

**FIRST REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING SERVICES FOR THE FOURTH SESSION OF THE TENTH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY APPOINTED ON 25 SEPTEMBER 2009**

*Consisting of:*

Mr M Kapeya, MP, (Chairperson); Mr R Muyanda, MP; Mr G M Beene, MP; Mr D Mwila, MP; Ms M M Mwape, MP; Dr G L Scott, MP; Mr C M Silavwe, MP; and Mr L K Chibombamilimo, MP.

The Honourable Mr Speaker  
National Assembly  
Parliament Buildings  
LUSAKA

Sir, following the guidance that your current Committee should table the Report of the previous Committee for the Third Session of the Tenth National Assembly, your Committee studied, in detail, the Report of the previous Committee and adopted it on 8th October 2009.

Your Committee Mr Speaker, Sir, have the honour to present the Report.

M Kapeya, MP  
**CHAIRPERSON**

October 2009  
**LUSAKA**

**REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING SERVICES FOR THE THIRD SESSION OF THE TENTH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, APPOINTED ON 22<sup>ND</sup> JANUARY, 2009**

*Comprising:*

Mr M M Muteteka, MP; (Chairperson); Mr M Kapeya, MP; Mr D Mwila, MP; Dr G L Scott, MP; Mr C M Silavwe, MP; Mr R Muyanda, MP; Mr G M Beene, MP and Mrs J C Mumbi-Phiri, MP.

During the session, the composition of your Committee changed when Mr M Muteteka, MP, was appointed Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Community Development and Social Services and Mr M Kapeya, MP, took over from him as Chairperson.

The Honourable Mr Speaker  
National Assembly  
Parliament Buildings  
LUSAKA

Sir,

Your Committee have the honour to present their report for 2009.

**Functions of the Committee**

2.0 The duties of your Committee are to:

- (i) study, report and make appropriate recommendations to the Government through the House on the mandate, management and operations of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Services, departments and/or agencies under its portfolio;
- (ii) carry out detailed scrutiny of certain activities being undertaken by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Services, departments and/or agencies under its portfolio and make appropriate recommendations to the House for ultimate consideration by the Government;
- (iii) make, if considered necessary, recommendations to the Government on the need to review certain policies and/or certain existing legislation relating to the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Services;
- (iv) examine annual reports of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Services, departments and agencies under its portfolio in the context of the autonomy and efficiency of Government Ministries and departments and determine whether the affairs of the said bodies are being managed according to relevant Acts of Parliament, established regulations, rules and general orders; and
- (v) consider any Bills that may be referred to them by the House.

## **Meetings of the Committee**

- 3.0 Your Committee held thirteen (13) meetings during the period under review. Your Committee's Report is divided into three parts. Part One comprises the topical issues on which your Committee undertook detailed study; Part Two is on the Local and Foreign Tours; and Part Three is on the consideration of outstanding issues from the Action-Taken Report on your Committee's Report for 2008.

## **Programme of Work**

- 4.0 Your Committee considered and adopted the following programme of work for the year 2009:
- (i) consideration of the Action-Taken Report on the Committee's Report for 2008;
  - (ii) consideration of Topical Issues: The Role of the Media in National Stability and the Efficacy of the Media Council of Zambia in Protecting the Media and Promoting Media Ethics;
  - (iii) undertaking local and regional tours; and
  - (iv) consideration and adoption of the Committee's draft Report for the year 2009.

## **Procedure Adopted**

- 5.0 To assist them in their inquiry, your Committee interacted with the following stakeholders:
- (i) The Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Services;
  - (ii) Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC);
  - (iii) Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) Zambia;
  - (iv) Catholic Media Services;
  - (v) MUVI Television;
  - (vi) The Times of Zambia;
  - (vii) The Zambia Daily Mail;
  - (viii) The Post Newspapers;
  - (ix) The Media Ethics Council of Zambia (MECOZ);
  - (x) The Institute for Mass Communication Educational Trust (ZAMCOM);
  - (xi) The Press Association of Zambia (PAZA);
  - (xii) The Zambia Media Women Association (ZAMWA);
  - (xiii) The Law Association of Zambia (LAZ);
  - (xiv) The Zambia Union of Journalists (ZUJ);
  - (xv) The University of Zambia-Department of Mass Communication; and
  - (xvi) Radio Phoenix.

## **PART ONE**

### **CONSIDERATION OF TOPICAL ISSUES**

- 6.0 Your Committee considered two topical issues, namely: (i) the Role of the Media in National Stability and (ii) the Efficacy of the Media Council of Zambia in Protecting the Media and Promoting Media Ethics.

#### **Background and Objectives of the Study**

- 7.0 Under the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Services, Information and Media Policy (1996. p19), one of the Government's policies and goals is to:

‘Facilitate the creation of a self-regulatory professional body for journalists, backed by law, to enforce ethics and standards.’ The policy strategy to achieve this is stated as ‘creating a self regulating Media Council to enhance ethics and journalistic standards in the country.’

Further, in his address to the Third Session of the Tenth National Assembly, His Excellency the President, Mr R B Banda, said, “Recently, there have been calls in this House for the State to regulate the media in the country. However, my administration believes in self- regulation. However, the onus remains on the media to work out such regulations which must be respected by all and clearly stipulate the sanctions against erring journalists or media houses. If other media houses think they are above self regulation and refuse to cooperate with their colleagues in the Media Ethics Council, then Government will assist to provide one.” (Presidential Address, 16th January, 2009. pp.65-66).

The objectives of the study were therefore to:

- (i) inquire into the extent to which the Government has facilitated and promoted the establishment of the Media Council of Zambia (MECOZ);
- (ii) examine the extent to which the objectives of the Council have been achieved;
- (iii) examine the extent to which the Zambian media can contribute to national stability; and
- (iv) establish what should be done to enhance the media’s positive contribution to national stability.

Your Committee delved into the following specific issues:

- (i) the extent to which the media, in general, can contribute to the political stability and economic development or otherwise of the nation;
- (ii) what has been the posture of the media, before, during and after elections;
- (iii) what lessons can be learnt from what has transpired elsewhere in the region;
- (iv) what should be done to enhance the positive contribution of the media to national stability and economic development;
- (v) the extent to which the Media Council of Zambia has promoted professionalism by enforcing journalism ethics;
- (vi) the extent to which the Media Council of Zambia (MECOZ) has promoted understanding between the media and the public;
- (vii) what needs to be done in order for the Media Council to carry out its mandate; and
- (viii) what should be done to ensure that all media houses and practitioners subscribe to the Media Council of Zambia.

### **Summary of Submissions by Stakeholders**

8.0 Your Committee received and considered both written and oral submissions from stakeholders as outlined below.

(i) **The extent to which the Media, in general, can contribute to the Political Stability and Economic Development or otherwise of the Nation**

Your Committee heard that the media were considered to be the fourth estate of power after the Executive, the Legislature and Judiciary and that each of the four had well-defined responsibilities, owing legitimacy, in a democracy, directly or indirectly to the people. Your Committee learnt that the media should act as a counterweight, overseeing developments with a critical eye and making a contribution in four specific ways: circulating information, acting

as the proponent of good governance, highlighting worrying developments and ensuring that freedoms were safeguarded. Your Committee heard that, in the real world, the media could be forced by political or other powers to adopt a less than independent position. They sometimes had little choice but to accept to do as it was told.

Your Committee were further informed that, in terms of helping to provide political stability, the media must play its watchdog role which was exposing issues of corruption among public institutions and the governors. They heard that corruption, if left unchecked, had the potential to destabilise a nation and it was, therefore, critical that the media played their role to expose corruption and other vices. The other part could be provision of information regarding political players, especially during elections. Your Committee were told that accurate, honest and truthful provision of information about political parties, candidates, the electoral process and other governance issues, helped the public make correct decisions in terms of choosing their leaders and nurtured political stability. This could also extend to educating people on their rights and obligations, the constitution and other laws of the land. In terms of economic development, the media should provide information related to issues such as development opportunities available, business trends, markets information such as stocks, commodity prices, foreign exchange trading, technologies available, and jobs, providers of goods and services and buyers. In short, the media should be a market place of information for the citizens and at the same time a medium that allowed the public to enjoy their right to express themselves and share ideas.

**(ii) The posture of the Media, before, during and after elections**

On the question of what had been the posture of the media before, during and after elections, your Committee heard that the media had been polarised. That is, there was the pro-government media which were mostly state owned institutions and the private media, which were mostly pro-opposition. Further, your Committee were informed that an attempt had been made by both the public and the private media to provide relevant information about the electoral process, the political parties and candidates at all times. Your Committee, however, heard that the media tended to get caught up in the political polemics of personal and petty accusations by the political players, at the expense of providing in-depth analyses.

Your Committee learnt that related to issues such as explaining the role of the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ), the voting system, the delimitation exercises and even the electoral laws to the public, the media also needed to follow up the promises made by politicians during elections and see whether they were being implemented as promised in various manifestos. Your Committee further learnt that although there had been an attempt do so, what had been done was not adequate to help the public monitor whether the promises were being met. Your Committee were informed that although there was an existing code of conduct which spelt the media's role in elections, this had hardly been adhered to by both the private and the public media. There were many reasons for this state of affairs but the main ones were ownership or shareholders' influence on editorial policy and content, lack of financial resources, inadequate training, inadequate equipment and other logistical requirements.

During the election period, the media were also threatened by various players. According to the monitoring which MISA Zambia carried out during the pre and post election periods, media freedom violations increased tremendously. The violations soared from a paltry six between January and August, 2008, to sixteen between September and November, 2008. These included physical harassment, threats of legal suits and dismissals, ejections from premises of political events such as rallies, threats to close down media institutions and orders to stop live broadcasts or publishing of certain types of stories either by order or through the courts of law.

Further, your Committee were informed that the perception of the media by the public during these crucial periods of the democratic practice was two-fold. There was the view that the Government-controlled media were used to portray a working Government and to create the impression that the opposition were just a bunch of noise makers, who offered no more than arm-chair criticisms and who seized every available moment to stifle Government operations. The other view was that the private media worked as a tool for unearthing certain unacceptable Government activities ranging from punishing dissenting views of NGOs, journalists and other critics of Government. Private media, in this regard, had come to be viewed as an ally of the public, which was relied upon to keep Government in check.

**(iii) Lessons learnt from what has transpired elsewhere in the Region**

As regards what lessons could be learnt from what had transpired elsewhere in the region, your Committee heard that, in using the Rwandese case, it was important to remember that it was not entirely the media that directly led to the genocide which started with the shooting down of a plane carrying the late Rwandese Hutu President Habyarimana. It was the politicians, including the armies and the rebels, who were responsible for the genocide that ensued. Although the actions of one priest, running a radio station, played a role in the genocide, it was not the media that should shoulder the entire blame.

In the Kenyan case, your Committee were told that whereas the real contention of the 2007 violence was election results and that community radios were not the initiators of the violence, they were used to fan it by tribalistic politicians who disseminated hate messages against perceived oppressors of other tribes. Politicians actually incited the masses using community radios.

Your Committee heard that the major lesson to be learnt, among others, was that the media needed to promote peace, dialogue and reconciliation at all times, especially during times of elections, when political contestation was high. This they could do by practicing responsible, ethical and objective reporting. Instead of the media being used for fanning conflict, it should be used as an instrument of conflict resolution and nation building.

**(iv) Measures to be taken in order to enhance the positive contribution of the Media to National Stability and Economic Development**

As regards what should be done to enhance the positive contribution of the media to national stability and economic development, your Committee were informed that there already existed a myriad of laws that restricted the media such as set out hereunder.

1. The Radio Communications Act: sets very high fees of US\$40,000 for a B3 licence for Internet service providers. It undermines the development of non-traditional media also known as New Media (the Internet- blogs, video, audio streaming etc);
2. The Broadcasting Act
3. The Preservation of Public Security Act: which can be invoked to mean all sorts of things under which media freedom can legally be curtailed.
4. The ZNBC Act Cap 154 as amended by Act No. 20 of 2002: is one of the most obsolete laws under the current circumstances because it is under this law that all other competitors are registered. Under this law, only the TV licence fee has been implemented.
5. The State Security Act Cap 111: prohibits, in broad terms, disclosure of Government-held information. As a result of this law, Government operations are, for the most part, shrouded in secrecy.
6. The Penal Code, Cap 87 of the Laws of Zambia is one piece of legislation with various provisions imposing restraint on media freedom.

Some sections of the Penal Code that directly limit media freedom in Zambia were highlighted as follows:

- Sections 53, 54 and 55 deal with the prohibition of publications and offences in respect of prohibited publications. Section 53 of the Penal Code confers powers upon the President to declare a publication or series of publications to be prohibited publications if, in his opinion, such publication or series of publications published either within or outside the country are contrary to “public interest”. The consequence of the prohibition under section 53 is that importation, possession, publication, sale, distribution or reproduction of any such publication becomes illegal.
- Section 62 of the Penal Code defines public interest as the interest of defence, public safety, public order, public morality or public health (these terms have no definite meaning.)
- *Section 117 deals with prohibition of taking of photographs in court. This section is not just archaic in its restriction of media freedom but is applied unfairly. The example was during the treason trial when major international news networks were allowed to mount cameras inside the courtroom but local media were denied the same.*

Your Committee heard that the first step was to review these laws and bring them in line with the current political dispensation and worldwide media reforms. This meant that there must be laws that allow the media to thrive, but at the same time ensure that rights of citizens are protected. The Constitution must provide for the freedom of the press and other media and subsidiary legislation must enhance the enjoyment of the provisions rather than stifle them. It also meant that economic policies related to taxation of materials and equipment, such as newsprint, films, plates and inks for both print and electronic media, were to be reviewed with the view of reducing the tax.

Further your Committee were informed that media training policies and institutions must also be developed to ensure that graduates coming out of there were ready for the challenges faced in the practice of journalism, particularly, in the current political and economic landscape. Initiatives such as the Media Development Fund by the Government should be encouraged, as this would enable cash strapped media institutions to buy equipment and train staff. This was critical for the community media, who had limited capacity of generating income and relied on donations and part time staff who may not be properly trained.

**(v) The extent to which the Media Council of Zambia had promoted professionalism by enforcing Journalism Ethics**

Pertaining to the extent to which the Media Council of Zambia had promoted professionalism by enforcing journalism ethics, your Committee heard that MECOZ had the handicap of not being in a position to impose any sanctions against any erring media house or individual, apart from issuing a public admonition. Further, without the compulsory recognition of the media ethics body by all media houses and operatives, as was the case in other professional circles, it was difficult for MECOZ to assume an oversight role. Your Committee were told that professionalism would only be promoted if all media houses in the country belonged to the Council and submitted to its authority and decisions.

On the other hand, your Committee heard that MECOZ had promoted professionalism by providing a channel for adjudication of complaints from members of the public aggrieved by media reports. For instance, MECOZ had shown objectivity in the ‘Zambia Daily Mail Vs House of Chiefs’, where the newspaper was made to apologise for erroneous reporting. In the

'Times of Zambia Vs Chipata Municipal Council', MECOZ ruled in favour of the Times of Zambia.

(vi) **The extent to which the Media Council of Zambia (MECOZ) had promoted understanding between the Media and the Public**

Pertaining to the extent to which the Media Council of Zambia (MECOZ) had promoted understanding between the media and the public, your Committee heard that some quarters of the media fraternity felt that the Media Council of Zambia (MECOZ) had done very little to achieve an understanding between the media and the public. They felt that, if anything, MECOZ had, since its inception, created more acrimony in the media. They contended that it was a danger to press freedom to create institutions or bodies whose aims were to stifle the proliferation of views simply because they were considered to be 'offensive' or 'obnoxious' to the powers that be. MECOZ lacked a clear structural-functional backbone and one of the greatest challenges facing it was that it had failed to realise the need for it to stand apart from particular or special interests so that it could independently represent the real interests of the public it purported to stand for. They further argued that the current MECOZ had demonstrated a great deal of bias against certain sections of media in the country, which rendered the Ethics Council irrelevant to the real and practical needs of professionalism in the media.

As regards mediation, your Committee were informed that MECOZ had successfully arbitrated some cases without recourse to the adjudication process and the parties accepted its counsel. Your Committee were told that the number of cases brought before MECOZ was an indication of the level of confidence that the public had in it.

(vii) **Measures to be taken in order for the Media Council to effectively carry out its mandate**

As regards strengthening MECOZ, your Committee heard that this could be done by crafting a strong constitution that took care of the weaknesses in the current one and ensured that all journalists and media organizations subscribed to it. MECOZ must be allowed to be cast as a recognized regulatory body for all media practitioners in Zambia.

Your Committee were told that since international best practice on media regulation suggested that self regulation, as opposed to external regulation, was the best form of regulating Media, MECOZ must be given an opportunity to gain legitimacy from its stakeholders by ensuring that any type of regulation originated with the media practitioners themselves.

The following were given as some of what needed to be addressed in order for MECOZ to function effectively:

- a) **Structure:** This should be reviewed so that the council was not only representative of various media, but also reflective of the present media landscape in Zambia.
- b) **Membership:** The quality of members of the MECOZ board was the only guarantee for its independence, impartiality and effectiveness. Therefore, the composition of the MECOZ membership should be reviewed so that individuals with proven media expertise, independence and integrity were taken on board.
- c) **Clear Mandate and Powers:** These should be clearly spelt out, but agreed upon by the membership, so that the ethics body did not construct arbitrary 'judgements' against members considered to be errant. Further, MECOZ must adopt a more corrective

rather than punitive approach and its mandate and powers should therefore not be used to stifle the fundamental freedom of expression and that of the media.

- d) **Accountability:** MECOZ was not accountable to any other body. However independent MECOZ may claim to be, the process required that it was also held accountable because it was only through this requirement that it would become more impartial, independent and, therefore, efficient.

(viii) **Measures to be taken to ensure that all Media Houses and Practitioners subscribe to the Media Council of Zambia.**

Your Committee were told that subscription to MECOZ was not something that the Government could force upon the media houses and practitioners. However, the Government could come up with a complaints commission which would compel the Media Council to sanction erring journalists upon exhaustive investigations of complaints from the public.

Other quarters felt that MECOZ needed to scale up its public awareness strategy to enable members of the general public to utilize it to address their complaints. A one-off series of radio programmes was not enough to educate members of the general public about their mandate, role, programmes and activities.

Further, your Committee heard that MECOZ needed to be re-launched as an inclusive, confidence inspiring and all embracing idea that would be acceptable to all players. To this effect, MECOZ needed to lobby and engage with all media in the country in order to develop a common agenda and strategy for development. Your Committee learnt that all media in Zambia were currently agreed on the need for self, as opposed to statutory, regulation. Further, in order to undertake all this, there was need for financial support from all stakeholders.

### **Observations and Recommendations**

9.0 Your Committee observed that:

- (i) there existed laws that were an impediment to the freedom of the press and at variance with the current political dispensation and worldwide media reforms;
- (ii) the media in general, public and private, had not done enough to contribute to the political stability and economic development of the nation due to lack of training and appreciation of the political and economic landscape;
- (iii) the media had been greatly polarised before, during and after elections, with the public media being overly pro-Government and the private against Government;
- (iv) the Electoral Code of Conduct was violated with impunity by both the private and public media;
- (v) whereas the media was not the initiator of strife and only reported the events as they occurred, thereby reflecting society to itself, a media placed in careless and unprofessional hands, was a very dangerous entity and could lead to bloodshed as had transpired in some countries in the region;
- (vi) the media in general had their editorial policies and content influenced by ownership and shareholder's interests rather than national ones, thereby limiting their contribution to national stability and economic development;
- (vii) the constitutional mandate, structure, representation and lack of accountability by the Media Council of Zambia had made it difficult for it to gain credence among media houses and practitioners and could, therefore, not promote professionalism by enforcing media ethics;

- (viii) due to limited financial and professional capacity, MECOZ had failed to acquire permanent offices, market itself and promote understanding between the media and the public; and
- (ix) MECOZ was not accountable to any organisation.

In view of the foregoing observations, your Committee recommend that:

- (i) the Government should enhance and/or improve the existing media laws to ensure they conform to the current political climate and media reforms;
- (ii) the media in Zambia must train their staff to effectively handle the current political and economic environment in order to contribute to political stability and economic development;
- (iii) in order for the private media not to have an excuse for always reporting negatively about the Government, the public media should be seen to be balanced in their reporting. They should be ready and willing to criticise and expose Government weaknesses instead of leaving this to the private media;
- (iv) the media, in reflecting events to society as they unfold, should be cognisant of the fact that it is not what they report that matters more than how they report it;
- (v) the public and private media should place national interests above those of proprietary and financial gain as they formulate their editorial policies;
- (vi) in order for MECOZ to attain an all embracing character, the following should be done:
  - (a) Structure: This should be reviewed so that MECOZ is not only representative of the whole media fraternity but also reflective of the present media, political and economical landscape in Zambia;
  - (b) Membership: To guarantee independence, impartiality and effectiveness and inspire confidence in the public, individuals with proven media expertise and integrity should be taken on board;
  - (c) Clear Mandate and Powers: These should not only be clearly spelt out but also agreed upon by all members;
  - (d) Accountability: The process of accountability requires that it is also held accountable in order for it to become more impartial, independent and efficient;
- (vii) in order to acquire permanent offices, recruit qualified staff and develop capacity to popularise itself, the Government should consider giving initial funding to MECOZ or allow it to source funding from cooperating partners, who have already expressed willingness to help;
- (viii) membership to MECOZ should not be forced on the media fraternity and practitioners. Instead, MECOZ must work at showing the benefits that would accrue to institutions and individuals subscribing to it; and
- (ix) the Government must set up a media complaints commission to oversee MECOZ and the media in general.

## **PART TWO: TOURS**

### **(A) LOCAL TOUR**

#### **MONGU AND KASAMA**

##### **(I) MONGU**

10.0 Your Committee undertook tours to community radio stations in Mongu and Kasama. The objective of the tours was to follow up on matters raised by your previous Committee during their visits and the responses of the Government contained in the Action-Taken Report.

##### **RADIO LYAMBAI**

The following were some of your previous Committee's recommendations and the Government's responses, as contained in the Action-Taken Report:

- (i) that the Government must bring the three parties, namely the Provincial Administration, the Barotse Royal Establishment (BRE) and Radio Lyambai, to a working relationship for the good of the Mongu community; and
- (ii) that Radio Lyambai must be protected from interference both from the Provincial Administration and the local traditional authority, the BRE, in order to operate professionally.

##### **Government Responses**

- (i) A study was first undertaken by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Services to ascertain the problems in Mongu. After understanding the problems, a meeting was held between the Ministry and the three organisations. The problems have since been resolved and there is now a good working relationship among all the parties mentioned.
- (ii) In an effort to resolve the problems the radio station has had in the area and also to follow up on the complaints from the Barotse Royal Establishment, the Ministry has stressed the need for professionalism, which will keep away any interference.

##### **Findings of your Committee**

When they undertook an on-the-spot check of the situation, your Committee noted that, whereas it was true that the relationship among the BRE, the Government and Radio Lyambai had indeed improved, it was not without compromise on professionalism by the radio station. Your Committee discovered that in order to avoid conflict, management at the station had allowed the BRE to make announcements without any preview of the content. This had resulted in serious compromise on professionalism and ethics.

##### **RADIO OBLATE LISELI**

Your previous Committee made the following recommendations:

- i) that Radio Oblate Liseli be allowed to operate professionally as long as they conform to media ethics; and

- ii) that Radio Liseli be encouraged to include church members on the advisory board.

### **Government Responses**

- (i) It is the Ministry's desire to see all radio stations operate professionally and in accordance with their licence conditions.
- (ii) At application stage, the radio station had included church members on its board. If this has been changed, then it has been done without the knowledge of the Ministry. The Government always insists that boards for community radio stations be representative of the community.

### **Findings of your Committee**

During their visit, your Committee noted that because Radio Liseli had maintained professionalism, insisting that nothing could go on air before a preview of its content, the BRE did not seem to like it. There was, therefore, still some amount of acrimony between the BRE and the radio station. The relationship between Radio Liseli and Government was very cordial but the issue of tower fees was still outstanding.

Your Committee also noted that Radio Liseli had not yet moved on the recommendation that lay persons from the church be included on its Advisory Board. They were, however, assured that this would be done in September 2009 when the board was scheduled to meet.

As regards authority, the BRE continues to be seen to wield more power than Government departments and no information can be disseminated without their approval. A case in point was when the Fisheries Department announced a fish ban without consultation with the BRE, which infuriated them. The BRE went to Radio Lyambai to annul the announcement, saying it did not have their blessing. The people were consequently allowed to continue fishing.

### **Observations and Recommendations**

Your Committee observe that:

- (i) notwithstanding the efforts already made to bring the three parties, i.e. the Government, the BRE and community radio stations to a working relationship, serious problems continue to exist in Western Province, particularly from the local authority;
- (ii) whereas Radio Lyambai is in good standing with the BRE, the same can not be said of Radio Liseli, who have stood their ground on professionalism; and
- (iii) Radio Liseli has not yet included ordinary members of the church on the Board.

### **Recommendations**

Your Committee, therefore, recommend that;

- (i) the Government continuously monitors the situation and makes serious efforts at making the BRE allow community radio stations to operate professionally as long as they observe media ethics and traditional norms; and
- (ii) the Government checks with Radio Liseli after September, 2009, to ensure they have included lay persons from the church on the Board.

## **(II) KASAMA**

### **RADIO MANO**

Your previous Committee made the following recommendations:

- (i) that Radio Mano be given a new face and the board comprising founder members be dissolved to create an entirely new one;
- (ii) that the station be compelled to operate on an 80/20% Bemba-English quota in order to conform to the requirements for community radio programme quota; and
- (iii) that the station must make it clear what they are in order to avoid confusion in the minds of authorities, which has both delayed the renewal of the licence and attracted the K20 million (Twenty Million Kwacha) levies from the Zambia Revenue Authority (ZRA).

#### **Government Responses**

- (i) The Ministry and other wings of Government have been looking into the problems at Radio Mano. The law has taken its course in relation to some founder members already involved in some fraudulent activities. The Ministry shall advise on the need to constitute a proper and acceptable board.
- (ii) The Ministry gives no powers to enforce such requirements. However, community radio stations indicate on their own what languages they will be broadcasting in upon being issued with a licence. The Ministry's interest is in ensuring that the languages are understood by the local community for them to follow the programmes.
- (iii) Commercial radio stations have an obligation to pay the ZRA taxes. Community radio stations do not pay taxes.

#### **Findings of your Committee**

As regards the first recommendation, your Committee found that only 2 of the eleven 11 founder members of the radio station were currently on the Board. Your Committee were told that this was necessary for purposes of direction and vision.

As regards programme quotas, your Committee were informed that the station now operated a 75/25% Bemba/English quota. They further learnt that the station had cleared the sum of K20 million (Twenty Million Kwacha) owed to ZRA in taxes and was up to date with workers' salaries, NAPSA contributions and had its operating licence renewed.

Your Committee were pleased to note that the station was relating well with the Government, which had become one of their biggest clients.

#### **Observations and Recommendations**

Your committee observe that in spite of changing their programme quota from 80/20% English/Bemba, to 25/75%, the station continues to be taxed as if it was a commercial radio station.

#### **Recommendation**

Your Committee recommend that, being a community radio, Radio Mano should be exempted from taxes as is the case with other community radios.

## **(B) FOREIGN TOUR**

### **KENYA**

As a carry-over from the previous year, when your previous Committee considered the topical issue, ‘The governance and the role of community radio stations in the promotion of community aspirations and national programmes, they undertook this study in order to learn:

- (i) how the Government of Kenya has facilitated and promoted the establishment of community radio stations;
- (ii) the policy and legal framework within which community radio stations operate;
- (iii) how community radio stations fill the gap left by public media institutions in propagating and promoting national programmes;
- (iv) the constraints faced by community radio stations in carrying out their functions; and
- (v) the role of the media in general in promoting national stability and economic development.

In order to fulfil the objectives stated above, your Committee interacted with the following institutions:

- (i) The Ministry of Information and Communications;
- (ii) The Communications Commission of Kenya;
- (iii) Kenya Broadcasting Corporation;
- (iv) The Committee on Energy, Communications and Public Works;
- (v) Royal Media Services;
- (vi) Mbaitu FM;
- (vii) Syokimau FM; and
- (viii) Radio Kameme

### **Findings**

- (i) **How the Government of Kenya has Facilitated and Promoted the Establishment of Community Radio Stations**

Your Committee learnt that with the enactment of the Kenya Communications Act of 1998, the Government of Kenya opened up the airwaves. Before the enactment of this Act, the Government issued broadcasting permits but the issuance of frequencies was done by the Communications Commission of Kenya (CCK) which also administered and managed the spectrum.

After the enactment of the Kenya Communications (Amendment Act (KC(A)A of 2009, the Communications Commission of Kenya (CCK) started issuing licences and regulated all broadcasters, including community radios. The Government issued policy guidelines aimed at enhancing activities of community broadcasting. Your Committee noted that the Zambian Government, on the other hand, had not done so and the conditions of the licence were set according to what the applicant set out to do in their application.

Your Committee further learnt that to help investors in this sector, the Government of Kenya had set up the Constituency Development Fund (CDF), which, apart from being used for other developmental projects, could also be used by communities wishing to set up radio stations.

This was, however, only used as start up capital and the running of stations was sustained by nominal fees charged on advertisements. Community radios also ran media centres where the community paid for the services offered such as photocopying, typing, laminating and internet facilities.

In the Zambian case, the Media Trust Fund, which had since been moved to the Citizen's Economic Empowerment Commission, was available for this purpose, though applicants complained that the guidelines for accessing the funds had not been fine-tuned and therefore made it difficult to access them.

(ii) **The Policy and Legal Framework within which Community Radio Stations Operate.**

Your Committee were informed that the Kenya Communications Act of 1998, which ushered in the opening of the airwaves, did not provide a statutory direction on regulating broadcasting and the broadcasting sector was jointly administered by the Government and the Communications Commission of Kenya (CCK). After the Kenya Communications (Amendment) Act of 2009, the legal framework for licensing broadcasters was provided and the Act delegated the responsibility of regulating broadcasting to the Communications Commission of Kenya (CCK). The 2001 Kenya Communication Regulations, which were currently under review, stipulated the framework of the licensing administration.

Your Committee noted that the scenario obtaining in Kenya was similar to the one in Zambia where the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Services issues broadcasting licences but the Communications Authority of Zambia (CAZ) issues frequencies and manages the spectrum. The difference, however, was that whereas in the Kenyan situation, the Communications Commission of Kenya (CCK), the equivalent of the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) of Zambia (which has not been operationalised), issued licences as well as managing the frequencies and the spectrum, the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Services in Zambia is responsible for the issuance of broadcasting licences.

(iii) **How Community Radio Stations fill the gap left by Public Media Institutions in propagating and promoting National Programmes**

Pertaining to how Community Radio Stations fill the gap left by Public Media Institutions in propagating and promoting national programmes, your Committee noted that community radio stations were very specific in content, thereby being relevant to the communities they operated in. Issues of education, health and development in general were localised.

This of course did not mean that issues of national scale could not be discussed through the community radio. This was something which the national broadcaster, Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC), which had the whole country as its audience, could not do. On the whole, community radios in Kenya relied on active community involvement nurtured local talent and had the social benefits of supporting social-cultural values and entertainment. This was also true of community radios in Zambia.

(iv) **The constraints faced by Community Radio Stations in carrying out their functions**

Your Committee learnt that, like in Zambia, the constraints encountered by community radio broadcasters included:

- (a) ensuring sustainable participation by locals;
- (b) managing volunteer labour;
- (c) balancing of skills due to staff turn over and continuous training;
- (d) lack of clear management policy;
- (e) lack of clearly defined mission, objectives, constitution and programming;
- (f) lack of financial strategy and sustainability;
- (g) limited spectrum and, therefore, limited radius; and

(h) abuse and/or intimidation by traditional rulers, local authorities and politicians.

(v) **The role of the Media in general in promoting National Stability and Economic Development**

Your Committee discovered that the Kenyan Government believed that broadcasting was necessary in building a democratic society and, therefore, media policy and regulation should promote all forms of ownership (public, commercial and community).

Your Committee learnt that whereas the real contention of the 2007 violence was election results and that community radios were not the initiators of the violence, they fanned it by disseminating hate messages against perceived oppressors of other tribes and politicians incited the masses using community radios.

**Observations and Recommendations**

Your Committee observed that:

- (i) whereas the Zambian Government owned and controlled the Times of Zambia, the Zambia Daily Mail and the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation, (the public media), the Kenyan Government only owned and controlled the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC);
- (ii) whereas the Zambian Government had not divested the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Services of the authority to process broadcasting licences, the Kenyan Government had created an independent body, the Communications Commission of Kenya (CCK), which had provided the legal framework within which radios operated;
- (iii) community radio stations in Kenya, being very specific in content, had indeed filled the gap left by the national broadcaster, which could not cater for all the ethnic and regional differences and needs;
- (iv) the real instigators of political turbulence in Kenya, after the November elections, were politicians who, however, used the radio, and community ones in particular, to achieve their aim.  
This shows that, necessary as it might be for building a democratic society, radio and, in particularly, community radio, was a very dangerous entity if not properly handled;

In the light of the above observations, your Committee recommend that:

- (i) the Government should reduce its share holding in, or completely privatise, the Times of Zambia, the Zambia Daily Mail and the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation in order to guarantee neutrality;
- (ii) for purposes of standardisation, the Government should provide a clear legal framework within which community radios must operate as opposed to the current situation where each applicant prescribes what they are going to do with the radio;
- (iii) the Government should move quickly in operationalising the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA), as repeatedly promised, so as to ensure that the Government is not involved in the issuance of licences and thereby avoid being accused of discrimination; and
- (iv) in order to maintain national stability and guarantee economic development, community radio stations must be guarded from manipulation by individuals, political parties or any organisation.

## **PART THREE**

### **OUTSTANDING ISSUES FROM THE ACTION-TAKEN REPORT ON THE COMMITTEE'S REPORT FOR 2008**

#### **11.0 Policy on Management and Operations of Community Radio Stations**

Your previous Committee observed that the Government had done little to develop a clear-cut policy on the development and management of community and commercial radios, apart from the statement in the 1996 Media Policy that spells out one of the goals as achieving countrywide radio and television coverage by 2005.

Your Committee further observed that the Government had deliberately held on to the licensing function by refusing or being reluctant to operationalise the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA), whose responsibility it should be to determine who got which licence. This had resulted in the Government being both a player and referee.

Further, your Committee had observed that it was anomalous for the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation, which is a Government institution, to sit on the Ad hoc Licensing Board and that the dual licensing procedure, where an applicant had to satisfy both the Communications Authority of Zambia (CAZ) and the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Services and pay separate fees to both, was not only cumbersome but also expensive.

Your Committee also observed that the fact that there was no difference, in terms of operations and license fees, between commercial and community radio stations, it had not just created tension but also disadvantaged both in one respect or the other.

Your Committee further observed that most community radios had experienced one form of interference or other from traditional as well as political leadership and that there was no proper definition of the term "community" by both the Ministry and community radio stations themselves.

In view of the foregoing, your previous Committee had urged the Government, through the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Services, to:

- i) Zero rate or exempt community radios or would be investors in the sector from duty on radio and related broadcasting equipment in order to live true to the goal of facilitating and promoting the establishment of community radios.

In the Action-Taken Report, the Permanent Secretary responded by saying that this was a matter that could best be dealt with by the Ministry of Finance and National Planning and that perhaps what the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Services could do was simply help to lobby on behalf of investors in this industry.

- ii) Cease from being part of the licensing process together with the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation and to operationalise the Independent Broadcasting Authority to regulate broadcasting.

In the Action-Taken Report, the Permanent Secretary said the spirit of the Independent Broadcasting Authority Act was to de-link ZNBC and the Ministry from the regulatory system. The IBA would soon be operationalised, hence the Ministry and the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation would no longer be party to the regulation of the industry but would still provide policy guidance. He added that the

amendments to this Act had been done and it was now at Cabinet Memorandum stage.

- iii) Streamline the licensing process and make it a one-stop shop to reduce costs and time.

In the Action-Taken Report, the Permanent Secretary responded that the two bodies dealt with different aspects of the broadcasting business. Since there was no converged regulator, frequency management was under the Communications Authority and issuance of broadcasting licenses under the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Services.

He added that this would be looked into by the IBA once it came into place because the Act suggested that broadcasting frequencies should be administered by the IBA.

- v) Shrink instead of expand the radius of coverage of community radios and leave the expansion to commercial radios.

The Permanent Secretary, in the Action-Taken Report, said, currently, Government operations did not allow the expansion of community or commercial media. Only the national broadcaster had the mandate to go national. Community media were there to cater for the various needs of the community, hence restrictions regarding their expansion.

It would also rob the other communities the opportunity to receive programmes that reflected their own environment and equally help fill in the gaps left by the national broadcaster. He added that expanding commercial broadcasting could disadvantage other players in this industry and was, therefore, not recommended by Government.

### **Observations and Recommendations**

- (i) Your Committee are of the view that it is the responsibility of the Ministry to liaise with the Ministry of Finance and National Planning on this matter and should, therefore, make proposals to the Ministry.
- (ii) Your Committee are of the view that the Government has procrastinated too long on this matter and therefore urge them to expedite it and bring the amendments to the Act to the House as a matter of urgency.
- (iii) Your Committee, in noting the submission, were of the view that this matter had been talked about for too long now and it was high time that the Government 'walked the talk' by quickly operationalising the IBA as a lot of issues in the media industry are bound to its operationalisation.
- (iv) In noting the submission, your Committee wish to advise the Government that whereas it is necessary to restrict coverage for community radio stations, it may not be so with commercial ones as long as they have the capacity. In the spirit of freedom of information and basic human rights, commercial radio stations should be allowed to cover as much ground as possible and leave it to individuals and communities to choose which channel to tune in to. This will also help balance news coverage and dissemination of information.

## **TOUR REPORT TO WESTERN, SOUTHERN, NORTHERN LUAPULA AND CENTRAL PROVINCES FOR 2008**

### **12.0 RADIO LYAMBAI- MONGU**

Your previous Committee had made the following recommendations:

- (i) The Government should strengthen the Provincial Administration in order to make its authority and presence felt in the province.

In the Action-Taken Report, the Permanent Secretary responded by saying that the Provincial Administration fell under the jurisdiction of the Office of the Vice President and that it was that office to strengthen them.

### **Observations and Recommendations**

Your Committee wish to urge the Ministry to liaise with the office of the Vice President to ensure that the Provincial Administration is indeed strengthened.

- (ii) The Government must bring the three parties, i.e., the Provincial Administration, the BRE and Radio Lyambai to a working relationship for the good of the Mongu Community.

In the Action-Taken Report, the Permanent Secretary said a study was first undertaken by his Ministry to ascertain the problems in Mongu. After analysing the problems, a meeting was held between the Ministry and the three organisations. He told your Committee that the problems had since been resolved and there was now a good working relationship among all the parties mentioned.

### **Observations and Recommendations**

Your Committee resolved to go back to Mongu to have an on-the-spot check of the extent to which the parties had been reconciled.

#### **13.0 RADIO OBLATE LISELI-MONGU**

Your Committee made the following recommendations:

- (i) that Radio Oblate Liseli be allowed to operate professionally as long as they conform to media ethics;
- iii) that Radio Liseli be encouraged to include ordinary church members on the advisory board.

In the Action-Taken Report, the Permanent Secretary said it was his Ministry's desire to see all radio stations operate professionally and in accordance with their licence conditions. He added that at application stage, the radio station had included church members on its board and that, if this had changed, then it was done without the knowledge of the Ministry.

He told your Committee that the Government always insisted that boards for community radio stations be representative of the community the radio station operated in.

### **Observations and Recommendations**

Your Committee wish to urge the Government to establish and/or strengthen the inspectorate so that they ensure that radio stations operate in accordance with or comply with the terms of the licence.

#### **14.0 RADIO MANO-KASAMA**

Your Committee made the following recommendations:

- (i) Radio Mano be given a new face and the board comprising founder members be dissolved to create an entirely new one.

In the Action-Taken Report, the Permanent Secretary told your Committee that the Ministry and other wings of Government had been looking into the problems at Mano. He added that the law had taken its course in relation to some founder members involved in some fraudulent activities. He assured your Committee that his Ministry would advise on the need to constitute a proper and acceptable board.

### **Observations and Recommendations**

Your Committee resolved to go back to Kasama to ascertain the extent to which issues raised the previous year had been addressed.

- (ii) The station be compelled to operate on an 80/20% Bemba-English quota in order to conform to the requirements for community radio programme quota.

The Permanent Secretary informed your Committee, in the Action-taken Report, that the Ministry had no powers to enforce such requirements. However, community radio stations indicated on their own what languages they would be broadcasting in upon being issued with a licence. He contended that the Ministry's interest was in ensuring that the languages were understood by the local community for them to follow the programmes.

### **Observations and Recommendations**

Your Committee are of the view that the determination of the licence conditions must be done by the licensing authority and not the licensee. This confirms the allegation that the operational guidelines for community radio stations are non-existent and, therefore, determined by the applicants themselves. Your Committee, therefore, strongly urge Government to be proactive and ensure that radio stations operate within the confines of the law and terms of the licence.

## **15.0 RADIO YANGENI-MANSA**

Your Committee recommended that the programme quota should be adjusted to 80/20% local content and language/English.

In the Action-Taken Report, the Permanent Secretary told your Committee that his Ministry monitored the operations of the radio station based on the programmes submitted to the Ministry before a license was issued. The programmes could be adjusted by the individual radio station, though the Ministry has to be notified.

### **Observations and Recommendations**

Your Committee note, as they have done above, that it should not be the job or preserve of the one seeking a licence to set their own parameters of operation. For purposes of standardisation, the Government must prescribe the basic modus operandi for all community radio stations.

## 16.0 RADIO MARANATHA-KABWE

Your Committee recommended that:

- (i) Local languages must be given more airtime on the station.

In the Action-Taken Report, the Permanent Secretary told your Committee that this was expected of every station, otherwise the people in those areas would not benefit from the station. He added that the application submitted to the Ministry indicated that there should be programmes in Bemba, Tonga, Lozi, Nyanja and English, but that the stations determined the linguistic landscape in their areas of operation.

### **Observations and Recommendations**

Your Committee wish to advise the Government to be strict on the programme quota, otherwise community radio stations risk losing touch with their communities.

- (ii) **The Government should be fair and forthright in granting radio licences.**

In the Action-taken Report, the Permanent Secretary told your Committee that his Ministry would follow the laid down procedures of processing the applications. To do its work efficiently, the Licensing Committee had to be presented with all requirements by the applicants.

### **Observations and Recommendations**

Your Committee wish to impress on the Government that the operationalisation of the Independent Broadcasting Authority is the panacea to this malady and must, therefore, move quickly on it.

## **CONCLUSION**

17.0 Your Committee wish to express their indebtedness to you, Mr Speaker, for the guidance rendered during the session. They further wish to express their gratitude to the Permanent Secretaries and other Executives for their cooperation and input into the deliberations of the Committee.

Lastly, your Committee wish to extend their appreciation to the Clerk of the National Assembly and her staff for the services rendered to the Committee during the session.

## Appendix 1

### **HOW THE MEDIA COVERED THE OCTOBER 2008 PRESIDENTIAL BY - ELECTION**

#### **(a) The Times of Zambia**

##### *Number of Stories*

The Times of Zambia had a total number of 54 election related stories in the period of the study. 59.3% (32/54) of the stories were about the MMD followed by the UPND with 22.7% (12/54). The least covered party was the Heritage Party with only 3.7% (2/54) of the total stories covered.

##### *Number of Front Page Election Stories*

The Newspaper had a total number of 24 stories that occupied the front page and 62.5% (15/24) on the MMD followed by both PF and UPND with 16.7% (4/24) a piece. The Heritage party had only 4.2% (1/2).

##### *Number of Sources used in the Election Stories*

The Times of Zambia had a total of 94 sources quoted for stories related to the October elections. The majority of the sources 76.6% (72/94) sources in the stories were from MMD followed by 12.8% (12/94) from the UPND. The Heritage Party had the least number of sources 2.1% (2/94).

##### *Number of Lead Stories Published*

The paper had a total of 6 election lead stories and all of them 100% (6/6) were about the MMD.

##### *Number of Pictures Published*

The Times of Zambia had a total number of 11 election related pictures. The MMD accounted for the majority of these pictures with 81.8% (9/11) followed by both the PF and HP with 9.1% each (1.11). The UPND did not have a single picture published.

##### *Number of Stories about Presidential Candidates*

The majority of the stories that directly involved the presidential candidates were about Mr. Rupiah Banda with 50% (11/22) followed by Mr. Hakainde Hichilema with 36% (8/22). The paper did not carry any story that directly quoted Heritage Party president Brigadier General Godfrey Miyanda.

#### **(b) The Zambia Daily Mail**

##### *Number of Election Stories*

The Daily Mail carried a total number of 30 election related news stories and the majority of them 63.3% (19/30) were about the MMD followed by PF with 26.7% (8/30). The least covered party was the HP with no story at all.

##### *Number of Front Page Stories*

The paper carried 22 front page stories about the elections and 63.6% (14/22) were about the MMD, followed by 27.3% (6/22) for the PF while the HP was the least with no front page story.

### ***Number of Sources***

A total number of 51 sources were quoted for the stories regarding the elections. The MMD had a huge number of sources quoted 76.5% (39/51) followed by the PF with 17.6% (9/51).

### ***Number of Lead Stories***

The Daily Mail published 8 lead stories and all of them were about the MMD.

### ***Number of Pictures***

A total of 19 pictures were published and the majority of them were about the MMD 52.6 per cent (10/19). The rest of the parties had 15.8 per cent (3/19) apiece.

### ***Number of Stories about Presidential Candidates***

The Daily Mail published a total of 18 stories that directly quoted the presidential candidates. Mr. Rupiah Banda, Movement for Multiparty Democracy candidate had the most number of stories with 61 per cent (11/18) followed by Patriotic Front candidate Mr. Michael Sata with 28 per cent (5/18). Heritage Party candidate Brigadier General Miyanda was not covered directly.

(c)The Post Newspaper

### ***Number of Stories***

The Post Newspaper carried a total of 43 election stories and 41.9 per cent (18/43) were about the PF followed by the MMD with 34.9 per cent (15/43). The HP was the least with 2.3 per cent (2/43).

### ***Number of Front Page Stories***

The paper carried more stories about the MMD on its front page with 45 per cent (9/20) followed closely by the PF with 40 per cent (8/20). The Post did not publish any story about the Heritage on its front page from the copies sampled.

### ***Number of Sources***

A total number of 69 sources were quoted and 42 per cent (29/69) were MMD sources followed by the PF with 39.1 per cent (27/69). The Heritage party had the least number of sources quoted accounting only for 1.4 per cent (1/69).

### ***Number of Lead Stories***

A total of 11 lead stories were published and the majority 63.6 per cent (7/11) were about the Patriotic Front followed by the MMD with 36.4 per cent (4/11). Both the United Party for National Development (UPND) and the Heritage Party did not have a lead story published about them.

### ***Number of Pictures***

The Post Newspaper had a record number of 27 pictures published. The Patriotic Front had the largest number of pictures with 63.0 per cent (17/27) followed by the Movement for Multiparty Democracy with 25.9 per cent (7/27).

### ***Number of Stories about Presidential Candidates***

A total of 20 stories published in the Post did directly involve the presidential candidates. Mr. Rupiah Banda of the MMD led with 40 per cent (8/20) followed by Mr. Michael Sata of the Patriotic Front with 30 per cent (6/20), while Brigadier General Miyanda of the Heritage Party, and was the least candidate with the number of stories directly quoting him at 5 per cent (1/20).

**(d) The Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC)**

***Number of Stories***

The Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC) aired a total of 40 news stories about the elections in the period of the study. The MMD accounted for 65.0 per cent (26/40) followed by the PF with 20.0 per cent (8/40) and the HP was the least party covered with only 2.5 per cent (1/20).

***Number of Headline Stories***

The majority of the headline items from the bulletins analysed were about the MMD with 60.0 per cent (6/10) followed by the PF on 30 per cent (3/10).

***Number of Sources***

A total of 40 sources were quoted and the majority of them were MMD 65.0 per cent (26/40). The PF was next with 20.0 per cent (8/40) while the HP had the least number of sources quoted with 2.5 per cent (1/40).

***Number of Pictures***

A total of 22 pictures were aired in the news items during the run up to the presidential elections and the majority of them involved the MMD 72.7 per cent (16/22) followed by the PF with 18.2 per cent (4/22).

***Number of Stories about Presidential Candidates***

Mr. Rupiah Banda was the presidential candidate with the highest number of news items which directly quoted him, 58 per cent (11/19) followed by Mr. Michael Sata and Mr. Hakainde Hichilema with 21 per cent (4/11) a piece.

The study also found that the private media in this case The Post Newspaper was very critical of the MMD candidate Mr. Rupiah Banda and the majority of the stories published about the MMD and Mr. Banda, in particular were negative. Quantitatively, one would get the impression that the MMD was well covered but qualitatively, that was not the case. Examples of negative stories about the MMD and Mr. Banda were noted in the stories published under the following headlines; “Squabbles Rock Rupiah’s Campaign Team” (08/10/2008), “Rupiah is Sleepy” (10/10/2008), “Banda Has Confirmed His Own Dented Image” (10/10/2008), “Another Eyewitness Insists Rupiah Bribed Sakala (10/10/2008), “Image Builders Cause Discomfort in MMD Campaign” (13/10/2008), “Rupiah Can’t Win Without Rigging – Hichilema” (20/10/2008), “MMD Doesn’t Deserve Another Chance to Rule – UPND Councillor” (20/10/2008), “It’s Over for Rupiah – Sata” (30/10/2008) and “CBU Students Vow to Vote Against Rupiah” (30/10/2008).