of the approaches above in studying how the Zambian press covered Dr. Kaunda. It found among other things that the independent press (*Weekly Post*) had a consistent presentation of Dr. Kaunda as a hero who was being persecuted by carefully selecting the facts it presented and the wording of the stories. The government press usually quoted government sources who reflected and reinforced their editorial point of view rather than contradict it.

3.1.3 Coverage of the O.J. Simpson Trial

The media coverage of O.J. Simpson is another interesting study of how a prominent personality was covered (<http://www.cnn.com/us/oj>).

The media coverage of the O.J Simpson trial evoked more criticism than praise. According to the Freedom Forum (1995) there were many shortcomings on the coverage of the trial, and these range from sensationalism news to a tendency towards horse-race summaries of each day's occurrences.

The study describes how for 16 months, the story lived many levels - human, legal, racial, cultural and journalistic. It describes how reporters and editors, and with them readers and viewers and listeners, struggled every step of the way to fathom the meaning of events.

According to the study , the question was: amid this perplexing combination of media hysteria and deep psyche drama, did the news media cover it well, or too much? The Freedom Forum study found that, a certain degree of disingenuous double mindedness on the part of the public suggested that the amount of news media attention and ultimately the public would gain more from pondering other matters about the coverage - its accuracy, its tendencies, its assumptions, and its effects. (ibid.).

Similarly for seven months Zambian readers were treated to many levels of the Kaunda coverage. How accurate, fair and what effect did it have on readers?

The O.J study enhanced our understanding of the gate keeping theory in the coverage of personalities

3.1.4 President Bill Clinton and the Lewinsky affair

At the turn of the 20th century world media attention focused on the President of the United States, Bill Clinton, over a sex scandal with an intern at the White House. An article in the American Journalism Review (AJR) quotes one Milton Aronson as having labeled the news media's coverage of the White House sex scandal as "vicious mob hysteria." He charged that the media had gone crazy and shown a complete lack of restraint on the Clinton-Lewinsky story.

Polls conducted on the issue showed that people were highly critical of the press, condemning its pre-occupation with the story as selfish and excessive. But according to AJR, as media scrutiny intensified, Clinton's popularity soared. It seemed as if the aggressive coverage of the saga repleted with the salacious details and serious elements was driving the electorate into the camp of the beleaguered President. Ira Reiner, NBC news legal analyst, says there was an excessive amount of coverage but he adds that the coverage of the trial itself was simply the most accurate.

In the Kaunda case did the coverage of Dr.Kaunda by the Zambian media particularly *The Post*, or the lack of it by the government media drive the Zambian public on his side? Was it a fair coverage? The results gotten through this study suggest that the coverage was not fair. The

government media tried to down-play the coverage while the private media tended to give him excessive coverage as seen by *The Post* verbatim coverage of his court proceedings.

3.2 Coverage of major events by Zambian media

In Zambia, perhaps the first study of how the media covered major events is the one by Kasoma (1986). He did a study to show how newspapers in Zambia reported a highly newsworthy subject, Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS), a disease he claimed had the potential of wiping out the entire human race.

He content analysed, over a two year period, all the articles on AIDS published in the then only two daily newspapers in Zambia, the *Times of Zambia* and the *Zambia Daily Mail* noting their frequency and news play . He made an attempt to interpret the intention of the editors in publishing the stories.

Kasoma's study examined the AIDS articles in terms of length, page on which they appeared and whether or not they were lead stories. The three variables were said to determine the intention of the editors on what impact they want a newspaper article to have on its readers.

This study also used Kasoma's approach. It was hoped that by looking at the various variables such as those Kasoma looked at and many more, it would be possible to determine the importance editors of the three newspapers attached to the Kaunda stories.

But as Wilkins has stated, the sheer number of stories is not the only indication of the importance of a particular news event. How a story is played, i.e., its location on a newspaper page also indicates the relative importance of the event. For example, an article that is used as lead on a page is regarded as a very important story especially if it leads page one. Similarly, the longer a story, the more important it is thought to be (Kasoma, 1987:50).

In analyzing the results of his study, he found that 60 percent of all stories published in the two dailies during the two-year period were foreign stories and only 40 percent were local. He found that in 1986, 67 percent of the AIDS stories were foreign and 33 percent local. In 1989, the

Times of Zambia and the *Zambia Daily Mail* had 55 percent and 54 percent foreign stories respectively and he attributed this pattern of coverage to the fact that in 1986 AIDS had just been introduced in the country from outside and there were more stories from there.

His second explanation was that there could have been a deliberate attempt by the two newspapers to show that AIDS was an outside disease and not Zambian adding that there was overwhelming evidence that the two newspapers did not regard the AIDS issue with the importance it deserved with the potential to wipe out the entire population.

This researcher used the same method by content analyzing over a six month period all the stories published on Dr. Kaunda in the three major newspapers under study, noting their frequency and news play. Like Kasoma, this researcher examined the articles in terms of length, page on which they appeared and whether they were lead stories or not. These variables helped the researcher determine the gatekeeping role of the editors. The research also looked at the space distribution, location of the stories in the newspaper etc. in trying to come to a conclusion.

3.2.1 Press coverage of the 1996 Presidential and Parliamentary elections

A more recent study on how the press in Zambia covered a major political event was done by the Foundation for Democratic Process (FODEP) in 1997. It content analysed the public and private media's coverage of the November 18, 1996 Presidential and Parliamentary elections in Zambia.

Among the areas it analyses were advert distribution, news distribution and space distribution of news stories in the private and public media concerning (or from) the ruling MMD.

In comparing the news distribution in *The Post*, *Times of Zambia* and the *Zambia Daily Mail*, the research found that both the *Times* and the *Mail* exhibited some bias in their selection of "news" pertaining to the electoral campaign.

According to the FODEP study, the papers' biases were reflected in attributing more MMD campaign happenings the "newsworthy" value than any other party's happenings.

The Post, according to the study, at least appeared to give equal consideration for political parties under study. But it concluded that although *The Post* did give space to the ruling MMD, its tone was one of scepticism at what it considered to be the party's undemocratic practices with regard to the constitution, the electoral process and other issues of good governance.

FODEP concluded that the MMD effectively used the government owned media to advance its election propaganda at the expense of its opponents, an action, which amounted to abuse of state machinery.

In this case this study found that the government media used its coverage of Kaunda to show its allegiance to the ruling party while the private media was anti government in its approach.

3.3 Media and politics

Litcher (2000), observed that the never-ending debate over media bias usually revolves around whether both sides of a partisan issue are presented in the news. But how they are presented is just as important to ensuring a balanced fair coverage Bagdikian (1983) adds that, the power to control information is a major lever in the control of society. He notes that despite the fact that companies had power in politics, the most feared were media corporations because:

Giving citizens a choice in ideas and information is as important as giving them a choice in politics. If a nation has narrowly controlled information, it will soon have narrowly controlled politics (Bagdikian,1983:1).

Also of significance, as Mwale notes (1996) is the fact that it is difficult to separate completely the issue of media coverage from politics because politics and the media tend to brew in the same pot.

3.3.1 Independent press

As Momba (1997) rightly observes, this leads to the discussion of the need for the existence of a free and independent press that apart from being essential for the sustenance of liberal democracy is very important for good governance.

However, Ogbondah (1997) notes that African leaders have their own view on the issue of an independent press in Africa. According to him, African leaders argue that given the continent's subservient position in the global economic system, a colonial legacy and the fragility of newly independent African countries, a free press in the Northern sense can too easily lead to instability of government to function and lead into internal chaos. Thus, press control is necessary for nation development and political stability (Agarwala, 1977; Mboya 1970; and Sommerland, 1966).

Karikari (1990) notes that in addressing the issues of media policy, one cannot escape addressing the larger issue of how and who rules society, i.e., what is the political framework for appropriate media policy.

He argues that much as the essential character of a press system is its overall political and ideological standpoint, the socio-political system of which it is part or operates in is important in discussions on policy for the press system as it involves ideological and political questions.

Agbondah (1997), however, notes that before constitutional changes swept across Africa starting in 1990, African governments had a monopoly in the mass media business. In many countries, the state owned and operated the only newspaper, magazine, electronic media, etc.

But the economic liberalization policies that followed these constitutional changes in countries like Zambia, Malawi, Kenya and many other African countries have also resulted in the development of privately owned media there.

Other scholars such as Blake (1997) argue that the media are major vehicles for influencing public opinion. As a result, the power of the media is now recognised by all as manifested in the pressure being put on African governments internally and externally to liberalise the sector and open up access for wider private participation and ownership of media.

He also notes that government media usually cover the activities of the government in power, to the near exclusion of competing forces in society. He adds that it is not usually the practice of the government in power at any given time to extend the coverage by the public media of opposition parties on an equal footing. This has to be rectified since it is a policy issue.

As the FODEP study referred to above showed, the MMD effectively used the government controlled *Times of Zambia* and *Zambia Daily Mail* to advance its political propaganda at the expense of its opponents. Results of this study also show that the *Times* and *Mail* used Dr. Kaunda's stories selectively and generally displayed them in a manner that reflected government position.

Owens-Ibie argues that the media should be reporting on and promoting discussions of ideas, opinions and truths. It should be acting as a nation's "bulletin board" for information and mirroring the society and its peoples just the way they are, thus exposing the heroes and villains.

But, Owens-Ibie (1997:50) also notes that providing exhaustive information does not compel the mass media to give news on everything that happens daily since it is not possible. What is judged is not how much information is not presented but rather the fair judgment of the editors on what should be used and should not. In this study, it is not necessarily how many stories on Dr. Kaunda were published or were not published in the three newspapers, but rather the fair judgment by the editors on the importance of stories on Dr. Kaunda – gatekeepers role.

According to Owens-Ibie (1997:65), ultimately fair judgment in the news selection process is the yardstick for measuring responsibility rather than the degree of coverage of total news content, and that is part of the news judgment criteria that subtly guides what issues dominate public agenda.

Karikari (1990:63) is, however, sceptical whether it follows that the mere formulation of any policy would avert incursions into the right to press freedom and raises a number of questions:

Who determines editorial policies in state owned newspapers? What limits, if there must be any, can there be to the independence of the state owned press? What criteria can there be for coverage of issues by state owned press to ensure fairness for all sections of society? Who is to ensure that all these are implemented and guaranteed? Who protects press people from any obstructions to the full exercise of their independent judgment, and who protects the public against press abuses of the exercise of their independent judgment? (Karikari, 1990:88).

Brandt (1997) concludes that no matter what your political persuasion is, you have to admire the power of the news media. They can and do control what you think about and what you don't think about.

In this study, it was observed that the coverage of Dr. Kaunda by the *Mail* and *Times* lacked depth unlike in the *Post*. It was also apparent that most sources quoted by the government owned newspapers were those in government and this leads to the question of how fair the government newspapers were in covering Dr. Kaunda.

Looking at the *Post* coverage of Dr. Kaunda one may, like in the O.J Simpson trial, ask whether the paper covered Dr. Kaunda well or its coverage was excessive. The *Post* is the only news paper that gave verbatim coverage of Dr. Kaunda's court proceedings. Like the Media Watch study referred to already in the case of Mandela, the *Post* turned Dr. Kaunda into a hero in the way it covered him while he was in prison . It also gave him a lot of praise and support in its editorials and to a certain extent one may conclude that it was sensational in its coverage of Dr. Kaunda.

CHAPTER 4

Theoretical Framework

4.0 Introduction

The power of a newspaper as a channel of communication originates in the need for its editor to decide what to put in and leave out (Colin Seymour-Ure, 1968). It is clear therefore that before a news item appears in a newspaper it passes through certain processes. First, the news item has to be collected by someone, then selected by editorial staff and finally packaged.

But then, how is the selection of the news done? How did journalists decide which stories to use on Zambia's first President Kenneth Kaunda, and how to present them to their readers? According to Lowery and De Fleur (1988), the hierarchies of emphasis and importance attached to political topics and issues by the press is seen as an inevitable part of the daily processing and presenting of news.

Each day editors and news directors the gatekeepers in the news media system must decide which items to pass and which to reject. Furthermore, the items passed through the gate are not treated equally when presented to the audience. Some are used at length, others severely cut. Some are lead-off items in a newscast. Others follow much later. Newspapers clearly state the value they place on the salience of an item through headline size and placement within the newspapers-anywhere from the lead item on page one to placement at the bottom on page 16. (Lowery and De Fleur, 1988: 339).

This chapter mainly explores the “gatekeeping” theory which is the theoretical perspective to guide this study.

4.1 Content.

According to Shoemaker and Reese (1996), most books about Mass Communication research tend to use media content as a starting point and they usually ask by what process a message is received and understood by the audience.

They define media content as the complete quantitative and qualitative range of verbal and visual information distributed by the mass media – In other words, just about everything that appears there. The quantitative range of information includes attributes of media content that can be measured or counted e.g. the number of seconds a TV news story lasts or the number of column inches a newspaper story uses. They further state that we can also count e.g. the number of newspaper stories about a particular country (in this case about a prominent political figure such as Dr. Kaunda) that appear within a given time period and that such measures can provide important information about amounts of coverage and some insight into priorities but they cannot tell us what the coverage was like – the qualitative attributes of the content. (ibid.).

For example two newspapers may run precisely the same length of news about Zimbabwe but still provide very different views of what is happening in that country. Knowing how many times a sports caster refers to black athletes does not tell us whether the coverage reflects fairness or prejudice and that measuring the qualitative attributes of media content is difficult but is often far more revealing than looking at quantitative data alone (Shoemaker and Reese:4).

Fowler (1991) argues that content of newspapers is not facts about the world, but in a very general sense ideas. Fowlers major concern was with the role of linguistic structure in the construction of ideas in the press and set out to show that language is not neutral but a highly constructive mediation.

However, according to Shoemaker and Reese (1996) many social scientists who study the media are concerned with the elusive concept of objectivity and that the best that can be done is to compare media reality with social reality.

They add that although research describing media content has been available since the early part of this century, scientific investigation into influences on content wasn't extensive until after World War II. Modern studies started with White's (1950) suggestion that journalists act as gatekeepers of media messages – that they select from among the day's events those that will become “news” and Warren Breeds (1955) description of how journalists become socialised to their jobs (ibid.).

4.2 What is news?

Before we discuss how the three newspapers treated KK's coverage, there is need to explore the vexing issue of what news is.

According to George Hough (1978), news is something that interests people.

Bignell (1997) cited by Helen Gambles (<http://www.aber.ac.uk/media/students/hlg950.html>) suggests that news is not just facts, but representations produced in language and other signs like photographs.

Stuart Hall (cited in Fowler 1996) says the media do not simply and transparently report events which are ‘naturally’ newsworthy in themselves. ‘News’ is the end product of a complex process which begins with a systematic sorting and selecting of events and topics according to a socially constructed set of categories.

Greg Philo (cited by Fowler) put it that ‘news’ on television and the press is not self-defining. He argued that news is not “found” or even “gathered” so much as made. He concluded that it is a creation of journalistic process, an artifact, a commodity even. (ibid.)

The news media select news events for reporting according to a complex set of criteria of newsworthiness; so news is not simply that which happens, but that which can be regarded and presented

as newsworthy. These criteria which are probably more or less unconscious in editorial practice are referred to by students of the media as 'news values' and they are said to perform a gate-keeping' role filtering and restricting news input.

The more newsworthiness criteria an event satisfies, the more likely it is to be reported. Catastrophically, negative events such as the assassination of Mrs Gandhi and the Chernobyl nuclear accident score high on most criteria, and so receive massive newspaper and television coverage. The origins of news values is complex and diverse: they include general values about society such as 'consensus' and 'hierarchy'; journalistic conventions; nature of sources; publication frequency and schedule and so on (Fowler 1991,; 13).

Citing John Hartleys book " Understanding News" who placed the contemporary account of news as a social and ideological produce within the framework of general semiotic theory, Fowler felt that that was the proper intellectual context for the analysis of the media (ibid).

Elaborating on semiotics' principles which were laid down by Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saure, Fowler puts it this way:

Between human beings and the world they experience, there exist systems of sign which are the product of society. Signs acquire meaning through being structured into codes, the principal code being language. Other codes abound; they are language – like in their structural properties, but more transient, less stable... Codes endow the world with meaning or significance by organising it into categories and relationships which are not there 'naturally,' but which represent the interests, values and behaviours of human communities. So for

example, the distinction between ‘plants’ and ‘weeds’ is a semiotic, not botanical difference. It stems from the tastes and fashions of gardening culture and is coded in the vocabulary of their language. The existence of these two words, with their conventionally opposed meanings, allows us to communicate about objects concerned. But communication between people is not the only function of the language code. Language and other codes, most importantly language have a cognitive role: they provide an organised mental representation for our experience (Fowler, 1996:3).

Fowler (1996) argues that news is a representation of the world in language; because language is a semiotic code, it imposes a structure of values, social and economic in origin, on whatever is represented; and so inevitably news, like every discourse constructively patterns that of which it speaks. News is a representation in this sense of construction; it is not a value-free reflection of ‘facts’.

Fowler further argues that the question of impartiality has come under strong challenge from media scholars notable the Glasgow University Media Group and the University of Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural studies who have in their various research publications elaborated an alternative picture of news practices (ibid.).

On this model, news is socially constructed. What events are reported is not a reflection of the intrinsic importance of those events, but reveals the operation of a complex and artificial set of criteria for selection.

Then the news that has been selected is subject to the process of transformation as it is encoded for publication; the technical properties of the medium – television or newsprint, for example – the ways in which they are used are strongly effective in this

transformation. Both ‘selection’ and transformation are guided by reference, generally unconscious, to ideas and beliefs. Analysis of output can reveal abstract propositions which are not necessarily stated, and are usually unquestioned, and which dominate the structure of presentation” (Fowler, 1991:2).

4.2.1 Selection of news.

According to Gambles (<http://aber.ac.uk.media/students/hlg9501.html>), the medium of the newspaper is particularly interesting as signifiers are represented simultaneously thus offering a concrete display of signs which the reader can consume at his or her own pace and can also be re-read, as opposed to television news which can only be watched or listened to at particular times.

As pointed out earlier, the power of the newspaper originates in the need for its editor to decide what to put in and leave out (Collin Seymour – Ure 1968). Therefore, the process of selection is central to production of all newspapers.

This involves selecting events which are considered to be worthy of being printed as news, and excluding news which is considered to be irrelevant, insignificant or unworthy of news coverage. Thus, news is a social construct dependent on what is deemed to be important by those who work in the ‘news industry’ based on certain codes of behaviour which have been learnt by new workers in order to do their job. The codes of behaviour which have been learnt by news workers undoubtedly depend on the particular for which they are working (ibid.).

According to Fowler (1996)., each particular form of linguistic expression in a text – wording, syntactic option etc has its reason. There are always different ways of saying the same thing, as they are not random, accidental alternatives. Differences in expression carry ideological distinctions and thus differences in representation..

Clearly it is significant whether a political leader is referred to as ‘Gorby’ or ‘Mr. Gorbachev’, whether the opening of the borders in Eastern Europe

is headlined 'REDS HEAD WEST' or 'Thousands cross boarder into West Germany'. But these grossly visible alternatives, their meanings on open display are only a small part of the ideological working of linguistic expression. Many other aspects of language, less dramatic but equally forceful in shaping representation, can be brought to surface for observation. (ibid.).

Although in analysing the three news papers understudy the researcher noted that generally they attached different significance to different news items, it was clear the *Post* between the three newspapers understudy attached more significance to Dr. Kaunda's coverage compared to the other two combined which gave him almost equal coverage with the *Post* in terms of leading the front page with his stories.

4.3 Semiotic analysis.

In a semiotic analysis by Helen Gambles of three different British daily newspapers namely the Sun, The Telegraph and The Times's (UK) coverage of the killing of a female police officer stabbed by a man while on duty , the main criteria when deciding on which was the main story on the front pages in the three newspapers was found to be the size of the type face of the headline. But Gambles also noted that another person may have chosen the story with the biggest picture

(<http://www.aber.ac.uk/media/students/hlg950.html>)

This emphasises that the reader comes to the newspaper with codes with which to decode the text, and that these codes may differ from individual to individual. This leads to the point that the text is open to a variety of interpretations depending on the ideological stand point of the reader, and whether the reader is familiar with the newspaper and the codes which it employs to communicate the "news" which is selected. (ibid).

According to Gambles connotations of the linguistic and visual signs which are presented by newspapers are central to the meaning of the news item to the reader. The

connotations of the news item are perceived within a coded framework and there are recognisable codes within different newspapers and that it is clear that different newspapers use particular narrative codes when representing the same item as news.

For example a critical look at how the three newspapers under study treated Nyerere's visit to Zambia over the KK issue clearly shows this. On December 3 1998 the three newspapers ran Nyerere's visit as page one lead. But the headlines were different. The *Post* headline was "KK to be released," in the *Times of Zambia* it was "Mwalimu, KK in Trade off talks" and in the *Zambia Daily Mail* it was "KK breaks hunger strike".

The headlines, as Gambles pointed out in her study are aimed at attracting the reader to the topic contents of the news story and the linguistic signs that were employed in the headline suggested to the reader the appropriate codes which were needed to understand or decode the news item and it is clear that the newspapers use different linguistic codes as a means of representing the news item.

A careful analysis of the *Times of Zambia* and *Zambia Daily Mail* revealed that both use similar language which dramatically differ with the *Post*.

The researcher found that the *Post* used very strong and usually sensational language. In fact a closer look at most of the headlines used by the *Post* in the coverage of KK reveals support for him as can be seen from the headline above. Some of the headlines to support this observation were "Lesotho's BNP denounce FTJ" (December 31, 1997), "It is a human rights violation says SA" "OAU urged to intervene" "Anyouku disturbed" (December 31, 1997).

Others were, "Mauritanian premier condemns detentions" Mumba calls for Kaunda's release" "Chiluba's mistake" "Man of honour" "Revenge at worst" (All in *The Post* edition of 29 December 1997).

In contrast, the *Times of Zambia* and *Zambia Daily Mail* seemed to have been unsympathetic to Dr. Kaunda and wanted to sway its readers in that direction as can be seen from some of the headlines they ran on the same day *The Post* ran the headlines referred to above.

“Things turn sour for KK” “KK’s arrest justified” “Dialogue not opposition right”
(*Times of Zambia* December 29).

In the *Zambia Daily Mail* the headlines were; “Arrogance and Hypocrisy are indeed bedfellows,” “I am not bitter, says KK”.

4.4 Typographical codes.

In terms of typographic devices used to break up text, the three newspapers used more or less the same devices. Generally all of them used bold text for the intro which according to Gambles serves to extend the role of the headline in attracting the attention of the reader to the topic of the news story. Gambles adds that the use of bold service to direct the reader in making meaning of the text and make blatantly obvious the points which the newspaper deem to be of particular significance to the understanding of the news item (ibid.).

According to Gambles, issuing the same type and size of font for the narrative through the item connotes authority and formality to the reader which is also demonstrated by the fairly long sentences, correct spellings and lack of colloquial language.

4.5 Graphic codes.

It is important to note that like the news stories themselves, the photographs used in newspapers also undergo a selection process. “One image will be chosen over another as it connotes a message that the editors of the photograph want to communicate (<http://aber.ac.uk.media/students/hlg950l.html>).

Bangles (cited by Bagnell,1977: 98) suggests that the newspaper photograph is an object that has been worked on, chosen, composed, constructed and treated according to professional, aesthetic or ideological norms which are so many factors of connotation.”

4.6 Definition of terms.

1. Press.

In this dissertation press refers to both print and broadcasting media. This is because the difference in definition is becoming narrower and narrower due to the proliferation of new communication technologies.

2. News stories.

In this dissertation, news stories refers to any stories published or aired in the mass media as defined by George Hough 3rd (1978) that “ news is something that interests people.”

3. Features.

Features refers to any interpretative or opinionated articles, usually longer than news stories.

4. Letters to the editor.

Letters to the editor refers to any article addressed to the editor for publication written by any member of the public.

5. Fillers

Fillers refers to any article published of not more than three paragraphs.

6. Favourable story

Favourable story refers to any story that appeared to be in support of Kaunda.

7. Attack on government/MMD

An attack on the government/MMD refers to any stories that were attacking the government/MMD.

8. Highlighted story

A highlighted story is one which was either boxed, reversed or printed against some background such as grey etc.

9. Source of story.

This refers to the person being quoted in the story such as the police spokesman,

party member etc.

With the above definitions, the researcher examined the three newspapers in terms of the following:

1. Number of stories.

All stories that mentioned Dr. Kaunda during the period December 12 , 1997 to June 30 1998 in relation to his arrest, detention, trial and release were examined.

2. Source of the story.

Which type of source was quoted more often.

3. Subject of the story (Content).

This refers to what the story was all about i.e. what sort of event was covered.

For example, was it Dr. Kaunda defying a restriction order not to talk to the press.

4. Length of story.

The stories were measured in column centimetres. According to Malcolm Wiley in the country newspaper, knowing what attention the press is paying to any type of news is the first step in knowing what the public may be thinking. The mere fact that a certain amount of space is being devoted to certain types of news calls these matters to the minds of the readers (The Country Newspaper, 1926, 23, cited in Donna Mpengula- thesis 1996).

4.7 Defining gatekeeping.

The term “gatekeeper” was coined by a social psychologist, Kurt Lewin. The term was later applied to the news selection processes.

Gate keeping has thus been widely used to describe the process by which selections are made in media work, especially decisions on whether a particular news story should be allowed to pass through the ‘gates’ of a news medium into the news channels (McQuail, 1947).

Lewin (1943) defined gate keeping as the “ decision to include or omit news items, stories etc. That the decision occurs in the selection of a story already written.

The travelling of news items through certain communication channels is dependent on the fact that certain areas within the channels function as “gates” and these “gates” are governed by “gatekeepers.”

According to Wright and Babour (1976, cited in Shoemaker) there are four steps involved in making a decision. These are: Problem recognition, defining the pool of alternatives, reviewing relevant information and applying a decision rule.

Gatekeeping has also been defined as a process by which many messages available in the social realm are cut down into fewer messages that are processed and sent to the society as news or a process of reconstructing an event and turning it into news, i.e. “construction of reality.” lecture notes: internet (<http://Nixon/Weektwo.html>).

According to Shoemaker (1947), Lewin’s choice of the terms gatekeeping and gatekeeper leads one naturally to think about gatekeeping as a process that operates on individual level of analysis - an individual opens and closes the gates.(p.32).

Early studies on gatekeeping emphasised the role of the individual gatekeeper in the news room (White1950). According to Okigbo (1990) a gatekeeper is whoever governs the journey of news items in the communication channel. He adds that regardless of the functions fulfilled by specific gatekeepers, there are two broad strands of gate keeping studies. The first strand employs the concept of gatekeepers and focuses on responsibilities and practices of specific individuals who are directly involved in deciding what news stories get into the media and which do not.

The second strand, employs the concept of gatekeeping to examine the organisation and contextual processes as well as institutions that play some part in news selections.

Okigbo (1990) citing Denis (1978) explains that the two concepts are not the same. He contends that gatekeeper studies focus on individuals while gatekeeping studies are concerned with either groups of people within a news organisation or organisation themselves. (Okigbo 1990:4).

Shoemaker likens gatekeeping to the consumer decision process proposed by Wright and Babour “ because gatekeepers may be consumers, producers and distributors of messages. They ‘buy some messages and reject others; also some of the bought messages will later be sold’” literally in the case of the wire services (Shoemaker:40.).

The most frequently cited study in this area is “*The gatekeeper*” by David White (1950). White’s study focused on individual, rather than routinised judgement in the newsroom and started a long tradition of examining the criteria media decision makers use to select information. In his study, White focused on one wire editor he called Mr. Gates and the movement of wire service stories through his “gate” to find out why stories were rejected instead of why the ones used were chosen. White felt that much could be learned by knowing the subjective idiosyncratic reasons why the editor chose one story over another ” (Shoemaker and Reese,1996:117).

Gieber (1964 cited in Pamela Shoemaker 1991) criticised gatekeeper studies that use the individual level of analysis, suggesting that gatekeeping decisions are influenced not only by the gatekeepers’s values but also by newsroom and audience values(the routines and social/institutional levels) (p.33). Its other weakness is the suggestion that there is only one main “gate area” (Zhou , 2001).

Walter Gieber (1956) expanded White’s study:

“Besides noting personal factors that influenced news judgement, he tried to measure the influence of the wire services as well as that of the other media. The wording of the news budget, rather than the story itself, was the deciding factor for many choices. Which service the editor chose and which individual reporter favored were other items which Gieber recognised as being important to the individual gatekeeper. Gieber found that editors considered

their most important task providing the readers with what he called the 'top news' of the day.

(Xiangzhou ,2001(<http://web.utk.edu/~xzhou1/gatetheory.htm>).

But how do reporters decide the “top news” of the day? It is obviously clear that what one may see as the best story of the day will not necessarily be the same story for another person as people see things differently. Apart from personal influences that affect gatekeepers in deciding the news, they have to take into consideration the policy guidelines of their organisations.

4.8 Different definitions of gatekeeper

Gatekeeping has been defined in a variety of ways. Riechert, (2001, <http://web.utk.edu/mxzhou1/gatetheory.htm>) shows the diverse meaning of the gatekeeping term in the following table:

<u>Reseacher</u>	<u>Definition</u>
Kurt Lewin	General judge of acceptability
David Manning White	Wire editor
Harvey Mollotch and Marilyn Lester	News sources
Roy Carter	News sources and news writers
Howard Seaman	Socialisation of reporters
George Bailey and Lawrence Lichty	Organization
Lewis Donohew	Organisational policy
Warren Breed	News organisation
Hillier Kriegbaun	Readers
Paul Snyder	Wire editor
Abraham Bass	News gatherers
Jeff Clark	Copy desk
Robert Jones	Wire editor
Jim Hart	Copy editors

Martin Bruce Garrison	Three copy editors
L. Erwin Atwood	Newspaper staff
David Finch	Wire editor
James Buckalew	TV news editor
John Williams	Wire editors

White's study laid the groundwork but it was Schramm (1949) who urged that gatekeeping be studied in a variety of ways, such as "the flow of the news through the organisation, the points at which decisions are made, the pattern of authority and influence, the kind of values and standards that come into use in given places and given conditions" (Schramm, 1963.p.17). Shoemaker concurs with Schramm by suggesting that studies of gatekeeping should include at least three levels of analysis: (1) focusing on the values and patterns of authority and influence, (2) the routine level at decision-making points and standards, and (3) at the organisation level examining the flow of news through the organisation (Shoemaker, 1991).

4.9 Levels of gatekeeping.

One pertinent question would be : Does the selection process (gatekeeping) of stories result in a correct presentation of events or distortion? In seeking the answer to this question it may be useful to refer to some levels of analysis.

In theorising about gatekeeping, Shoemaker (1991) applied five levels of analysis to the study of gatekeeping. " The individual communication worker (e.g attitudes), the routines or practices of communication work (such as deadlines or the inverted pyramid) the organisational level (looking at variables such as ownership patterns), the social and institutional level of analysis (including the mass media, advertising and interest groups) and the social system level (looking at variables such as ideology and culture).(Shoemaker with Mayfield, 1987 Shoemaker & Reese, 1991 cited in Shoemaker).

4.9.1 The individual level.

According to Shoemaker (1991) individual communicators responsibility for gatekeeping selections may vary according to the type of communication organisation being studied. Abbot

and Brassfield (1989) are cited by Shoemaker as having found that individual television gatekeepers seem to have more decision-making autonomy than their newspaper counterparts.

Shoemaker adds that when studying individual gatekeepers, we need to look at theories of thinking, that is, how gatekeepers evaluate and interpret messages; theories of decision making; and characteristics of the individual gatekeepers. (p.34).

4.9.2 Communication Routines Level.

According to Shoemaker & Reese (1996) in order to better understand mass media workers, we must examine the routines that go with their jobs. They refer to routines as those patterned routinized repeated practices and forms that media workers use to do their jobs.

According to Pamela Laucella (http://www.www.unc.edu/courses/2000fall/jom245-001/laucella_critique_1.html) as early as 1922, Walter Lippman realized the importance of routines on the news process when he wrote in the seminal work, “Public Opinion”: Without stereotypes, without a fairly ruthless disregard of subtlety, the editor would soon die of excitement”.

Shoemaker and Reese (ibid.) developed a model (fig1) which shows the bridge between the inner core and outer ring of the model .They explain that this helps remind us that the individual is filling a role and serving a function within a larger system of gates

Schwartz (1991) concludes that routines are a social activity which are shared through the situation and which are a social activity. The line between individual activities and communication routine influences the gatekeeper's role. In media we are to evaluate the extent separately.

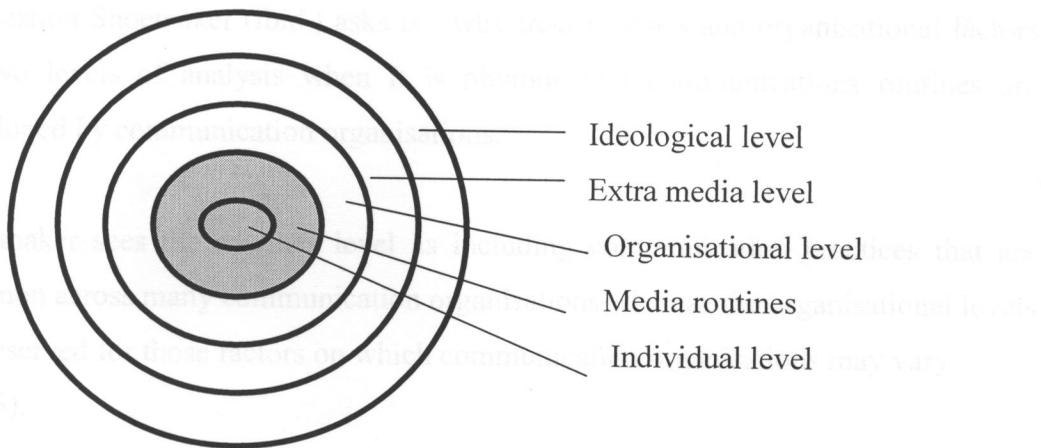


Fig 1 Influences of media routines on media content in the hierarchical model (Adopted from Shoemaker and Reese (1996).

Explaining the model, Shoemaker and Reese say that whether in news or entertainment industries, the media gatekeeper must winnow down a larger of potential messages to a few routines level.

The book publisher chooses from many possible titles; the network programme selects from among several ideas for 'sitcoms, serials and dramas to compose a prime-time schedule' and the newspaper editor must decide on a handful of stories to run the front page. These decisions directly affect the media content that reaches the audience. But are those decisions made at the whim of the individual? (Shoemaker and Reese:105).

Shoemaker (1991) concludes that routines are crucial in determining which items are moved through the channel and which are rejected, and the distinction between individual influences and communication routine influences on gatekeeping must be made if we are to evaluate the extent separately.

4.9.3 Organisational Level.

A question Shoemaker (ibid.) asks is : why treat routines and organisational factors as two levels of analysis when it is obvious that communications routines are developed by communication organisations.

Shoemaker sees the routines level as including communication practices that are common across many communication organisations whereas the organisational levels are reserved for those factors on which communication organisations may vary.

(p. 53).

The study of gatekeeping at the organisational level is essential. Although individuals and routine practices generally determine what gets past the gate and how it is presented, organisations hire the gatekeepers and make the rules. The ability to hire and fire is one of the greatest powers of an organisation. (Stewart & Cantor, 1982.... cited in Shoemaker) allowing it to shape its future and change its past. From the organisation's point of view, a successful gatekeeper is a person who can perfectly represent its interests. If an organisation doesn't like the way the gates are operated, it can fire the gatekeeper (cited in Shoemaker :53).

Shoemaker and Reese conclude that although organisational level factors are less frequently studied than the influence of routines, they have a critical impact on media content.

When we look at a media organisation, we question the roles performed, the way they are structured, the policies flowing through that structure, and the methods used to enforce those policies.

The primary goal sought by most media organisations is economic profit. News organisations in particular have faced growing economic pressures that now play a

greater role in dictating journalistic decisions. The way organisations are structured influences content by affecting occupational culture and by determining the degree of independence media organisations have from the large corporate enterprise, of which so many are now a part. The growing complexity of media conglomerates means that the organisations composing them must now be more mindful of their effect on each other, and news organisations encounter many more potential conflicts of interest. (ibid. :172-173).

4.9.4 Extramedia/social /institutional level.

The fact that media organisations exist within a social system along other social institutions means they are affected by them in the gatekeeping process. In other words as Shoemaker & Reese (1981) note there is a wide variety of influences on media content that operate outside the media organisation.

These include, sources, audiences, markets, other media organisations, advertisers, government, public relations, technology ,etc.

Sources for example, can stimulate or constrain the diffusion of information according to their interests and journalists choice of which source to interview can colour the stories they write (Shoemaker and Reese : 219).

In this study, it was noted in the coverage of Dr. Kaunda in the three newspapers that in the *Mail* and *Times*, there was more reliance on government sources unlike the *Post* that used more of other sources.

4.9.5 Social System level.

Shoemaker (1991) also suggests that of the many forces that surround the gate, some of the most important operate at the social system level of analysis and discusses several system – level variables which include culture, social interests, social structure and ideology.

She sees culture as influencing the kinds of items that are allowed to pass a gate and also being influenced by them.

“Just as in Lewin’s (1951 P. 178) example, some foods are appropriate for some cultures and not others, thus the value placed on news items may vary across cultures. Although some news items are objectively available, they are not culturally available. For example, at one time in the United States, newspapers did not cover rape and child abuse in the open manner with which the topics are discussed today.” (p. 68).

In Zambia for example, the *Sunday Times* started running a series of sex education articles which sometimes carried nude photographs. One such photograph was published in January 1971. The photograph under a story headlined : “The Very Bare Facts - for Schools” carried a caption that read: “ The sort of scene the children will see.” The story said that a new film called “ Growing Up” had a no-holds barred fifteen second sequence in which a young husband and wife were seen having intercourse and was to be shown in classrooms all over Britain to help teach children the facts of life (Kasoma, 1986).

The accompanying photograph showed a nude couple embracing. Government took strong exception followed by demands by the then ruling United Independence Party (UNIP) to have the paper banned (*ibid.*).

To show that the level of structural pluralism in a social system also affects gatekeeper’s decisions, Shoemaker, cites a 1986 study by Tichenor, Olien, Donohue and Griswold that showed that 28 Minnesota Editors’ opinions changed over 20 years to reflect the increasing diversity and pluralism of the society which showed that gatekeepers priorities shifted to emphasize a more urbanised, pluralistic social structure. (p:69).

4.9.6 Ideology.

Ideology of the social system has also been shown to affect gatekeeping. Shoemaker (1991) sees ideology as becoming not an individual's belief system but an integrated world now shared by practically everyone in a social system (ibid).

Citing Gramsci's (1971) theory of hegemony and Giltin's definition of the term, Shoemaker argues that the implications of Gramsci's theory which is that the ideological system within which gatekeepers exist causes them to select items that serve the purposes of powerful elites and Giltin's definition that hegemony is the systematic engineering of mass consent to established order are that the Mass Media serve as agents of the powerful, creating a false consciousness for the audience that serves to retain the dominance of powerful elites. (p.69).

Some messages may be selected because they reinforce the status quo, but others may be selected because they point out potential dangers that need to be dealt with if the status quo is to be maintained (ibid).

Shoemaker concludes that the forces that Lewin (1951) describes around gates are determined at least in part by culture, societal interests, societal structure and ideology.

In commenting on gatekeeping, Gassaway (1984) points out that the media adopt strategies relating to newsworthiness and the structural and sequential presentation to assure members of the audience that the news before them is complete. Similarly, Megwa and Brenner (1988) indicate that the use of the gatekeeping criteria in the determination of news worthiness and the structural and sequential presentation or display of news is an attempt by the media to persuade the audience. They further argue that through the 'gatekeeping' criteria, the mass media play an active role in shaping people's perceptions of reality, thus defining the frame within which collective social reality is perceived, and as a result shaping the basis of social action. They conclude that the media share this power with actors and institutions who, through the skilful use

of the very symbolic strategies adopted by the media in the determination and definition of news, slide through the media 'gates' with ease.

On the other hand, McQuail (1994) says that the gatekeeping concept, despite its potential for dealing with many different media situations has a built-in limitation in its implication that news arrives, in ready-made and unproblematic event-story form at the 'gates of the media, where it either admitted or excluded. He adds that the gatekeeping framework is largely based on the assumption that there is a given finite, knowable reality of events in the 'real world', from which it is the task of the media to select according to appropriate criteria of representativeness or relevance.

Fishman (1980) writes that " most researchers assumed that news either reflects or distorts reality. Reality in this case consists of facts and events out there which exist independently on how news workers think of themselves and treat them in the news production process" (p.13).

Furthermore, McQuail (1994) concludes that it is clear that the eventual news content of the media arrivals by several different routes and in different forms.

It may be sought out or ordered in advance, or its discovery may have to be systematically planned. At times, it also has to be internally manufactured or constructed. It takes place largely according to schemes of interpretation and of relevance which are those of the of the bureaucratic institutions that either are sources of news or process events (police departments, courts welfare agencies, government committees, etc) (p.215).

Even so, “the main factors which influence eventual choice can be considered under the headings of ‘people,’ ‘place’ and ‘time’, usually in one combination or another” (Fishman, cited in McQuail, 1994,:215).

As already pointed by Lowery and DeFleur (1988) the hierarchies of emphasis and importance attached to political topics and issues by the press is seen as an inevitable part of the daily processing and presentation of news.

The causal chain includes gatekeepers who make decisions about giving greater emphasis to one story versus another.

But gatekeepers do not act in a vacuum. They process the news according to well understood criteria that are related in part to their socially derived conceptions of the proper role of the press in society and to the practical necessity of attracting and holding audiences.

That system includes at least three classes of variables: Those that account for selecting a particular event as a news item; those that govern the processing and delivering of the news in a given pattern of selection and emphasis; and those that determine who will be exposed to how they will interpret the media content (Lowerly and DeFleur 1988:339-340).

Fishman (cited in McQuail, 1994:214) writes that most researchers assumed that news either reflects or distorts reality and that reality consists of facts and events out there which exist independently on how newswriters think of themselves and treat them in the news production process. According McQuail(1994), Fishman’s, central concern is the creation of news, and in this he has been followed by a number of other influential theorists.

Gatekeeping has thus been seen as “ a process of reconstructing an event and turning it into news, i.e. construction of reality.” It was also noted that not all observations are included in the

news; media provides “interpretation” of events; some aspects are emphasised, others downplayed and that there are many gatekeepers and many gates resulting in the end product having multiple influences (lecture notes, <http://journ.ru.ac.za/staff/nixon/week two.html>).

McQuail (1994:215) concludes that it is clear that the eventual news content of the media arrives by several different routes and in different forms.

According to Luttbeg (1998:50) a substantial literature on the process whereby editors select from wire service stories those which they include in their newspapers suggest little that would standardize information and opinions of readers of these newspapers.

He adds that gatekeeping has generally been attributed in instances of variations among newspapers in content and argues that if there is no news consensus among American newspapers and “if (the press) determines what people will talk and think about” public opinion would depend on where you lived or at least which paper you read.

Luttbeg (1998) did a study to assess the news consensus on specific stories. He concluded that newsworthy happenings on a given day greatly exceed space even in daily newspapers for their coverage and that of necessity, editors must select from among the stories those most worthy of inclusion.

Lowery and DeFleur (1991:328) note that the news industry seems more interested in some events than others. By selecting some events while ignoring others, the press becomes selective. Going by the manner the three newspapers presented Kaunda’s stories it is clear that indeed, the papers had more interest in some news items than others. It therefore, might not be wrong to conclude that the *Times* and *Mail* selected stories that had a favourable inclination towards the government while *The Post* presentation of stories was generally against government position.

Furthermore, selectivity stems from its limited capacity to provide total surveillance from factors imposed on those who do the gate keeping, and from the financial limitations placed on the media that must survive as profit-making business enterprises. Such variables go a long way

to account for the manner in which the press decides which stories to select, follow up, emphasize, interpret and present in particular ways.

As already stated, gatekeeping has been widely used to describe the process by which selections are made in media work, especially on whether a particular news story should be allowed to pass through the “gates” of a news medium into the news channels.

Gieber (1964) argues that gatekeeping decisions are influenced not only by the gatekeeper’s values but also by newsroom and audience values while Shoemaker (1991) concluded that routines are crucial in determining which items are moved through the channel and which are rejected, and that the distinction between individual influences and communication routine influences on gatekeeping must be made if we are to evaluate the extent separately.

In the case of the three newspapers under study, it also seems that there are certain routines that the journalists on these newspapers follow in the execution of their duties. For example it appears that the government owned newspapers avoided using angles in their stories on Dr. Kaunda that might have appeared offensive to the government.

However Shoemaker and Reese (1996) contend that the primary goal sought by most media organizations is economic profit and adds that news organizations in particular have faced growing economic pressures that play a greater role in dictating journalistic decisions.

It appears that for *The Post* this was one of the guiding principles it used in its coverage of Dr. Kaunda. In most cases it chose to take angles in its stories that appeared to be in conflict with government perspective. In many cases the stories were highly sensational especially in the headlines. This translated into higher newspaper sales for *The Post*.

Thus we see that the levels of gatekeeping referred to above were applied differently by the three newspapers.

CHAPTER 5

Methodology

5.0 Introduction.

This chapter discusses the methodology. It also tries to analyse how the three newspapers linguistically constructed their reporting on Dr Kaunda and the events surrounding him.

For the past several years, Mass Communication researchers have come to realise the importance of triangulating methods in order to understand phenomenon (Fontana & Frey, 1994) and to gain additional perspective (Lull, 1982) that a single method will not allow.

Furthermore, “each method used in research presents scientists with only a partial answer and each has its limits. Only by assembling the “big picture” does a larger truth begin to emerge. When multiple approaches are used, we have more faith in those results” (Jones, 1988, pp. 10-11). Wimmer and Dominick (1994) define triangulation as a technique that “combines quantitative techniques of content analysis and the qualitative technique of in-depth interviews.

5.1 Statement of the Problem.

In Zambia, the government-owned newspapers namely the *Times of Zambia* and *Zambia Daily Mail* have been accused of being pro-government when covering political issues particularly those relating to the opposition, while the privately owned press, especially *The Post*, has been accused of being anti-government and sensational. In fact these accusations were made during the second republic when Dr. Kaunda himself was President of the country. How therefore did the coverage of Dr. Kaunda’s arrest, trial and subsequent release in the three newspapers differ?

5.2 Research Questions

- 3) How did the coverage of Dr. Kaunda’s arrest trial and subsequent release in the three newspapers differ.
- 4) How did the three newspapers prioritise their reporting of Dr. Kaunda.

5.3 Method.

This study was done mainly through secondary research in libraries. This researcher had to look for complete back issues of all the newspapers published by *The Post*, *Times of Zambia* and the *Zambia Daily Mail* between December 12, 1998 and June 12, 1999 for analysis. A few interviews were also conducted with selected journalists to complement the research.

In order to answer the research question posed in this study, the researcher used the triangulation approach. This approach uses the quantitative techniques of content analysis and a qualitative technique.

Wimmer and Dominick (1984) define triangulation as a technique that “combines qualitative and quantitative approaches to solving a problem” (Wimmer and Dominick, 1994:481).

Qualitative data usually refers to data that is somewhat subjective. It is nevertheless in-depth and uses the probing open-end free response format. The checklist used in this study was constructed in such a way as to accommodate collection of quantitative and qualitative data. The qualitative data was analysed for major themes arising and the leanings of the story identified (i.e. whether in support of Kaunda or not).

This study examined the nature of press coverage of Kenneth Kaunda by the three major newspapers in Zambia namely *The Post*, the *Times of Zambia* and the *Zambia Daily Mail* for the period December 12, 1997 to 30th June 1998. Various archives were relied on for the collection of data. The researcher did all the coding.

5.3.1 In-depth Interviews.

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

Further more, when compared the more traditional survey methods, in-dept interviews provide more detail and accurate responses in sensitive issues. However, one of the biggest disadvantages is that generalisability is sometimes a problem and the interview is done with a non-random sample.

Three in-depth interviews were done with journalists from both the government owned and private owned news papers. These were, Pauline Banda and Justin Mwiinga both from the *Zambia Daily Mail* and Aurthur Simuchoba from *The Post* newspaper.

According to Pauline Banda who was at the time of this research a Senior Reporter on the *Mail* and one of those who covered Dr. Kaunda's trial, the *Mail's* policy is to take a middle of the road approach when covering a story like Dr. Kaunda's.

She explained that journalists on the *Mail* were impartial and objective in their coverage of Dr Kaunda.

Asked if there were any political factors that influenced reporter on the newspaper in their coverage of Dr. Kaunda, Ms Banda said there were none but added that it was difficult to subscribe to the feelings of all its readers. She was however convinced that the *Mail* gave Dr. Kaunda very good coverage during his trial.

Justine Mwiinga who was at the time of the research the *Mail's* Chief Reporter also believes that the *Mail* gave Dr. Kaunda very good coverage during his detention, trial and subsequent release.

Mwiinga also believes that the coverage of Dr. Kaunda by the *Mail* during his trial was above the *Times* and *The Post* because paper did not look at him as an ordinary treason accused as he was a former head of state. Therefore the paper felt that his coverage needed sufficient attention. He also said there was no political interference in Dr. Kaunda's coverage and never got any instructions from outside the organisation.

Asked if reporters on the newspaper faced any problems in covering Dr Kaunda, Mwiinga said that they had problems in accessing information when the State placed restrictions on the press regarding access to the detainees.

Mwiinga however said that although none of Kaunda's stories were changed by editors, sometimes other stories written by reporters were projected differently by the editors from the way the reporters wrote them because of fear of repercussions from the "authorities that be".

Mwiinga however admitted that the *Post* successfully campaigned for the release of Dr. Kaunda from the time he was arrested but said that they (*Mail*) could not do so because of what he termed as their "strict adherence to professionalism". He added that the *Mail* merely recorded the court proceedings and could not comment for fear of committing contempt of court.

Asked whether they (*Mail*) could not comment because of fear of punishment from higher authorities should they view a story as negative, Mwiinga admitted that this could be so because the government owned the *Mail* and the *Times* and as a result they (reporters) would not want to be seen to be projecting anti-system views. Mwiinga however added that they (*Mail* reporters) were justified in that their action amounted to professionalism.

Asked to explain why at one time he was suspended for protesting over a story he had written on the committal of Dr. Kaunda to the High Court for trial, Mwiinga explained that in an editorial meeting they had at that particular time, it was agreed that Dr. Kaunda's story would be the lead story the following day. However, late in the evening the then Editor-in-Chief substituted the story with what Mwiinga termed as "an insignificant story of a donation of K300 million by the Chinese government to Zambia".

Mwiinga further explained that his colleagues on the news desk asked him to raise an official complaint with management over the change because it was done without consulting the editorial team that made the decision. He was consequently suspended for insubordination for about two weeks and put on half salary for that period.

Mwiinga said that he was not particularly sad about the incident as he was convinced he was trying to champion a legitimate professional concern. Asked further what he thought led to the substitution of the story Mwiinga admitted that there might have been external influence, political or otherwise especially that the Chief Executive at the time was not a journalist or media practitioner as such, and he felt that he needed to consult with other stake holders other than the journalists at the *Mai*".

Mwiinga further explained that as a newspaper the guiding principal in deciding which stories to use or lead with was public interest. When asked to respond to allegations that his paper always wanted to project the government's view, Mwiinga denied this.

The Post Newspaper Executive Editor at the time of the research Aurthur Simuchoba, explained that his paper always wanted to have an alternative view other than the ordinary one. Simuchoba believes that *The Post* covered the Dr. Kaunda story extremely well starting with the prediction that he would be arrested soon after his security advisor was picked up. After that, *The Post* carried comprehensive stories on Dr. Kaunda's arrest that reported all aspects of his arrest.

The Post was also the only paper that carried a story that former Tanzanian President, Julius Nyerere was coming to intervene in the matter. Simuchoba further explained that the *Post* tended to be very close to the opposition and therefore, the fact that Dr. Kaunda was an opposition figure was very important to the news paper and therefore it followed the matter vigorously.

Asked whether there were some economic and political factors that made *The Post* report the way it did, Simuchoba agreed and said that a story like Dr. Kaunda's meant good newspaper sales depending on how a newspaper treated it. He however denied any political interference.

Simuchoba further pointed out that the *Post* had very strong connections in the opposition and Dr. Kaunda's camp. Therefore, he explained, even when the government imposed restrictions on the media's access to Dr. Kaunda, *The Post* did not feel them.

Asked how he compared the coverage of Dr. Kaunda by *The Post* with that of the *Mail* and the *Times*, Simuchoba said that the two newspapers were more interested in putting across the government's view and therefore did not cover the issue adequately because almost all their sources were government who were trying to defend the decision to arrest Dr. Kaunda. He further said that the stories in the *Times* and *Mail* were more like editorials and therefore felt that *The Post* gave a better coverage of Dr. Kaunda as it was more objective.

Asked to respond to allegations that *The Post* usually exaggerated issues, Simuchoba denied. He said that what *The Post* wrote always turned out to be true. He however admitted that sometimes the headlines were meant to attract readers but insisted the stories were always factual.

When asked how the *Post* decided which stories to use or lead with, Simuchoba explained that, that was by discussion between senior members of the editorial staff including some sub-editors. He further explained that *The Post* had "its own kind of stories" and does not lead with what the other newspapers lead with. He further explained the criteria *The Post* uses in choosing stories is first; the story must be exclusive. Secondly, it must have national appeal and thirdly it (*Post*) looks for an alternative view in a story – different from what the government wants the people to believe.

Finally he explained, that *The Post* wants to give the public a critical view of things so that it (public) also looks at issues critically.

5.3.2 Content Analysis.

Content analysis was the main methodology used in this study. Content analysis is defined by Walzer and Wienir (1978) as a "systematic procedure devised to examine the content of recorded information.

According to Wilcox et.al (2000) this research method can be relatively informal or quite scientific in terms of random sampling and establishing specific subject categories. "It is often applied to news stories by (1) tabulating the number of times that a key message is

mentioned or (2) analysing whether the coverage was positive, negative or neutral (Wilcox:128). This study seems to lean more on the later approach.

Kerlinger's definition is fairly typical: content analysis is a method of studying and analysing communication in a systematic, quantitative manner for the purpose of measuring variables" (cited in Wimmer and Dominick, 1984: 163-164).

The advantages of content analysis are that it is systematic, objective and quantitative. As a technique, its limitations lie in the fact that "alone it cannot serve as a basis for making statements about the effects of content on an audience and that, the findings of a particular content analysis are limited to the framework of categories and definitions used in that analysis" (Wimmer and Dominick, 1994, p. 167).

Schneider (1976) observes that when we investigate "who" persuades " whom", the question "with what" arises. In this regard, a number of factors relating to the presentation of the message may be investigated or manipulated. Stories were read in detail to determine the themes before coding them according to the questions on the checklist.

Operational definitions and content categories were then established for the variables under investigation. A Coding sheet that was used for coding each story was then constructed. A few amendments were made to the coding sheet after pre-testing it. The principal researcher did all the coding.

Each story analysed was coded according to the coding instructions. The coding sheets (checklists) for each story were then filled in according to the coding instructions. After completing the coding, the data was fed onto a computer for analysis using the statistical package for the social sciences (SPSS) programme.

5.3.3 Units of analysis.

The unit of analysis according to Wimmer and Dominick “ is the thing that is actually being counted. It is the smallest element in content analysis but is also one of the most important. The unit of analysis in this study was all the stories between December 12, 1997 and June 30, 1998 that mentioned or were related to Kaunda’s arrest, detention trial and release. As stated above December 12, 1997 was chosen as the starting date for the content analysis because that is when speculation of Kaunda’s imminent arrest in connection with the foiled coup was first reported in one of the newspapers. *The Post* story said that there were rumours of Kaunda being arrested in connection with the coup as soon as he returned from abroad. These rumours, according to *The Post*, had raised a lot of concern for some UNIP supporters in the Western Province and as a result of this development, they planned to travel to Lusaka. June 30 was also deliberately chosen as that was the last date of the month in which Kaunda was arrested and coverage on Kaunda in connection with his arrest had died down by then.

To facilitate the analysis, coding sheets (checklists) were used (See appendix one). The data was then fed into a computer for analysis using the SPSS programme. Frequency tables, cross tabulations and the chi- square test were constructed and generated by the computer.

Any published article that mentioned Dr. Kaunda in connection with his arrest, detention, trial and release was classified as a news story on Dr. Kaunda. These included news stories, features, editorials and letters to the editor.

The following elements were coded:

Name of paper, date of publication, headline type (i.e. was it in colour, or reversed), page number, whether the story was lead or not, the length of the story in column centimetres, whether the story was accompanied by a picture/cartoon or not. Other elements coded were whether the story was highlighted, whether it was favourable to Dr. Kaunda or not, whether it was a feature, editorial, news story, filler or letter to the editor, who was expressing opinion (if any), sources, themes, whether it was an attack on the MMD/Govt

or it was neutral or conciliatory, the by-line and whether it was written by a single writer, or had multiple writers, *Times* Reporter, *Mail* Reporter, *Post* Reporter, foreign news agency, *ZANA* or any other.

5.3.4 Sampling Procedures.

Data was collected by getting all stories in the three newspapers, including news, features and editorials that were written prior to Dr Kaunda's arrest, during his detention trial and subsequent release.

To classify the media content and to describe the content analysis portion of the study, it is necessary to explain the universe, the sample and the unit of analysis.

5.3.4.1 The universe.

Wimmer and Dominick define the universe as “to specify the boundaries of the body of content to be considered, which requires an appropriate operational definition of the relevant population. For example, if researchers are interested in analysing the content of popular songs: They must define what is meant by popular song. All songs in *Billboards* for example, “hot 100,” or “The top 50 songs” or “Top 10”. They must also ask what time frame will be considered, for example the past 6 months? (Wimmer and Dominick, 1994). In this study, the universe will be all newspaper articles relating to Kaunda appearing in *The Post*, *Times of Zambia* and the *Zambia Daily Mail*.

5.3.4.2 The sample.

This study utilised the entire universe in its analysis, which are the 602 stories carried by *The Post*, the *Times of Zambia* and the *Zambia Daily Mail* over this period. December 12 1997 was chosen as the starting date for the content analysis because that is when speculation in the press about Kaunda's imminent arrest in connection with the foiled coup was first reported in one of the newspapers.

5.4 Data Collection and Analysis.

Data was collected by going through all past issues available of the three newspapers at the *Zambia Daily Mail*, and the *Times of Zambia* morgues . The University of Zambia Library and the National Archives of Zambia were also used to supplement the search for past articles on KK during the period under study.

All coding was done by the researcher because of knowing the mechanics and peculiarities of the research itself as well as the definitions and boundaries that were used. To facilitate the analysis, coding sheets were used (see attached coding sheets). Data was tabulated by hand and frequency tabulation tables were constructed through the use of the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS).

In analysing in-depth interviews, a thematic analysis was done that focused on identifiable themes and patterns in relation to the research questions. After identifying the patterns of all data that relate to the patterns to be classified, they were then expounded on.

Themes refers to units derived from patterns such as conversation, topics, vocabulary, recurring activities meanings, feelings, or folk sayings and proverbs (Arosen 1994).

5.5 Limitations

Interpreting content analysis needs caution. What one researcher, may perceive, in this case, as being favourable to Kaunda may be perceived differently by another researcher. The findings of this study are, therefore, within the framework on which this researcher based his judgements during the content analysis. For a similar study, another researcher may use varying definitions and category systems to measure the same concepts. This may ultimately lead to differences in conclusions. This limitation is difficult to eliminate. However, to mitigate this factor, the researcher tried to be as objective as possible

Another limitation of a content analysis study such as this one is that it is usually time consuming. Going through large volumes of content to examine and categorise it may be taxing and tedious. Analysing 602 newspaper articles (as in this study) in a specified period is very

taxing and may lead to the researcher becoming “bored” with the process, which in turn can affect the quality of the analysis. This is more so since the researcher could not find any database on Dr. Kaunda.

Due to some logistical problems, only three journalists were interviewed. Two of them were from the government owned *Zambia Daily Mail* and one from the privately owned *Post*. However the researcher felt that the views of the journalists from the government owned *Zambia Daily Mail* also represented those of the *Times of Zambia* as they reported their stories in a similar manner.

In this study, another limitation was the non availability of some newspapers for analysis. Because of the time limit in which to complete the exercise, it was difficult to continue searching for them.

Lastly, the researcher did not have funding for the project on time. This was a constraint considering that the dissertation had to be done within a specified period. Due to this and other logistical problems, coder reliability was not also conducted. However it is hoped that this limitation did not have a major effect on the results as the researcher tried to be as objective as possible in conducting the research.

The newspaper morgues only had cuttings. At the time of the research, the *Times of Zambia* and the *Zambia Daily Mail* were not putting back issues of their newspapers on the Internet.

However, going by the trend in terms of Kaunda’s coverage, the missing nine newspapers may not significantly affect the main findings of this research.

CHAPTER 6

Results and interpretation

6.0 Introduction.

The chapter discusses the results and interprets the statistical calculations generated by computer using the SPSS.

In this study, the researcher found that most of the photographs on Dr. Kaunda used by the three newspapers were the same but were treated differently according to the required connotation.

However the most outstanding feature observed by the researcher in this aspect was that the *Daily Mail* in most cases used colour photographs for its front page, which is said to “connote realism” The other difference is that the Post used larger photographs on Dr. Kaunda in most cases compared to the Mail and the Times.

According to Gambles (1996) Paradigmatically, photographs involve connotations, and thus the significance of the particular photographs which have been chosen can be seen more clearly when considering what other paradigmatic connotations might have appeared in their place.

One may conclude that the connotations of Dr. Kaunda’s pictures when he was in prison with long white beard would change considerably if he was clear shaven. Likewise, the connotations of the picture would change if KK was looking directly at the camera and smiling. Instead he is pictured looking down, connoting a sad man.

In fact the conclusion of this researcher was that most of the pictures on KK used by the Post during the period under study connote sympathy, tragedy and persecution.

This discussion of the three newspapers representations of the coverage of KK shows how semiotic analysis can determine meanings of such news items, as a result of the linguistic and visual signs used within texts.

It is however important to note that some scholars have argued that semiotic analysis cannot determine how an individual reader might interpret the representations of the news items in a real social context but that it does offer an insight into the factors at work in the production of a news item and distinguishes the various codes which are employed by different types of newspaper when representing a particular news item.

6.1 Format of newspapers.

In analyzing the results, it should be noted that the newspapers under study had some differences. The *Times of Zambia* and the *Zambia Daily Mail* are published everyday with weekend editions known as *Sunday Times* and *Sunday Mail* respectively. The two newspapers and their weekend editions are broadsheets carrying eight columns, measuring 3.5 cm wide and 41.5 cm long. Both use times typeface and are usually set in 10 points. During the period of the research the two newspapers generally ran eight pages, occasionally going up to 12.

The Post only published five times in a week with no weekend editions. It is a tabloid carrying 6 columns also measuring 3.5cm . It also uses times typeface and is set in 10 points. The news columns are 26cm long. However, in some occasional cases *The Post* uses pictures that bust into portions of news columns, making those portions smaller.

The results of this study indicate that the type of newspaper influenced the nature of coverage of the Kaunda issue. The Chi-square tells us that there is a relationship between variables. Percentages are used to give the details or show the magnitude of the relationship. The statistical level of significance used in this study was .05.

Generally *The Post* style, as regards placement of its lead story, is to start it on the front page and jump to inside pages, usually page four. During the period of the research, *The*

Post pages generally ranged from 12 to 14 pages. *The Post* therefore had fewer editions but because of its extra pages, tended to carry longer and more stories than an average *Times* or *Mail* edition.

6.2 Summary of findings.

The study analysed a total of 602 stories in the three newspapers under study. Two hundred and forty two stories were analysed in *The Post* , 192 in the *Times of Zambia* and 168 in the *Zambia Daily Mail*.

A number of variables were analysed in the three newspapers to reach the conclusions of this study. These included the number of stories favourable to Kaunda, stories attacking government, types of stories, reactions from the Zambian community, and reactions from the international community. Generally it was found that *The Post* gave more favourable coverage to Kaunda than the *Times of Zambia* and the *Zambia Daily Mail*.

This study also found that *The Post* carried more detailed stories on Kaunda compared to the *Times* and *Mail*. For example, the court sessions of his trial were carried verbatim by *The Post* which the other newspapers did not do.

It was also found that *The Post* carried more stories attacking the government/MMD compared to the *Times* and *Mail*. In terms of story treatment, it was found that the three newspapers had almost the same number of page one stories leading with the Kaunda issue. But *The Post* had more stories with pictures compared to the *Times* and *Mail*. The *Times* had more stories on page one followed by the *Mail* and *The Post* was last.

The study also found that the *Times* and *Mail* had fewer stories published that had some reactions on Kaunda's arrest by both the Zambian and international communities.

In terms of stories directly attributed to Kaunda and his wife Betty as sources, it was found that *The Post* had more stories compared to the *Times* and *Mail*.

TABLE 1

Stand of stories on Dr. Kaunda in The Post, Times and the Mail.

Category		Favourable	Not favourable	Both	Neutral	Total
Post	Count	146	25	33	38	242
	Percentage	60.3%	10.3%	13.6%	15.7%	100%
	Percentage of all	62.7%	18.4%	38.8%	25.7%	40.2%
Times	Count	42	70	23	57	192
	Percentage	21.9%	36.5%	12.0%	29.7%	100%
	Percentage of all	18.0%	51.5%	27.1%	38.5%	31.9%
Mail	Count	45	41	29	53	168
	Percentage	26.8%	24.4%	17.3%	31.5%	100%
	Percentage of all	19.3%	30.1%	34.1%	35.8%	27.9%
Total	Count	233	136	85	148	602
	Percentage	38.7%	22.6%	14.1%	24.6%	100%

Chisquare = 97.099 p < .05

Notes for all the tables in this chapter:

1. *The percentages just below the count refers to the percentages of each category of stories within each newspaper*
2. *Percentages of all refers to the total percentage of each category of stories in all the three newspapers.*

The results in table 1 above suggest that there is a correlation between the type of newspaper from the ownership point of view and the type of coverage that was given to Dr.Kaunda. The

results show that *The Post* gave more favourable coverage to Dr. Kaunda compared to the *Times* and the *Mail*.

6.2.2 Stories attacking government/MMD.

The result that *The Post* gave more favourable coverage to Dr. Kaunda compared to the *Times* and *Mail* and that there is a correlation between the ownership of the newspaper and type of coverage that was given to Dr. Kaunda is confirmed by the response to the question on the number of stories attacking the Government/MMD in the three newspapers. According to data collected, there were more stories in *The Post* attacking the Government/MMD on the Kaunda issue than were in the *Times* and the *Mail* put together

Out of 242 stories covered in *The Post*, 131 (54.1%) were attacking the government. In the *Times*, only 8 stories (4.2%) out of 192 and 18 stories (10.7%) out of 168 in the *Mail* were attacking the government.

Out of the 242 stories published in *The Post* 69 stories (28.5%) did not attack the government. In the *Times*, 169 stories (88.0%) out of 192 stories published were not attacking the government while in the *Mail*, 136 stories (81.0%) out of 168 stories did not attack the government.

In *The Post*, 40 stories (16.5%) were neutral. Ten stories (5.2%) and 5 stories (3.0%) in the *Times* and *Mail* respectively were neutral.

Only two stories (.8%) of the 242 stories in *The Post*, five stories (2.6%) in the *Times* and nine (5.4%) in the *Mail* were neutral. If the government media was not partisan in its coverage of Kaunda it could have used more neutral stories. These results show a bias towards the government by the public media and an anti-government stand by *The Post*. Interestingly when the MMD was still in the opposition, *The Post* supported it fully until Kaunda and UNIP were removed from power.

Forty stories out of the 242 (16.5%) in *The Post* were neutral and 2 stories (.8%) out of the same number conciliatory. In the *Times* 10 stories (5.2 %) were neutral and 5 stories (2.6%) conciliatory. In the *Mail*, 5 stories (3.0%) were neutral and 9 stories (5.4%) conciliatory (See Table 2).

TABLE 2

Slant of stories in regard to the government in The Post, Times and Mail.

Category		Attacking	Not attacking	Neutral	Conciliatory	Total
<i>Post</i>	Count	131	69	40	2	242
	Percentage	54.1%	28.5%	16.5%	.8%	100%
	Percentage of all	83.4%	18.4%	72.7%	12.5%	40.2%
<i>Times</i>	Count	8	169	10	5	192
	Percentage	4.2%	88.0%	5.2%	2.6%	100%
	Percentage of all	5.1%	45.2%	18.2%	31.3%	31.9%
<i>Mail</i>	Count	18	136	5	9	168
	Percentage	10.7%	81.0%	3.0%	5.4%	100%
	Percentage of all	11.5%	36.4%	9.1%	56.3%	27.9%
Total	Count	157	374	55	16	602
	Percentage	26.1%	62.1%	9.1%	2.7%	100%

Chisquare = 230.260 p < .05

The result that there were more stories in *The Post* attacking the government/MMD on the Kaunda issue compared to the *Times* and *Mail* suggests that the *Times* and the *Mail* probably avoided publishing stories attacking the government because they were government owned. Interestingly, the *Times* which has always been more independent editorially compared to the

Mail, only published 8 stories (4.2%) attacking the Government compared to 18 stories (10.7%) in the *Mail*.

This finding could probably be due to the fact that the Managing Editor, Emmanuel Nyirenda, who used to head the *Mail* as Managing Editor was transferred to the *Times* in 1995 in the same capacity as Managing Editor. He replaced the then acting Managing editor Aurthur Simuchoba who was removed from the *Times* for his independent editorial and professional stand. As head, the managing editor has overall influence on the editorial policy of the newspaper. His responsibilities include the writing of editorials. He can also single-handedly decide on which story to lead with or kill. The fact that Nyirenda is so far the longest serving head of the government press, suggests that he knows how to be in good books with the government of the day.

6.3 Headlines.

According to the findings of this study, out of 168 stories, on Kaunda in the *Mail* 35 stories (20.8%) had their headlines in spot colour (See Table 3).

TABLE 3

Type of headline in The Post, Times and Mail.

Category		Coloured	Not coloured	Reversed	Total
<i>Post</i>	Count	Nil	192	50	242
	Percentage	Nil	79.3%	20.7%	100%
	Percentage of all	Nil	39.4%	63.3%	40.2%
<i>Times</i>	Count	1	170	21	192
	Percentage	.5%	88.5%	10.9%	100%
	Percentage of all	2.8%	34.9%	26.6%	31.9%

<i>Mail</i>	Count	35	125	125	168
	Percentage	20.8%	74.4%	74.4%	100%
	Percentage of all	97.2%	25.7%	25.7%	27.9%
Total	Count	36	487	79	602
	Percentage	6.0%	80.9%	13.1%	100%

Chisquare = 108.482 p < .05

Only one story (.5%) in the *Times* had its headline in colour and none in *The Post*.

However, *The Post* had 50 stories (20.7%) out of 242 with headlines in reverse bromide. The *Times* had 21 stories (10.9%) and the *Mail* only eight stories (4.8%) with headlines in reverse bromide.

According to these results, *The Post* used reverse bromide headlines more than the *Times* and *Mail* to highlight Dr. Kaunda's stories.

However, it should be noted that *The Post*, probably as a matter of house style never uses any colour in its headlines.

6.4 Lead stories.

In terms of page one lead stories concerning Dr. Kaunda all the three newspapers used Dr. Kaunda stories as leads within the same range of percentages. This is probably because it is difficult to ignore Dr. Kaunda due to the international and respectable status he had attained, even if he was engaged in what those in authority might see as being inimical to the state.

However, the trend of the results so far seem to suggest that *The Post* wanted the community to be supportive to Dr. Kaunda during this period by giving prominence to his plight. On the other hand, it would appear the *Times* and *Mail* also highlighted Dr. Kaunda's plight in a manner supportive to government stand.

In *The Post* 110 (46.0%) stories were used as leads. The *Times* used 66 (27.6%) stories of Dr. Kaunda as lead while the *Mail* used 63 stories (26.4%) as leads (See Table 4).

TABLE 4

Number of stories leading with Dr. Kaunda in The Post, Times and Mail

Category		Lead	Not Lead	Total
<i>Post</i>	Count	110	131	242
	Percentage	45.5%	54.1%	100%
	Percentage of all	46.0%	36.3%	40.2%
<i>Times</i>	Count	66	125	192
	Percentage	34.4%	65.1%	100
	Percentage of all	27.6%	34.6%	31.9%
<i>Mail</i>	Count	63	105	168
	Percentage	37.5%	62.5%	100%
	Percentage of all	19.3%	29.1%	27.9%
Total	Count	239	361	602
	Percentage	39.7%	60.0%	100%

Chisquare = 230.230 p < .05

6.5 Pictures.

This research found that out of 242 stories in *The Post*, 129 (53.%) stories were accompanied with pictures. In the *Times* 68 stories (35.4%) out of 192 and 40 stories (23.8%) in the *Mail* had

pictures. Out of a total of 602 stories published in the three newspapers, 50% of the stories with pictures were in the *The Post*. The remaining 48.6% was shared 28.7% and 16.9% by the *Times* and the *Mail* respectively.

Trying to qualitatively analyse what the pictures were trying to say was not an easy task. But one fact that came out clearly was that *The Post* used more pictures taken of Dr. Kaunda during the period he was arrested than the other two newspapers. This suggests that *The Post* attached a lot of importance to the Kaunda stories and tried as much as possible to accompany stories on him with pictures to add emphasis. This is especially so since the government had banned Dr. Kaunda from giving statements to the press.

6.6 Page distribution of stories.

The *Times of Zambia* had 147 stories (41.1%) on Kaunda on page one followed by the *Mail* with 109 (30.4%). *The Post* had 102 (28.5%). As mentioned earlier, *The Post* style, obviously due to its limited size, is to jump stories from page one to inside pages. However, in this study such stories were still regarded as page one stories.

The *Times* and *Mail* as broadsheets have the capacity to carry more stories on page one due to their size compared to *The Post*. The *Times* and *Mail* also had more editions published during the period under study because of their week end editions (See Table 5).

6.7 Story types.

In terms of story types, 20 stories (8.3%) out of 242 stories covered by *The Post* were feature stories. Another 20 stories (8.3%) were editorials. One hundred and sixty seven stories (69.0%) were news and 2 (.8%) were fillers (See Table 6).

In the *Times*, 20 stories (10.4%) out of 192 stories covered were features. Fourteen stories (7.3%) were editorials and 139 stories (72.4%) were news stories. In the *Mail* 25 stories (14.9%) out of 168 stories were features, 11 stories (6.5%) editorials and 128 stories (76.2%) were news stories with only 1 (.6%) accounting for fillers.

Thirty-three (13.6%) out of 242 stories published in *The Post* were letters to the editor. In the *Times*, letters accounted for 19 (9.9%) out of the 192 articles published and only 3 (1.8%) out of the 168 articles in the *Mail* were letters to the editor.

TABLE 5

Dr. Kaunda's story distribution for each page in The Post, Times and Mail

CATEGORY	<i>The Post</i>	<i>The Times of Zambia</i>	<i>The Zambia Daily Mail</i>	TOTAL
Page one	102 (28.5%)	147 (41.1%)	109 (30.4%)	358 (59.5%)
Page two	16 (51.6%)	3 (9.7%)	12 (38.7%)	31 (5.1%)
Page three	27 (62.8%)	6 (14.0%)	10 (23.3%)	43 (7.1%)
Page four	5 (55.6%)	3 (33.3%)	1 (11.1%)	9 (1.5%)
Page five	Nil	11 (100%)	Nil	11 (1.8%)
Page six	6 (11.8%)	17 (33.3%)	28 (54.9%)	51 (8.5%)
Page seven	(18.8%)	5 (31.3%)	8 (50.0%)	16 (2.7%)
Page eight	9 (100%)	Nil	Nil	9 (1.5%)
Page nine	2 (100%)	Nil	Nil	2 (.3%)
Page ten	23 (100%)	Nil	Nil	23 (3.8%)
Page eleven	26 (100%)	Nil	Nil	29 (4.3%)
Page twelve	7 (100%)	Nil	Nil	7 (1.2%)
Page thirteen	13 (100%)	Nil	Nil	13 (2.2%)
Page fourteen	3 (100%)	Nil	Nil	3 (.5%)

$$\text{Chisquare} = 216.343 \quad p < .05$$

Similarly, *The Post* published 33 letters (13.6%) to the editor while the *Times* published 19 letters (9.9%). Interestingly, the *Mail* only published three (3) letters (1.8%). A content analysis of the letters revealed that most of those letters published by *The Post* were also anti-government on this issue or in support of Dr. Kaunda. Those in the *Times* were generally found to be pro-government. This also confirms the assertion of this study that the *Times* and *Mail* were pro government while *The Post* was anti government.

The results show that all the three newspapers gave preference to news stories. *The Post* had 167 news stories (69.0%). The *Times* had 139 news stories (72.4%) and the *Mail* had 128 stories (76.2%). This suggests that in terms of newsworthiness all the three newspapers had the same professional approach on what news is.

The Post with 20 editorials (8.3%) was almost at par with the *Times* that had 14 (7.3%) while the *Mail* had 11 (6.5%). However, a content analysis of the editorials in *The Post* revealed that almost all them were in favour of Dr. Kaunda and attacked the government/ MMD. In contrast, an analysis of the *Times* and *Mail* editorials revealed support for government on the Kaunda issue (See table 6).

The results suggest that the three newspapers had similar views on how often to give their opinion on this issue. The only difference was that the *Times* and *Mail* editorials were in favour of government on the issue while *The Post* editorials were anti-government.

6.8 Zambians' reactions to Dr. Kaunda's arrest.

This study also found that the *Times* and *Mail* did not publish many stories in which Zambians living within the country were reacting to Dr. Kaunda's detention. Where as *The Post* used 35 stories (14.5%) with articles in which Zambians were reacting to Dr. Kaunda's arrest, the *Times* only used 11 stories (5.7%) and the *Mail* 13 stories (7.7%). Out of a total of 59 stories in this category, *The Post* accounted for 59.3% while the *Times* accounted for 18% and the *Mail* 22.0% (See Table 7).

This suggests that most of the stories with reactions to Dr. Kaunda's arrest were against government and the government media avoided using them. The fact that *The Post* had a lot of stories published with reactions by Zambians does suggest that such stories were there.

TABLE 6

Distribution of stories on Dr. Kaunda in The Post, Times and Mail

Category		Features	Editorials	News	Filler	Letter	Total
<i>Post</i>	Count	20	20	167	2	33	242
	Percentage	8.3%	8.3%	69.0%	.8%	13.6%	100
	Percentage of all	30.8%	44.4%	38.5%	66.7%	60%	40.2%
<i>Times</i>	Count	20	14	139	Nil	19	192
	Percentage	10.4%	7.3%	72.4%	Nil	9.9%	100%
	Percentage of all	30.8%	31.1%	32.0%	Nil	34.5	31.9%
<i>Mail</i>	Count	25	11	128	1	3	168
	Percentage	14.9%	6.5%	76.2%	.6%	1.8%	100%
	Percentage of all	38.5%	24.4%	29.5%	33.3%	5.5%	27.9%
Total	Count	65	45	434	3	55	602
	Percentage	10.8%	7.5%	72.1%	.5%	9.1%	100%

Chisquare = 22.107 *p* < .05

6.9 World reaction to Dr. Kaunda's arrest.

In terms of stories with reactions from outside the country, *The Post* published 31 stories (12.8%). The *Times* 13 stories (6.8%) and the *Mail* 17 stories (10.1%) (Table 8)

Comparing *The Post* results and those of the *Times* and the *Mail* one may conclude that like in the case of letters, the state media avoided using most stories with

reactions from people abroad.

A content analysis of stories that were used by *The Post* revealed that the majority were condemning the government for arresting Dr. Kaunda. The state media had little choice in avoiding using them because of the personalities involved in the stories. One example is the story ran by both the *Times* and *Mail* on the cancellation of a visit to Zambia by the British minister of State at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

Other prominent figures quoted by the government media who issued statements attacking the government included Commonwealth Secretary General and some Heads of State from the region. As noted earlier on when we analysed the table for distribution of stories, the three newspapers were in agreement on what is news.

The *Times* and the *Mail* used only stories supportive of government action made by ordinary members of the community.

TABLE 7

Distribution of stories with Zambians' reaction to Dr. Kaunda's arrest in The Post, Times and Mail.

Category		With reaction	With no reaction	Total
<i>Post</i>	Count	35	207	242
	Percentage	14.4%	85.5%	100%
	Percentage of all	59.3%	38.1%	40.2%
<i>Times</i>	Count	11	181	192
	Percentage	5.7%	94.3%	100%
	Percentage of all	18.6%	33.3%	31.9%
<i>Mail</i>	Count	13	155	168
	Percentage	7.7%	92.3%	100%

	Percentage of all	22.0%	28.5%	27.9%
Total	Count	59	543	602
	Percentage	9.8%	90.2%	100%

Chisquare = 10.359 p < .05

6.10 Stories directly attributed to Dr. Kaunda .

In terms of stories directly attributed to Dr.Kaunda as the source (Table 9), *The Post* published 40 stories out of 242 (16.5%). The *Times* had 19 stories (9.9%) out of 192 and the *Mail* had 21 stories (12.5%) directly attributed to Dr. Kaunda.

TABLE 8

Distribution of stories with world reaction to Dr. Kaunda's arrest in The Post, Times and Mail.

Category		With reaction	With no reaction	Total
<i>Post</i>	Count	31	211	242
	Percentage	12.8%	87.2%	100%
	Percentage of all	50%	39.0%	40.2%
<i>Times</i>	Count	13	179	192
	Percentage	6.8%	93.2%	100%
	Percentage of all	21.3%	33.1%	31.9%
<i>Mail</i>	Count	17	151	168
	Percentage	10.1%	89.9%	100%
	Percentage of all	27.9%	27.9%	27.9%
Total	Count	61	541	602

Percentage 10.1% 89.9% 100%

Chisquare = 4.288p>.05

The result suggests that *The Post* was quoting Dr. Kaunda during this period despite a government order banning him from issuing statements to the press as part of the conditions for his release whereas the government media complied with the order.

It appears that *The Post* felt that Dr. Kaunda's rights were being trampled on by the state and therefore needed some support in form giving him an outlet to be heard by the world. But it could also be that *The Post* indirectly wanted Dr. Kaunda to get in more trouble by attributing stories to him despite the government ban. After all, Dr. Kaunda stories were making *The Post* sales go up because of way they treated the issue.

TABLE 9

Number of stories directly attributed to Dr. Kaunda in The Post, Times and Mail

Category		Directly quoting Kaunda	Not directly quoting Kaunda	Total
<i>Post</i>	Count	40	202	242
	Percentage	16.5%	83.5%	100%
	Percentage of all	50.0%	38.7%	40.2%
<i>Times</i>	Count	19	173	192
	Percentage	9.9%	90.1%	100%
	Percentage of all	23.8%	33.1%	31.9%
<i>Mail</i>	Count	21	147	168
	Percentage	12.5%	87.5%	100%
	Percentage of all	26.3%	28.2%	27.9%
Total	Count	80	522	602

Percentage	13.3%	86.7%	100%
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Chisquare = 4.214p>.05

In terms of stories directly quoting Dr. Kaunda's family commenting on his arrest, *The Post* published 17 stories (7.0%) directly attributed to Dr. Kaunda's children out of the 242 stories it published on Dr. Kaunda. The *Times* and *Mail* had four each representing 2.1% and 2.4% out of 192 and 168 stories published in the two newspapers respectively.

6.11 Stories directly attributed to Mrs Betty Kaunda.

The least quoted close relative of Dr. Kaunda in the three newspapers was his wife Betty. Only two stories (.8%) out of the 242 stories published in *The Post* quoted her. The *Times* also had two stories (1.0%) and only one story (.6%) in the *Mail* making a total of 5 stories (.8%) in the three newspapers. From the above results, one can conclude that Mrs Kaunda was media shy about the plight of her husband or for some reason the three newspapers did not want to use her as a source.

CHAPTER 7

Discussion and Conclusion

7.0 Media coverage of political figures and celebrities.

The issue of media coverage of political figures is one area that has received little attention, if any, in Zambia and Africa in general. In fact, so far, there is very little evidence to show that any studies of this nature have ever been undertaken in Africa. Literature available, including that of celebrities, is mostly of studies done in the countries of the North. This study was done to investigate how the three major newspapers in Zambia covered one of its top politicians. Why is this important?

7.1 Media bias.

Litcher (2000), observed that the never-ending debate over media bias usually revolves around whether both sides of a partisan issue are presented in the news. But how they are presented is just as important to insuring a balanced fair coverage (*Washington Post*: May 8, 2000).

Bagdikian (1983) adds that, the power to control information is a major lever in the control of society. He notes that despite the fact that companies had power in politics, the most feared were media corporations because they control the way politicians can reach and cannot reach home fronts. They can also make or break a politician.

Giving citizens a choice in ideas and information is as important as giving them a choice in politics. If a nation has narrowly controlled information, it will soon have narrowly controlled politics (Bagdikian,1983:1).

Also of significance, as Mwale notes (1996) is the fact that it is difficult to separate completely the issue of media coverage from politics because politics and the media tend to brew in the same pot.

This, as Momba (1997) rightly observes, leads to the discussion of the need for the existence of a free and independent press that apart from being essential for the sustenance of liberal democracy is very important for good governance.

However, Ogbondah (1997) notes that African leaders have their own view on the issue of an independent press in Africa. According to him, African leaders argue that given the continent's subservient position in the global economic system, a colonial legacy and the fragility of newly independent African countries, a free press in the Northern sense can too easily lead to instability of government to function and lead into internal chaos. Thus, press control is necessary for nation development and political stability (Agarwala, 1977; Mboya 1970; and Sommerland, 1966).

Karikari (1990) notes that in addressing the issues of media policy, one cannot escape addressing the larger issue of how and who rules society, i.e. what is the political framework for appropriate media policy.

He argues that much as the essential character of a press system is its overall political and ideological standpoint, the socio-political system of which it is part or operates in is important in discussions on policy for the press system as it involves ideological and political questions.

Agbondah (1997) however, notes that before constitutional changes swept across Africa starting in 1990, African governments had a monopoly in the mass media business. In many countries, the state owned and operated the only newspaper, magazine, electronic media etc.

But the economic liberalisation policies that followed these constitutional changes in countries like Zambia, Malawi Kenya and many other African countries have also resulted in the development of privately owned media there.

Other scholars such as Blake (1997) argue that the media are major vehicles for influencing public opinion. As a result, the power of the media is now recognised by all as manifested in the pressure being put on African governments internally and externally to liberalise the sector and open up access for wider private participation and ownership of media.

He also notes that public media usually cover the activities of the government in power, to the near exclusion of competing forces in society. He adds that it is not usually the practice of the government in power at any given time to extend the coverage by the public media of opposition parties on an equal footing. This has to be rectified since it is a policy issue.

A 1997 Foundation for Democratic Process (FODEP) showed that, the MMD effectively used the government controlled *Times of Zambia* and *Zambia Daily Mail* to advance its political propaganda at the expense of its opponents.

Owens-Ibie argues that the media should be reporting on and promoting discussions of ideas, opinions and truths. It should be acting as a nation's "bulletin board" for information and mirroring the society and its peoples just the way they are, thus exposing the heroes and villains.

But, Owens-Ibie (ibid.) also notes that providing exhaustive information does not compel the mass media to give news on everything that happens daily since it is not possible. What are judged is not how much information is not presented but rather the fair judgement of the editors on what should be used and should not. In this study, it is not necessarily how many stories on Dr.Kaunda were published or were not published in the three newspapers, but rather the fair judgement by the editors on the importance of stories on Dr. Kaunda.

According to Owens-Ibie (1997:65), ultimately fair judgement in the news selection process is the yardstick for measuring responsibility rather than the degree of coverage of total news content and that is part of the news judgement criteria that subtly guides what issues dominate public agenda.

Karikari (1990) is however skeptical whether it follows that the mere formulation of any policy would avert incursions into the right to press freedom and raises a number of questions:

Who determines editorial policies in state owned newspapers?

What limits, if there must be any, can there be to the independence of the state owned press? What criteria can there be for coverage of issues by state owned press to ensure fairness for all sections of society? Who is to ensure that all these are implemented and guaranteed? Who protects press people from any obstructions to the full exercise of their independent judgement, and who protects the public against press abuses of the exercise of their independent judgement? (Karikari, 1990:88).

7.2 Content analysis of major events by Zambian media.

As already pointed out, media coverage of political issues in Africa and Zambia in particular is one area that has received very little attention

7.2.1 Content analysis of AIDS coverage in Zambia.

In Zambia, perhaps the first study of how the media covered major events is the one by Kasoma (1986). He did a study to show how newspapers in Zambia reported a highly newsworthy subject, Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS), a disease he claimed had the potential of wiping out the entire human race.

He content analysed, over a two year period, all the articles on AIDS published in the then only two daily newspapers in Zambia namely the *Times of Zambia* and the *Zambia Daily Mail* noting their frequency and newsplay . He made an attempt to interpret the intention of the editors in publishing the stories,

Kasoma's study examined the AIDS articles in terms of length, page on which they appeared and whether or not they were lead stories. The three variables were said to determine the intention of the editors on what impact they want a newspaper article to have on its readers.

This study also used Kasoma's approach. It was hoped that by looking at the various variables such as those Kasoma looked at and many more, it would be possible to determine the importance editors of the three newspapers attached to the Kaunda stories.

As Wilkins (1980) has stated, the sheer number of stories is not the only indication of the importance of a particular news event. How a story is played, i.e., its location on a newspaper page also indicates the relative importance of the event. For example, an article that is used as lead on a page is regarded as a very important story especially if it leads page one. Similarly, the longer a story, the more important it is thought to be.(Kasoma, 1987:50).

In analysing the results of his study, Kasoma found that 60 percent of all stories published in the two dailies during the two-year period were foreign stories and only 40 percent were local. He

found that in 1986, 67 percent of the AIDS stories were foreign and 33 percent local. In 1989, the *Times of Zambia* and the *Zambia Daily Mail* had 55 percent and 54 percent foreign stories respectively and he attributed this pattern of coverage to the fact that in 1986 AIDS had just been introduced in the country from outside and there were more stories from there.

His second explanation was that there could have been a deliberate attempt by the two newspapers to show that AIDS was an outside disease and not Zambian adding that there was overwhelming evidence that the two newspapers did not regard the AIDS issue with the importance it deserved with the potential to wipe out the entire population. Of interest to this study is how the three newspapers understudy covered Dr. Kaunda's arrest, detention and subsequent release using the same method. For example, was there a deliberate attempt by the government media to marginalize Dr. Kaunda in terms of coverage?

7.2.2 Content analysis of the 1996 Presidential and Parliamentary elections.

A more recent study on how the media in Zambia covered a major political event was done by the Foundation for Democratic Process (FODEP) in 1997. It content analysed the government and private media's coverage of the November 18, 1996 Presidential and Parliamentary elections in Zambia.

Among the areas it analysed were advert distribution, news distribution and space distribution of news stories in the private and public media concerning (or from) the ruling MMD.

In comparing the news distribution in *The Post*, *Times of Zambia* and the *Zambia Daily Mail*, the research found that both the *Times* and the *Mail* exhibited some bias in their selection of "news" pertaining to the electoral campaign.

According to the FODEP study, the papers's biases were reflected in attributing more MMD campaign happenings the "newsworthy" value than any other party's happenings.

The Post, according to the study, at least appeared to give equal consideration for political parties under study. But it concluded that although *The Post* did give space to the ruling MMD, its tone

was one of scepticism at what it considered to be the party's undemocratic practices with regard to the constitution, the electoral process and other issues of good governance.

FODEP concluded that the MMD effectively used the government owned media to advance its election propaganda at the expense of its opponents, an action, which amounted to abuse of state machinery.

7.3 Treatment of Dr.Kaunda's stories by *The Post*, *Zambia Daily Mail* and the *Times of Zambia*

One of the most interesting findings of this study is that *The Post* , despite publishing less editions, had more stories published on the Dr.Kaunda issue than stories on Dr.Kaunda published in the *Times* and *Mail* combined which had more editions.

Of the 602 stories on Dr.Kaunda published in the three newspapers, 242 were in *The Post* compared to 192 in the *Times* and 168 in the *Mail*. This shows that the government-owned media attempted not to give the Dr. Kaunda story the publicity it deserved in terms of newsplay compared to *The Post*.

Obviously, it can be concluded that the government-owned media exercised some pre publication self censorship. According to Moore (1991) Zambia's media are subject to two forms of censorship: pre-publication (or broadcast) and self censorship. In the former censors remove part or all of a story or prohibit reporters from covering certain news.

In the later, journalists, because of past experiences and fear of repercussions decide not to publish (air) a story.

Moore argues that this is the worst form of censorship because the journalist, of his own choice breaches his professional ethics and betrays the public trust in him-even if the choice not to cover a story or alter the way it is covered is made unconsciously (Moore:83).

That there is self censorship by journalists working for the government-owned media was also confirmed by Joy Sata, a reporter at the *Mail* during a panel discussion on ZNBC. In the

discussion to mark world freedom day in April 1998. Sata explained that stories which were critical of government were usually not used by the *Mail*. As a result of this, reporters had resorted to censoring themselves.

Dr. Kaunda had become a controversial figure during this period and it would appear the government press was jittery in the way it covered him. But due to his status both locally and internationally, he could not be ignored. Like the private press, the government owned press had to cover him, but with great caution.

7.4 Dismissal of journalists.

That the government-owned press was jittery in the way it covered Dr. Kaunda is confirmed by the fact that *The Post* published almost twice the number of favourable stories (146) to Dr. Kaunda than the favourable stories in the *Times* (42) and *Mail* (45) combined.

This jitteriness when covering political issues is probably due to the fact that the MMD government had demonstrated that it can remove any journalist working for the government-owned press who did not toe its line. Examples have been cited in this dissertation. The removal of Arthur Simuchoba from the *Times* in 1995 is one good example.

7.5 An alternative view

As regards *The Post* approach in covering political issues, it is clear that the paper always has a well defined agenda – anti government. This was confirmed by the then executive editor of *The Post*, Arthur Simuchoba who said in an interview that *The Post* was very close to the opposition and has always been for the alternative view.

He explained that in the case of Dr. Kaunda, the fact that he was in the opposition was very important to *The Post*. The paper therefore followed up his case vigorously. It also insisted Dr. Kaunda was innocent and campaigned for his release, which finally happened. It is very clear that the newspaper, going by the admission of its editor was anti-government. But what is not clear is whether it was anti government for the sake of it.

It is worth noting that Simuchoba, who was heading *The Post* editorial team had been removed from the *Times* as head . The question therefore is, was it a question of sour grapes that *The Post* was anti-government and gave Dr. Kaunda more favourable coverage because he was in the opposition? Or is it, as Kasoma noted in his inaugural speech as professor of journalism, that the private press in Africa is like a dog that was constantly in chains, and having been released suddenly goes wild biting everyone in site? It is difficult to tell.

But may be this explains why *The Post* had more stories (131) attacking the government/MMD compared to the *Times* and *Mail* put together. In this case, are complaints by government officials that the private press is sensational and anti-government valid? It is also difficult to say, but the disparities in the figures relating to the stories attacking the government in the three newspapers certainly raise some eyebrows.

The Post was clearly anti-government, an approach that could have a bearing on its credibility as an objective newspaper. This could have been interpreted as unnecessarily being anti -authority by its readership and therefore it lost credibility. But it could also be that *The Post* genuinely published most of the stories attacking the government. But this could also have enhanced its credibility among some of its readers as they could have interpreted this as a sign of bravely. In this case, the *Times* and *Mail* were seen as cowards and lost credibility.

7.6 Placement of stories.

It is also interesting to note that *The Post*, which is smaller in size and had fewer editions carried more page one lead stories on Dr. Kaunda (110) compared to the *Times* (66) and *Mail* (63).

It is also worth being reminded that in journalism, a lead story has more importance attached to it by the gatekeepers. Thus, it can be concluded that the government-owned press tried to attach less importance to Dr. Kaunda's story as indicated by the number of page one stories compared to Dr. Kaunda although they frequently reported the issue. This also had a big implication on the credibility of the *Times* and *Mail*.

There is no doubt that Dr. Kaunda had attained an indisputable international image which only a naive local press during that time, could afford to downplay. But this proves that the government-owned press selection of news items is affected by some external forces. It is therefore surprising that a senior reporter for the *Mail* claimed to me in an interview that the *Mail*, which is government-owned did a very good job covering Kaunda and that there was no political interference whatsoever that influenced his paper's treatment of the coverage.

7.6 .1 Approaches in treatment of Dr. Kaunda's stories.

Despite the different approaches in the treatment of the Kaunda stories in the three newspapers, this study found that all of them had more stories in the "news story" category, compared to the other types of stories. This is an indication that journalists on the three newspapers understand and know their profession. However, as the news items move through the gates, they undergo some transformation when they reach the final gates - where the editors are.

When one looks at the editorial distribution, it is clear that the three newspapers editorialised on it almost the same number of times. But as pointed out, it was the stand taken by the newspapers that was worrying. The *Post* generally was very anti- government while the *Times* and *Mail* were biased towards the government.

7.7 Conclusion.

There is no doubt that Zambian journalists working for the government press are torn between being professional and keeping their jobs. This study, for example, has shown that all the three newspapers had about the same number of stories on Dr. Kaunda that fall under the "news" classification. However journalists on the government-owned press are inhibited in their reporting of political issues and usually tend to treat their stories from a government angle.

The fact that some senior journalists working for the government-owned press have been dismissed has created some job insecurity for journalists working for these institutions. As a result, they have tended to write stories in a manner they knew was acceptable to government officials. Results of this study have shown that the *Times* and *Mail* used Dr. Kaunda's stories selectively and generally displayed them in a manner that reflected government position.

Although this study specifically analysed the press coverage of Dr. Kaunda, the findings can be used to make general conclusions about how the state and private media cover political related issues in Zambia at the moment.

The general findings of this study do lend support to the view that the government-owned press in Zambia is generally biased towards the ruling party and government when reporting political issues. It also supports the view that the private press is generally anti- government.

This study has attempted to shed some light on how the press in Zambia covered a major political figure – its first President. Its main conclusion is that the government-owned press is pro- government while the private press tries to keep government in check by being critical of it.

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- Pauline Banda. Senior Reporter. *Zambia Daily Mail*. 1998.

Appendix

Department of Mass Communication
content analysis checklist

1. Name of paper _____
2. Date of publication _____
3. Headline _____
4. Headline in different colour ? Yes ___ No ___
5. Page number _____
6. Lead story? Yes ___ No ___
7. Length of story in column centimeters _____
8. Story accompanied by picture or cartoon ? Yes ___ No ___
9. What is the picture/cartoon saying/ _____
10. Story highlighted (e.g reversed etc) Yes ___ No ___
11. Is story, feature _____ editorial piece _____ News story ___ Filler ___ Letter to the editor _____
12. Is story in support of KK: Yes ___ No ___ Both ___ Neutral _____

13. Who is expressing opinion?

(a) Paper ____

(b) Source ____

(c) Reporter ____

(d) No opinion ____

14. Sources

(a) UNIP ____

(b) Governemnt/MMD ____

(c) Other parties ____

(d) Reporter/eyewitness account ____

(e) Any other ____

15. Theme(s) of the story

(a) Disunity in UNIP Yes ___ No ___ _____

(b) Obstacles in Kaunda
protection Yes ___ No ___ _____

(c) Challenging Kaunda's Yes ___ No ___ _____

Citizenship

- (d) Charges and delays in charging Kaunda Yes___ No___ _____
- (e) Conflict with landlord Yes___ No___ _____
- (f) Location of Kaunda's Detention Yes___ No___ _____
- (g) UNIP's reaction Yes___ No___ _____
- (h) Zambians's reaction Yes___ No___ _____
- (i) World reaction Yes___ No___ _____
- (j) Hunger strike Yes___ No___ _____

16. Statements by the Kaunda family

- (a) Statements by Kaunda Yes___ No___
- (b) Statements by Kaunda's children Yes___ No___
- (c) Statement by Kaunda's wife Yes___ No___
- (d) Other Yes___ No___

17. Attack on MMD/Govt

(1) Yes _____

(2) No _____

(3) Neutral _____

(4) Conciliatory _____

ENDS