AFRICAN MEDIA BAROMETER
The first home grown analysis of the media landscape in Africa
ZAMBIA 2011
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Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES)
fesmedia Africa
Windhoek, Namibia
Tel: +264 (0)61 237438
E-mail: info@fesmedia.org
www.fesmedia.org
Director: Mareike Le Pelley

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The African Media Barometer (AMB)

The African Media Barometer (AMB) is an in-depth and comprehensive description and measurement system for national media environments on the African continent. Unlike other press surveys or media indices the AMB is a self-assessment exercise based on home-grown criteria derived from African Protocols and Declarations like the “Declaration of Principles on Freedom of Expression in Africa” (2002) by the “African Commission for Human and Peoples’ Rights”. The instrument was jointly developed by fesmedia Africa, the Media Project of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) in Africa, and the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) in 2004.

The African Media Barometer is an analytical exercise to measure the media situation in a given country which at the same time serves as a practical lobbying tool for media reform. Its results are presented to the public of the respective country to push for an improvement of the media situation using the AU Declaration and other African standards as benchmarks. The recommendations of the AMB-reports are then integrated into the work of the 19 country offices of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) in sub-Saharan Africa and into the advocacy efforts of other local media organizations like the Media Institute of Southern Africa.

Methodology and Scoring System

Every two to three years a panel of 10-12 experts, consisting of at least five media practitioners and five representatives from civil society, meets to assess the media situation in their own country. For 1 1/2 days they discuss the national media environment according to 45 predetermined indicators. The discussion and scoring is moderated by an independent consultant who also edits the AMB-report.

After the discussion of one indicator panel members allocate their individual scores to that respective indicator in an anonymous vote according to the following scale:

1. Country does not meet indicator
2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
3. Country meets some aspects of indicator
4. Country meets most aspects of indicator
5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator
The sum of all individual indicator scores will be divided by the number of panel members to determine the average score for each indicator. These average indicator scores are added up to form average sector scores which then make up the overall country score.

**Outcome**

The final, qualitative report summarizes the general content of the discussion and provides the average score for each indicator plus sector scores and overall country score. In the report panellists are not quoted by name to protect them from possible repercussions. Over time the bi- or tri-annual reports are measuring the media development in that particular country and should form the basis for a political discussion on media reform.

In countries where English is not the official language the report is published in a bilingual edition.

Implementing the African Media Barometer the offices of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) and - in SADC countries the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) - only serve as a convener of the panel and as guarantor of the methodology. The content of the discussion and the report is owned by the panel of local experts and does not represent or reflect the view of FES or MISA.

At the end of 2008 the indicators were reviewed, amended and some new ones were added to address the rapid developments in Information Communication Technology (ICT).

By the end of 2011 the African Media Barometer has been held in 28 African countries, in some of them already for the fourth time.

Mareike Le Pelley  
Head of fesmedia Africa  
Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung  
Windhoek, Namibia

Kaitira Kandjii  
Regional Director  
Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA)  
Windhoek, Namibia
See above 28 AMB Countries (2005–2011)
AFRICAN MEDIA BAROMETER
ZAMBIA 2011

Summary

One of the major hindrances to press freedom, freedom of expression and access to information in Zambia is the policy environment which is laden with various laws and acts that inevitably suppress these freedoms. The Constitution of Zambia provides for freedom of expression, including receiving, imparting and communicating information and press freedom. Notwithstanding, these remain largely only on paper since in practice there are claw back laws and other pieces of legislation like the 1931 Penal Code of Act Cap 169 of the laws of Zambia, the Official Secrets Act and the Printed Publications Act Cap 161 of the laws of Zambia, among others which prohibit free access to information, freedom of expression and media freedom. Furthermore, whilst the country is a signatory to international accords that guarantee access to information, media freedom and freedom of expression like the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights (1981), Windhoek Declaration (1991), SADC Protocol on Culture, Information and Sport (2000), among others, there is no political will to implement and enforce these important freedoms. Instead, the government continues to tactically control the media, through maintaining past repressive laws that contravene people's rights to information access and freedom of expression.

The media environment in the country is beset with political interference and lack of political will to promote media freedom, freedom of expression and access to information. The media operates in a policy vacuum, where there are no laws that specifically promote media freedom. For instance, a Freedom of Information Bill, tabled in Parliament in 2002 was withdrawn by the government in November of that year without any reason given or any consultation with the media. The State’s lack of political will to create a diverse and conducive media landscape also manifests itself in the failure to implement pieces of legislation that create the necessary conditions for media freedom and access to information. For example, the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) Act of 2002 and the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC) Amendment Acts of 2002 and 2010, all of which have been passed are yet to be implemented as boards are yet to be appointed. Political interference is also evident in the powers that the Minister of Information and Broadcasting Services has to appoint board members for the IBA at his discretion and to issue broadcasting licences at his whims. The public’s access to information is also hindered by the Official Secrets Act of 1968 and the State Security Act of 1969, which prohibit government officials from revealing public interest information without official approval. The evident harassment of journalists has escalated, especially by those supporting the State, resulting in fear and self-censorship.
The mandate of the public broadcaster ZNBC continues to be flouted unabated, where the broadcaster remains a government tool, with content blatantly skewed in support of the ruling party. Additionally, the ZNBC operates in the absence of both a broadcasting charter and a code of ethics. Its continual operation without a board also makes it prone to political interference as the Minister of Information remains with absolute powers. Additionally, the state broadcaster does not offer diverse programming for all interests on radio or TV, as politicisation of news and information is the norm. However, radio offers marginally more diverse programming than television. Human interest news and information are generally scarce as party politics tend to dominate media content.

The staffing statistics, particularly top management positions in most media houses, both public and private show that it is a male dominated environment and this is subsequently also reflected in the content where men are more covered and quoted than their female counterparts.

The conduct of the media itself is also tantamount to self-destructiveness. The polarisation of the media is getting worse, with the private media being highly opposed to the government whilst the State media blatantly supports the ruling party. Due to the pre-election climate in the country the media delve too much on party politics at the expense of other issues of national interest, thereby further enhancing the polarisation. Furthermore, there are apparent hostilities between the private and public media over self-regulation, thereby hampering the opportunity to forge useful alliances and find common ground. Lobbying and campaigning for media freedom remains disjointed as there is no coordination between the media and civil society organisations. Moreover, media lobby groups generally tend to isolate themselves from the rest of civil society.

Journalists’ poor remuneration and other working conditions (amid poverty in the country), particularly in the private media make them susceptible to corruption, bribery and other unprofessional misconducts. Whilst State media journalists can belong to the three representative bodies available, there is absence of a representative body for journalists in the private media. The various media associations like the Press Association of Zambia, Zambia Union of Journalists and others are very weak and therefore inadequate to serve the interests of journalists. The absence of a self-regulatory media council remains a huge gap.

There have however been positive developments in the media in Zambia. The increased dialogues between the media and the government and the rejection of the Constitutional Bill of Rights, offer an opportunity for fresh prospects of beneficial overhaul. ZNBC TV reaches 65 of the 72 districts in the country, whilst ZNBC radio reaches all the 72 districts. This is a marked increase from 2009. Additionally, the number of television stations has grown from 2009’s seven to the current nine whilst radio stations have grown from 37 two years ago to 40 currently. Moreover, the use of the English language predominantly, in a country where 1/5 of the population cannot read and write, let alone understand the
English language however militates against this seemingly wide coverage. There are ample community radio stations, which have continued to increase over the past two years. Although these are donor funded, with no State support at all, they offer a number of communities the opportunity to access information and express themselves. The broadcast media have also been given licences by the government to extend their transmission range. The adoption of the ICT Act and a media policy also offer a window of opportunity for access to information, freedom of expression and press freedom, particularly the opportunity to harness the advantages of new media for public benefit. The ubiquitous mobile phones and the radio-phone-in programmes provide alternative forms of information, more so in urban and peri-urban areas.
SECTOR 1:

Freedom of expression, including freedom of the media, is effectively protected and promoted.
Freedom of expression, including freedom of the media, is effectively protected and promoted.

1.1 Freedom of expression, including freedom of the media, is guaranteed in the constitution and supported by other pieces of legislation.

Freedom of expression – including the freedom to hold opinions; to receive ideas and information; to impart and communicate ideas and information; and to correspond without interference – and freedom of the press are enshrined in the Zambian Constitution of 1991 (which was amended substantially in 1996) and guaranteed under Article 20.

However, provisions made under Article 20(3) can restrict these freedoms in the interests of defence, public safety, public order, public morality or public health, among other broad stipulations. Article 25 of the Constitution also provides for fundamental rights, including freedom of expression, to be suspended during wartime or a state of emergency.

“The problem with the current Constitution is that it looks good on paper but in practice...”

There is currently no Freedom of Information Act, and a Freedom of Information Bill, tabled in Parliament in 2002, was withdrawn by government without reason in November of that same year.

There have been two attempts to review the Constitution, a process that has been underway since 1990. A latest draft, proposed by the Mung’omba Constitution Review Commission in 2005 and further amended by the National Constitutional Conference in 2009, included provisions to ensure freedom of expression and media freedom.
The Mung’omba version included progressive clauses on freedom of expression (Article 55), access to information (Article 56), freedom of the media (Article 57), freedom not to disclose sources (Article 58) and the independence of public media (Article 59). Media bodies such as the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) Zambia chapter, the Press Association of Zambia (PAZA), the Zambia Union of Journalists (ZUJ) and the Zambia Media Women Association (ZAMWA), all of which contributed to the draft, were in agreement with the new additions.

However, in March 2011, the latest draft failed to win a two-thirds approval in parliament and thus the process has stalled.

“There is a sense that the country has gone backwards. Citizens, and journalists specifically, need to be more vigilant. As a country, we have been too docile.” Zambia is to hold presidential and parliamentary elections by October 2011, although no date had been set at the time of writing this report (July 2011).

Scores:

Individual scores:

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Country does not meet indicator</th>
<th>Country meets only a few aspects of indicator</th>
<th>Country meets some aspects of indicator</th>
<th>Country meets most aspects of indicator.</th>
<th>Country meets all aspects of the indicator</th>
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<td><img src="#" alt="Score 3" /></td>
<td><img src="#" alt="Score 4" /></td>
<td><img src="#" alt="Score 5" /></td>
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</table>

Average score: 2.1 (2005 = 2.0; 2007 = 2.3; 2009 = 2.5)

1.2 The right to freedom of expression is practised and citizens, including journalists, are asserting their rights without fear.

There is a sense that citizens in Zambia are asserting their right to freedom of expression, especially through the country’s many radio phone-in programmes. However, journalists are not so free and freedom of expression within the media is generally limited.

“On radio, people speak their minds and generally identify themselves. Only a few use pseudonyms and express themselves with fear. However, you never get this freedom of expression from the media, especially the state media.”

1 At the time of going to print, the election has already taken place on the 20th September 2011.
Journalists, especially those employed by the state, “have to watch what they say”. If they speak out against the government, they know they will be victimised by being denied promotion or even by being fired. Journalists are very careful in Zambia and even send questions to interviewees beforehand.

“Victimisation is very real in the newsrooms of the state media. People are even scared to joke.”

Even private media enterprises, such as radio stations, have been threatened by government officials for allowing too much criticism of government through listeners’ opinions.

In January 2011, Radio Lyambai, a community radio station in the Western Province, was forcibly closed down by police, who even confiscated equipment, following government orders. This was a reaction to a live phone-in programme on the station, which was perceived to be controversial and allegedly incited people to rise up against the government.

Other community radio stations, including Radio Yangeni and Sky FM, have received threats from government officials in the past two years in relation to what listeners have been saying on air.

In July 2011, members of a news crew from the privately owned Muvi TV were attacked and beaten up while on an assignment. Subsequent arrests by the police of 46 people indicated that two of these people were ruling Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) cadres who had incited the crowd to attack the journalists. Muvi TV is known to report critically on the government.
Scores:

Individual scores:

1. Country does not meet indicator

2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator

3. Country meets some aspects of indicator

4. Country meets most aspects of indicator.

5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 2.6 (2005 = 2.3; 2007 = 2.9; 2009 = 3.0)

1.3 There are no laws restricting freedom of expression such as excessive official secret or libel acts, or laws that unreasonably interfere with the responsibilities of media.

There are a number of laws that restrict freedom of expression in Zambia. Most recently, the Electronic Communications and Transactions Act, which was passed in 2009, includes a provision that allows the state to monitor private citizens’ telephone conversations. This law stipulates that information gained in this way can be used in a court of law, but this has not yet happened.

In 2009, President Rupiah Banda signed the Non-governmental Organisation Act, which is considered to be highly restrictive by civil society. The act will regulate NGOs in terms of registration and operations. It is feared that the Act could severely affect media organisations such as the Zambian chapter of Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) and the Press Association of Zambia (PAZA) as it empowers government to deregister such organisations at any time. As such it could impact severely on media freedom.

There are also many older laws, which impact on the media and can potentially restrict freedom of expression. These include certain provisions from laws in the Penal Code, established under the Penal Code Act of 1931, including the Official Secrets Act and the Printed Publications Act.

Under Section 53 of the Penal Code, the president is empowered to ban “in his absolute discretion” publications deemed contrary to public interest. Section 67 criminalises the publication of “false news with intent to cause fear and alarm to the public”.

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Sections on sedition and related practices proscribe public debate on issues and publication of information deemed likely to arouse popular disaffection against the state. Sections 57(1) and 60(1) prohibit sedition (jail term of seven years) and defines “seditious intention” very widely as, among others, the “intention … to excite disaffection against the government” or “to raise discontent or disaffection among the people of Zambia”. Editors, assistant editors and publishers can be held criminally liable for the publication of seditious material in terms of Section 61.

Section 69 deals with defamation of the president and provides that “any person who, with intent to bring the President into hatred, ridicule or contempt, publishes any defamatory or insulting matter … is guilty of an offence and is liable on conviction to imprisonment for up to three years”, without the option of a fine. The legislation even makes it an offence for anyone to insult the Zambian national anthem.

Section 177(1) criminalises the publication of obscenity (imprisonment of up to five years), without defining what is deemed to constitute obscene matter.

Section 191 of the Penal Code makes is a criminal offence to publish defamatory material.

Section 4 of the State Security Act of 1969 makes it an offence (punishable by up to 25 years’ imprisonment) to retain or communicate to other persons any information obtained as a result of one’s present or former employment with government.

The National Assembly enjoys special ‘protection’ under Section 19 of the National Assembly (Powers and Privileges) Act Cap 12 of the laws of Zambia. To “show disrespect in speech or manner towards the Speaker” or to “commit any other act of intentional disrespect with reference to the proceedings of the Assembly” is an offence liable to a fine or imprisonment with or without hard labour for a period not exceeding three months.

The Criminal Procedure Code Act of 1933 has a number of provisions that impact the media directly. Section 143, for example, compels witnesses to give evidence in a criminal court if they are able to give material evidence or have in their possession documents relevant to the case. If such a witness fails to attend court without a lawful excuse, Section 145 empowers a court to issue a warrant for the arrest of any such person. Under these provisions, journalists could also be forced to disclose confidential sources of information.
Scores:

Individual scores:

1. Country does not meet indicator
   
2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
   
3. Country meets some aspects of indicator
   
4. Country meets most aspects of indicator
   
5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 1.4 (2005 = 1.3; 2007 = 1.1; 2009 = 1.2)

1.4 Government makes every effort to honour regional and international instruments on freedom of expression and the media.


Regional and international instruments signed by the government do not automatically become law as the government of Zambia follows a dualist system which regards international instruments, but needs to be ratified by parliament to become law. Panellists noted that only a tiny percentage of such agreements have become law.

“Zambians, therefore, cannot rely on these instruments. It’s all window-dressing, because on home soil these are forgotten.”

For example, although the *Windhoek Declaration* encourages the self-regulation of the media, the government has indicated its opposition to this.
“There is a general trend in Zambia to sign lots of protocols, but there seems to be no political will to follow through.”

Attempts were made in the recent draft Constitutions for all protocols signed by the government to be made law automatically.

In general, ordinary Zambians are not aware that the government has signed such protocols and declarations, or what they contain.

**Scores:**

**Individual scores:**

1. Country does not meet indicator
2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
3. Country meets some aspects of indicator
4. Country meets most aspects of indicator.
5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 1.8 (2005 = n/a; 2007 = n/a; 2009 = 1.4)

1.5 **Print publications are not required to obtain permission to publish from state authorities.**

According to the Print Publications Act of 1994, it is a formality, rather than a restrictive measure, for owners of publications to register with the National Archives, deposit copies of the publication with the National Archives and following standard procedures governing business regulations. Thus, print publications do not require permission to publish from the state.

There have been no cases of new publications being denied permission by the government to publish, except once they are already in existence and have been banned, for example. Provisions in the Penal Code enable the president to ban publications deemed contrary to public interest.

“Most people know that what prohibits the setting up of a newspaper is rather the costs involved.”
Scores:

Individual scores:

1. Country does not meet indicator
2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
3. Country meets some aspects of indicator
4. Country meets most aspects of indicator.
5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 4.8 (2005 = n/a; 2007 = n/a; 2009 = 4.2)

1.6 Entry into and practice of the journalistic profession is legally unrestricted.

There are no laws at present that restrict the practice of journalism in Zambia. However, journalists are encouraged to register with the Zambia News and Information Services (ZANIS), a department of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Services, after which they are issued with a press card. Having such a card facilitates journalists’ entry to certain official functions, such as those held at State House. Many journalists practise without a press card.

Scores:

Individual scores:

1. Country does not meet indicator
2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
3. Country meets some aspects of indicator
4. Country meets most aspects of indicator.
5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 4.9 (2005 = 4.6; 2007 = 4.9; 2009 = 4.2)
1.7 Confidential sources of information are protected by law and/or the courts.

There is no law in Zambia, which deals with the protection of confidential sources. However, there is a provision under Article 58 of the Penal Code and Section 143 of the Criminal Procedure Code, which can compel journalists to reveal their sources for reasons of national security or in criminal matters.

“In the criminal sphere, government can force journalists to reveal their sources and journalists have no recourse to the law to protect their sources. However, in civil cases journalists can refuse to reveal their sources.”

New legislation, in the form of the Public Interest Disclosure Act of 2010, also known as the ‘Protection of Whistleblowers Act’, provides protection to individuals who make disclosures about serious wrongdoing (‘whistleblowers’), such as corruption, provided the disclosure is in the public interest. This act does not protect journalists, however, but their sources.

Scores:

Individual scores:

1. Country does not meet indicator
2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
3. Country meets some aspects of indicator
4. Country meets most aspects of indicator
5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 3.1 (2005 = 1.2; 2007 = 1.1; 2009 = 1.8)

1.8 Public information is easily accessible, guaranteed by law, to all citizens.

“There is no file in a government office that is not marked secret, confidential or classified.”

There is still no freedom of information legislation in Zambia. A Freedom of Information Bill, tabled in Parliament in 2002, was withdrawn without reason by the government, which said only that more consultations were needed. The bill
has not been re-tabled despite pressure from media associations and some sectors of civil society.

As such, it remains a difficult task for ordinary members of the public, as well as journalists, to access information from public authorities.

A number of laws in fact prohibit government officials to reveal information without official approval. These include the Official Secrets Act of 1968 and the State Security Act of 1969, which punishes civil servants with jail terms of up to 25 years for divulging information about state operations.

Some members of the panel noted that to a certain extent, government does provide information to civil society organisations, for example. “It depends on what you are looking for and what it is going to be used for. It also depends on the specific person in office and his or her individual whim. As long as it is in the government’s interests, and it will result in the government being viewed in a positive light, the information will be provided.”

All government documents, including the Constitution, are published in English, which is the official language of Zambia, although almost 20 per cent of the population over the age of 15 cannot read and write in English.\(^2\) Thus, almost one-fifth of the population are at a disadvantage when it comes to comprehending such documents, if they can even access them.

Scores:

Individual scores:

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<td>Country meets only a few aspects of indicator</td>
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<td>Country meets most aspects of indicator</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Country meets all aspects of the indicator</td>
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Average score: 2.3 (2005 = 1.0; 2007 = 1.2; 2009 = 1.2)

\(^2\) [http://www.indexmundi.com/zambia/literacy.html](http://www.indexmundi.com/zambia/literacy.html)
1.9  Websites and blogs are not required to register with or obtain permission from state authorities.

Websites and blogs are not required to register with or obtain permission from state authorities. The Electronic Communications Act provides for regulation of the .zm domain name. Section 50 (1) under the Electronic Communications and Transactions Act provides among others that the Authority shall administer and manage the .zm domain name space, comply with international best practice in the administration of the .zm domain name space, license and regulate registries and the registers for the registries, and publish guidelines on the general administration and management of the .zm domain name space.

Scores:

Individual scores:

1. Country does not meet indicator
2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
3. Country meets some aspects of indicator
4. Country meets most aspects of indicator.
5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 4.4 (2005 = n/a; 2007 = n/a; 2009 = 4.3)

1.10  The state does not seek to block or filter Internet content unless laws provide for restrictions that serve a legitimate interest and are necessary in a democratic society.

There is no legislation in Zambia used by the state to block or filter Internet content, and there have been no known instances of government taking such action.
Scores:

Individual scores:

1. Country does not meet indicator
2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
3. Country meets some aspects of indicator
4. Country meets most aspects of indicator.
5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 4.3 (2005 = n/a; 2007 = n/a; 2009 = 4.5)

1.11 Civil society in general and media lobby groups actively advance the cause of media freedom.

Media lobby groups – including MISA Zambia, PAZA, the Zambia Union of Journalists (ZUJ) and the Zambia Media Women’s Association (ZAMWA), as well as the Press Freedom Committee of The Post newspaper – do advance the cause of media freedom in Zambia, some more actively than others.

“...people have sold their principles, their ethics and their professionalism to put bread on the table.”

While the NGO Transparency International Zambia has lobbied for freedom of information legislation, this issue tends to be seen in the country as a media issue only and not one that affects citizens in general and their development.

“This should be seen as a rights issue: the right to information.”

Freedom of information lobbying tends to be very disjointed in Zambia, and there are no co-ordinated efforts between civil society and media groups.

“In general, media lobby groups lobby for media issues and civil society is generally not involved in media issues.”

“A big weakness of media lobby groups is that they tend to isolate themselves and not involve civil society in their campaigns. Even within the media, there is not much integration, and in fact much division between private and public media, and the state-owned media shy away from controversial issues.”

This appears to be a common trend: the country’s civil society is also comprised of isolated bodies and is not seen as a mass movement.
“There is a culture of poverty in Zambia: people have sold their principles, their ethics and their professionalism to put bread on the table.”

Some panellists felt the real reason for this lack of unity within civil society was the political structure: “In 1991, Zambia reverted to multi-party politics, but old structures are still in place as if it is a one-party state. It is not democratic. The nature of the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC), for example, has not changed. It is a government tool.”

**Scores:**

**Individual scores:**

1. Country does not meet indicator

2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator

3. Country meets some aspects of indicator

4. Country meets most aspects of indicator.

5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 3.9 (2005 = 3.9; 2007 = 4.3; 2009 = 3.1)

1.12 Media legislation evolves from meaningful consultations among state institutions, citizens and interest groups.

While government consults civil society and special interest groups on draft legislation, their views in most cases have no bearing on the final product, which usually reflects a straightforward government approach. This relates to media legislation as well.

“This happens with lots of laws in Zambia. It does not qualify as meaningful consultation. People are being brought in merely as tokens as government has already made up its mind.”

A recent example is the Electronic Communications and Transactions Act of 2009, where media stakeholder input was sought by government but...
their views were ultimately ignored. With the Information and Communication Technology Act of 2009, the government called in stakeholders to comment when it was too late: only once the law had been drafted already. In other instances, stakeholders are presented by government with a substantial number of documents to review a few days before a consultation and thus have insufficient time to conduct detailed research and prepare.

The Freedom of Information Bill, withdrawn by government in November 2002 for “further consultation”, has yet to see the light of day and it is not clear whom the government is consulting in this regard, almost ten years later.

“With no change in strategy, we, as civil society, will continue going in circles as we are still operating on a one-party state principle.”

**Scores:**

**Individual scores:**

1. Country does not meet indicator
2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
3. Country meets some aspects of indicator
4. Country meets most aspects of indicator
5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

**Average score:** 2.1 (2005 = n/a; 2007 = n/a; 2009 = 1.3)

**Average score for sector 1:** 3.1 (2005 = n/a; 2007 = n/a; 2009 = 2.7)*

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* The indicators were reviewed, changed and shifted in 2009. Therefore the scores of some indicators and sector scores are not comparable to scores of previous AMBs.
SECTOR 2:

The media landscape, including new media, is characterised by diversity, independence and sustainability.
The media landscape, including new media, is characterised by diversity, independence and sustainability.

2.1 A wide range of sources of information (print, broadcasting, Internet) is available and affordable to citizens.

There is a relatively wide range of sources of information in Zambia, originating from state, private and community media houses. People living in the capital, Lusaka, parts of the southern province (‘railway line corridor’) and the central Copperbelt region have access to the widest range and variety of information sources, including more than a dozen radio signals, all three daily newspapers, weekly newspapers, a range of educational, religious and community radio stations and seven local television stations, as well as the satellite subscription service from South Africa, Digital Satellite Television (DSTV).

Print
There are two daily state-run newspapers, the Times of Zambia (which includes the Sunday Times of Zambia) and the Zambia Daily Mail, and The Post, which is privately run and which appears seven days a week. The three daily newspapers are delivered to all the nine provinces in the country.

The Monitor & Digest is a privately owned weekly newspaper, distributed in Lusaka. Another weekly newspaper, the Guardian Weekly, which was distributed to the Southern and Copperbelt provinces, closed in 2010. Other monthly newspapers include The New Vision and Rainbow Newspaper, both distributed within Lusaka.

During the pre-election season (which panellists called the “rainy season”) there is a visible mushrooming of new weekly newspapers, which openly support certain political parties and only exist during this period. These include Stand Up for Zambia, the Supreme Times and The Zambian.

The magazine market continues to grow and there are now at least six monthly, privately owned magazines in Zambia, including The Big Issue, a social magazine; the business publications, Zambian Analysis and Mobile Market; and the Catholic Church magazine, Icengelo, most of which are distributed in Lusaka and the Copperbelt and Southern provinces. The Bulletin and Record and Zambian Construction News are two new entrants to the magazine market within the last two years.
In a country of 752,614 square kilometres, however, distribution, particularly of print media, is problematic and costly for publishers in terms of reaching remote parts of the country. In some areas, such as Nakonde in the far north-east, readers receive newspapers a day late. In terms of the penetration of the print media, most daily newspapers generally reach only provincial centres and not at district level. The Post does reach district centres but is generally restricted to offices and not homes. For those who have Internet access, all the country’s newspapers are available in online versions and can be accessed via mobile phones.

The highest circulating newspaper in the country is The Post, which now sells on average of 47,000 a day, down from 60,000 in 2009. The Times reportedly has a circulation of 9,000 copies a day, the Zambia Daily Mail 8,800, New Vision 6,000 and the Weekly Guardian 5,000.3

“The circulation figures of daily newspapers are less than one-fifth of what they used to be in the 1980s, although the population has grown.”

These circulation figures are relatively small for a population estimated to be 13 million people (almost 12 million in 2009).

Newspapers are also too expensive for the majority of Zambians at K3,000 (62 US cents). The ‘mushroom’ newspapers, which receive political party funding and sponsorship to convey a certain political message, are cheaper at K1,000.4

“The cost may seem small, but the majority of Zambians cannot afford it. For them it’s a choice between a newspaper and a loaf of bread, which costs a similar price.”

All the newspapers are in the official national language, English, making them inaccessible to the many, rural people who do not speak English. Some 20 per cent of the population is unable to read or write in English. Nyanja, Bemba, Lunda, Tonga, Nkoya, Lozi, Luvale and Kaonde are the main recognised regional languages, largely representative of provinces, while there are about 40 other indigenous languages, excluding a number of dialects.5

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4 Ibid.
5 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zambia
Broadcasting
Due to the country’s geography, poor rural road network and the fact that a majority of the population lives in poverty (63.8 per cent living below the poverty line of US$1 a day); radio plays a very important role and is by far the most widespread medium in the country. Most people in Zambia receive only ZNBC and a community radio station. Each of the nine provinces has two or three community radio stations, which have a limited range, usually broadcasting only within a district.

Broadcasting has continued to grow in the past two years. In 2009, there were 37 radio stations, whereas there are now 40. The country’s radio stations include the three state-owned stations, ZNBC 1, 2 and 4; 11 commercial stations; 16 community stations; seven religious stations, most of which are Catholic owned or sponsored; and three educational stations, including UNZA Radio from the University of Zambia, Parliament Radio and Hone FM from the Evelyn Hone College.

The number of television stations has grown in the past two years from seven to nine. The current television stations are the state-owned ZNBC; the private Copperbelt Television (CB TV), which broadcasts only within the Copperbelt area, around Ndola; the private Central Broadcasting Company (CBC), which broadcasts within a very limited area of Lusaka; the free-to-air Mobi TV, which broadcasts in Lusaka; and the private broadcaster Muvi TV, which recently expanded its transmission countrywide via the DSTV satellite bouquet. Two new local private television stations are North Western TV and Africa Unite, a second channel of Muvi TV, available via a DSTV satellite decoder. Trinity Broadcast Network (TBN), a Christian station headquartered in the USA, also broadcasts in Zambia, as does Multichoice Zambia, which offers the South African satellite subscription service DSTV. Attempts are also being made to establish a new television station for Ndola, the Copperbelt capital.

Community radio stations also continue to grow in Zambia, with three new stations coming on board in the last two years, including Walamo and Mpika community radio stations, both in the Northern Province and Itezhi-Tezhi in Central Province. Breeze FM from Chipata has also expanded its coverage and is also available online. Community radio stations, mostly located in rural districts and transmitting to a small, defined community, broadcast mainly in English as well as one of the main local languages, affording rural audiences access to information in their mother tongues. As TV and print media are otherwise mostly in English, the role of community radio stations is vital as one-fifth of all Zambians over the age of 15 are not literate in English.

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Government is in the process of erecting new transmitters to improve the state broadcaster’s signal coverage. Terrestrially, ZNBC radio theoretically covers the whole country, although there are some far-flung border areas which do not pick up their own country’s signal, but that of neighbouring countries. ZNBC radio theoretically covers all 72 districts, while ZNBC TV reaches 65 of the country’s 73 districts. ZNBC TV is also available on the DSTV bouquet for those who can afford the satellite dish, decoder and monthly subscription fees. It costs at least 300,000 Zambian Kwacha (US$60) for the full DSTV bouquet, and at least 150,000 Kwacha (US$30) as it depends on the obtaining Kwacha/US$ exchange rate for a smaller bouquet of channels, both of which include ZNBC.

Mobile phones and Internet
Mobile phone usage in Zambia is relatively high, with an estimated 4.3 million Zambians having access to one.7

“In rural areas, people will climb a tree or a go up a hill to get a signal.”

Smartphones, especially Blackberries, are gaining popularity in the country, and many people are able to access the Internet in this way.

Internet usage is still relatively expensive in Zambia, at K100 per minute in an urban Internet café and K250 in rural areas.

The three daily newspapers, the Zambia Daily Mail, the Times of Zambia and The Post, are all available online, while the online publications, the Watchdog and Lusaka Online, are other popular news sources.

Scores:

Individual scores:

1 Country does not meet indicator
2 Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
3 Country meets some aspects of indicator
4 Country meets most aspects of indicator
5 Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 3.1 (2005 = 2.6; 2007 = 3.0; 2009 = 2.3)

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2.2 Citizens’ access to domestic and international media sources is not restricted by state authorities.

There are no government restrictions on access to domestic or international media sources in Zambia. It is interesting to note, however, that the Censorship Board of Zambia currently exists “only on paper” and is reportedly “being done away with because it can’t control the inflow of information over the Internet”.

Scores:

Individual scores:

1. Country does not meet indicator
2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
3. Country meets some aspects of indicator
4. Country meets most aspects of indicator.
5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 4.8 (2005 = 3.6; 2007 = 4.2; 2009 = 4.0)

2.3 Efforts are undertaken to increase the scope of circulation of the print media, particularly to rural communities.

Newspapers in Zambia are largely an urban medium, although small number of the government newspapers and The Post are delivered to some outlying areas. In addition, the government has begun a project to set up printing presses in all the nine provinces, beginning in Chipata, to cut down on transporting printed newspapers vast distances. The idea is that commercial newspapers will be able to use these presses as well, rather than sending printed newspapers by road.

Prior to presidential and parliamentary elections, the government also tends to increase the distribution of its two newspapers, boosting circulation.

“Transporting newspapers around the country for distribution is very costly because of the bad quality of the rural road network and the high cost of fuel. Even The Post makes an effort to deliver newspapers to certain rural places, at a loss. In terms of the number of newspapers being delivered, it’s not worth it, economically.”
Scores:

Individual scores:

1. Country does not meet indicator

2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator

3. Country meets some aspects of indicator

4. Country meets most aspects of indicator.

5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 3.5 (2005 = 2.8; 2007 = 3.7; 2009 = 2.5)

2.4 The editorial independence of print media published by a public authority is protected adequately against undue political interference.

In terms of the state-run *Zambia Daily Mail* and the *Times of Zambia*, editorially there is no legal protection from political interference and such interference is common.

“The state always interferes: that is our culture.”

Political interference is also evident in self-censorship within the state’s print media, as these newspapers are blatantly biased towards government. Stories in these newspapers often focus on government’s reaction to issues, before readers are even told what the initial issue is.

“The managing editor of any state newspaper is an endangered species. They are appointed by the Minister of Information and Broadcasting Services and have to toe the (government) line if they want to keep their jobs.”
Scores:

Individual scores:

1. Country does not meet indicator
2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
3. Country meets some aspects of indicator
4. Country meets most aspects of indicator
5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 1.2 (2005 = 1.0; 2007 = 1.2; 2009 = 1.4)

2.5 Adequate competition legislation/regulation seeks to prevent media concentration and monopolies.

The Competition and Consumer Protection Act of 2010 aims to safeguard consumers from unfair trade practices and prohibits people from forming monopolies, among other provisions. Media is not specifically mentioned in this legislation, which covers all companies in general. However, the law appears to be applied selectively as some companies (not media) are seemingly allowed to form monopolies, such as South African Breweries (which has interests in alcoholic and soft drinks), while smaller companies are prevented from similar expansion.

In addition, the government appears not to be bound by this law, as it has “major cross-ownership” within both the print and broadcasting sphere. More than two years ago, The Post media house wanted to open a radio station but was prevented from doing so by the Minister of Information and Broadcasting Services because it already owned a newspaper.

Scores:

Individual scores:

1. Country does not meet indicator
2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
3. Country meets some aspects of indicator
4. Country meets most aspects of indicator
5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 3.2 (2005 = 2.1; 2007 = 2.0; 2009 = 2.5)
2.6 Government promotes a diverse media landscape with economically viable and independent media outlets.

As was mentioned in the 2009 AMB report, the Zambian government does not appear actively to be promoting a diverse media landscape with economically sustainable and independent media outlets. Government does not sponsor such operations financially. At the same time, it also does not prevent private investment in the media industry and it does not block the flourishing of such enterprises.

A state-initiated body, the Citizens Economic Empowerment Commission (CEEC) was established in 2006 to promote the economic empowerment of targeted citizens. Any small business or prospective business, including media companies, may apply for loans from the CEEC. Very few media enterprises have benefited from the CEEC, however.

There are also Constituency Development Funds, to which members of specific communities can apply for funding of local projects. Media establishments, such as community radio stations, for example, do not appear to have used this avenue, however. Most community radio stations are set up with funds from foreign donors.

“Since 1995, the government has been discussing the establishment of a specific fund, the Media Development Fund, to support the print media in economically unviable areas. However, this discussion exists only on paper and to date there has been no action in this regard.”

The fact that the government has still not implemented the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) Act of 2002 and the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC) Amendment Acts of 2002 and 2010, all of which have been passed but are not yet functioning as boards have not yet been appointed, is an indication that the state lacks political will to create a diverse media landscape.
Scores:

Individual scores:

1. Country does not meet indicator
2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
3. Country meets some aspects of indicator
4. Country meets most aspects of indicator.
5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 2.5 (2005 = n/a; 2007 = n/a; 2009 = 2.1)

2.7 All media fairly reflect the voices of both women and men.

The voices reflected in the media and the issues that get attention in the mainstream print and broadcasting spheres are predominantly male-centric.

“This relates to the structure of Zambian society and culture: it’s the way we have been brought up. Men are the newsmakers, the ones in power. They dominate in Parliament, and there are more men than women are in leadership positions; men speak more openly than women; and men are more forceful and more forthcoming.”

Even when it comes to articles about women’s issues in Zambian newspapers, men are often sourced more than women! Journalists point out that men, when approached as sources, tend to give immediate responses, while women are not always available immediately. They point out that most organisations’ spokespeople are men.

The media tends to be very reactive rather than proactive. They focus on events and powerful people, rather than going out to source their own stories, reflecting the voices of ordinary people. The mainstream media is dominated by political issues (up to 80 per cent, it is claimed), as “development issues are not sexy”.

“It’s also a historical problem: in terms of the communication structures in Zambia, the rulers talk to the ruled and not vice-versa. It is a structure designed to make us obedient, not a development structure.”
Scores:

Individual scores:

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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Average score: 1.8 (2005 = n/a; 2007 = n/a; 2009 = 2.3)

2.8 All media fairly reflect the voices of society in its ethnic, linguistic, religious, political and social diversity.

There are 45 languages in Zambia\(^8\), including English but excluding numerous localised dialects. The media, especially the print media, tend not to reflect this linguistic diversity. All mainstream newspapers and magazines are published in English. ZANIS has printed free, vernacular-language newspapers in the past, but these are not regular publications.

The state’s ZNBC has three radio stations: Radio 1 broadcasts in the seven main vernacular languages spoken in the country’s nine provinces; Radio 2 is in English; and Radio 4, the entertainment channel, broadcasts in English, although both local and foreign music are played.

ZNBC TV and the private, commercial television stations broadcast in English only, except for the ZNBC TV’s brief daily news broadcast from 5pm in the seven local languages.

Community and religious radio stations are more representative of local languages and tend to broadcast in the main regional language of the area, as well as in English, while most commercial and educational radio stations broadcast in English.

Politically, the ruling MMD party gets the most coverage, followed by the opposition Patriotic Front, and smaller parties are sidelined.

\(^8\) http://www.ethnologue.com/show_country.asp?name=ZM, accessed on 30 August 2011
“Ethnicity is not considered an issue in Zambian everyday life.”

In terms of religion, the media tends to focus on Christianity, and to a much lesser extent Islam. “Zambia is considered a Christian nation and the media reflects this.”

**Scores:**

**Individual scores:**

- 1: Country does not meet indicator
- 2: Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
- 3: Country meets some aspects of indicator
- 4: Country meets most aspects of indicator
- 5: Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 2.9 (2005 = n/a; 2007 = n/a; 2009 = 1.9)

**2.9 The country has a coherent ICT policy, which aims to meet the information needs of all citizens, including marginalised communities.**

An ICT policy was launched in 2006 and, in 2009, the Information and Communication Technology Act was passed. The government appears to have a deliberate programme in place to establish ICT facilities (‘telecentres’) in rural areas to provide people with access to communication technologies. The Zambia Information and Communication Technology Authority (ZICTA) is the statutory body that has been mandated to facilitate this process. On another positive note, the government is making efforts to enable mobile phone service providers to reach all areas of the country, while, since 2009, the state has also waived import duties on computers.
Scores:

Individual scores:

1. Country does not meet indicator
2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
3. Country meets some aspects of indicator
4. Country meets most aspects of indicator.
5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 4.1 (2005 = n/a; 2007 = n/a; 2009 = 1.7)

2.10 Government does not use its power over the placement of advertisements as a means to interfere with editorial content.

The government does advertise in the private media, even if the specific media house is critical of the state. This is evidenced by the government advertising in *The Post* newspaper, which is well known to have the largest circulation in the country, even though it is the mainstream newspaper that is most critical about the president and the ruling party.

“In Zambia, people know that if you want to reach the market, the majority, you have no choice but to go to *The Post*.”

A recent unwritten directive forbids government institutions to buy *The Post*, although individual ministers are known to buy it in their personal capacity.

In terms of advertisements being placed in the state media by companies, members of the public and NGOs, among others, these adverts will be scrutinised and “if they are not critical of the government, they will be published”.

“It is the practise of government to interfere when you want to talk negatively about them.”

“It is the practise of government to interfere when you want to talk negatively about them.”
Scores:

Individual scores:

1. Country does not meet indicator
2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
3. Country meets some aspects of indicator
4. Country meets most aspects of indicator
5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 1.5 (2005 = 2.0; 2007 = 3.1; 2009 = 1.9)

2.11 The advertising market is large enough to support a diversity of media outlets.

The advertising market is generally regarded as being too small to support a diversity of media outlets. Commercial companies tend to choose where to advertise based on the maximum return they will get from their investments, and as such smaller media houses, such as community radio stations, suffer, surviving only thanks to NGO and donor support.

In the mainstream media, it is estimated that over 50 per cent of companies’ revenues comes from advertising.
Scores:

Individual scores:

1. Country does not meet indicator
2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
3. Country meets some aspects of indicator
4. Country meets most aspects of indicator
5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 3.2 (2005 = 2.5; 2007 = 4.4; 2009 = 2.2)

Average score for sector 2: 2.9 (2005 = n/a; 2007 = n/a; 2009 = 2.3)*

* The indicators were reviewed, changed and shifted in 2009. Therefore the scores of some indicators and sector scores are not comparable to scores of previous AMBs.
SECTOR 3:

Broadcasting regulation is transparent and independent; the state broadcaster is transformed into a truly public broadcaster.
Broadcasting regulation is transparent and independent; the state broadcaster is transformed into a truly public broadcaster.

3.1 Broadcasting legislation has been passed and is implemented that provides for a conducive environment for public, commercial and community broadcasting.

Although the IBA Act of 2002 and the ZNBC Amendment Acts of 2002 and 2010 have been passed, they are not yet operational as boards have not been appointed.

The IBA is tasked to issue licences to public, commercial, community, religious and subscription broadcasting services, while the ZNBC is intended to regulate public-service broadcasting. Up until now, however, the Minister of Information and Broadcasting Services continues to use his discretion to grant broadcasting licences.

Scores:

Individual scores:

1. Country does not meet indicator
2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
3. Country meets some aspects of indicator
4. Country meets most aspects of indicator.
5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 2.0 (2005 = 2.1; 2007 = 2.1; 2009 = 1.8)
3.2 Broadcasting is regulated by an independent body adequately protected by law against interference whose board is appointed – in an open way – involving civil society and not dominated by any particular political party.

A board has not yet been appointed to the broadcasting regulatory body, the IBA. According to the law (IBA Act of 2002), appointments to this board will be made, not independently, but at the discretion of the Minister of Information and Broadcasting Services. Thus, there will be no involvement from civil society and the board is expected to be “dominated by one political persuasion”.

“In Zambia there is a lack of political will to make the broadcasting regulator truly independent.”

Scores:

Individual scores:

1. Country does not meet indicator

2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator

3. Country meets some aspects of indicator

4. Country meets most aspects of indicator

5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 1.2 (2005 = n/a; 2007 = n/a; 2009 = 1.1)

3.3 The body regulates broadcasting services and licences in the public interest and ensures fairness and a diversity of views broadly representing society at large.

The IBA currently exists only on paper. As no board has ever been appointed to the body, it is not operational. The Minister of Information has been, in the absence of the IBA, issuing broadcasting licences. Thus, there is no operational broadcasting regulatory body in Zambia that regulates licences in the public interest and ensures fairness and a diversity of views.
Scores:

Individual scores:

1 Country does not meet indicator

2 Country meets only a few aspects of indicator

3 Country meets some aspects of indicator

4 Country meets most aspects of indicator.

5 Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 1.1 (2005 = 1.0; 2007 = 1.0; 2009 = 1.0)

3.4 The state/public broadcaster is accountable to the public through a board representative of society at large and selected in an independent, open and transparent manner.

There is currently no board at the ZNBC.

“The state/public broadcaster is accountable to the public through a board representative of society at large and selected in an independent, open and transparent manner.”

The ZNBC Amendment Act of 2010 removes the power of a committee to recommend board members to the Minister of Information and Broadcasting Services, and makes the board’s appointment at the sole discretion of the minister. However, a board has not yet been appointed.

The most recent ZNBC board, which was appointed by the ZNBC Act of 1987, was in office from 1987 until 2010, when its term of office expired. The 2002 ZNBC Amendment Act was meant to usher in a new board, appointed independently and transparently. However, this was never put into practice and the 2010 amendment has reversed such appointments, thus narrowing the space for transparency and independence.

“In terms of ZNBC’s independence, we are back to square one. Based on the 2010 amendment we already know what the board will look like when it is appointed.”
Scores:

Individual scores:

1. Country does not meet indicator
2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
3. Country meets some aspects of indicator
4. Country meets most aspects of indicator.
5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 1.1 (2005 = 1.0; 2007 = 1.2; 2009 = 1.2)

3.5 Office bearers with the state and political parties, as well as those with a financial interest in the broadcasting industry, are excluded from possible membership on the board of the state/public broadcaster.

There is no board at the ZNBC at the moment. The ZNBC Amendment Act of 2010 makes appointments to the board at the discretion of the Minister of Information, removing the role of a potentially more independent and transparent “appointments committee”. The ZNBC Amendment Act of 2002 states that the board shall consist of nine part-time directors. These directors must be Zambian citizens who permanently reside in Zambia; they are not allowed to be members of Parliament of a local authority; nor can they be an office bearer or employee of any political party or a relative of such a person, among other stipulations. The law does not state that board members cannot have personal financial interests in the broadcasting industry.

“The number one consideration for board members will undoubtedly be based on loyalty to the ruling party.”
3.6 The editorial independence of the state/public broadcaster from political influence is guaranteed by law and practised.

Editorially, the ZNBC is not independent from political interference. This is despite the fact that the law guarantees editorial independence under the ZNBC Amendment Act of 2002, which states, under point 34, that the ZNBC must “implement the editorial policies of the Corporation and maintain editorial independence.”

The institution is currently under the control of the Minister of Information and Broadcasting Services and not a board at this point. Even once a board is appointed, according to the ZNBC Amendment Act of 2010, these appointments will be made by the minister. The ZNBC Amendment Act of 2002 also states under point 4 (3) that people will only qualify to be appointed to the board if they are “committed to fairness, freedom of expression, openness and accountability”.

“It is well known that after the ZNBC sub-editors have agreed on the line-up for the evening’s news, it is passed on to senior management and then the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Services, who has the power to change the order or remove any items.”

Mention was made of a senior news manager and a commissioning editor at the ZNBC who have been fired in the past two years for choosing footage that did not put the ruling party in a favourable light. It is also known that the ZNBC will not screen programmes produced, for example, by civil society organisations, if they are in any way critical of the state or present the opposition in a positive manner.
“When there are panel discussions on the ZNBC, the broadcaster will skew the discussion of a particular topic in favour of government by inviting only people who are in favour of the government’s position.”

Directors at the ZNBC are political appointees, who in turn will appoint staff who will toe the government line.

The ZNBC has no known editorial charter.

Scores:

Individual scores:

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<td>5</td>
<td>Country meets all aspects of the indicator</td>
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Average score: 1.8 (2005 = n/a; 2007 = n/a; 2009 = 1.4)

3.7 The state/public broadcaster is adequately funded in a manner that protects it from arbitrary interference through its budget and from commercial pressure.

The ZNBC is funded by TV licences (these were renamed ‘levies’ in 2010) advertisements and a state subsidy. The broadcaster is particularly dependent on the state subsidy and “won’t survive if government withdrew this”.9 The subsidy is intended to cover core costs, such as staff salaries, and as such state interference is possible.

There is a perception that the ZNBC is “over-funded by government” and that its management is “too bloated”.

“They have cameras, they have transport. From our perspective as outsiders, the ZNBC is definitely not struggling financially.”

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9 According to the ZNBC Annual Reports, state subsidy has varied from K 1.9 billion (US$375,000) in 2003/4 to K 4.6 billion (US$900,000) in 2005/6. Annual reports for 2006/7, 2007/8 and 2008/9 have not been released to the public yet (OSI, 2010, p. 80-81)
Levies are paid either through a monthly deduction of K3,000 (US$4) by the Zambia Electricity Company from all electricity users or through the Residents’ Development Committees in the townships. First-time buyers or television sets also pay an amount of K36,000 (US$49; equivalent to a year of monthly levies).

Some of the main advertisers, such as banks and mobile phone companies, sponsor news broadcasts on radio and television, putting commercial pressure on the broadcaster not to air stories critical of these companies.

**Scores:**

**Individual scores:**

1. Country does not meet indicator
2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
3. Country meets some aspects of indicator
4. Country meets most aspects of indicator.
5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 2.3 (2005 = n/a; 2007 = n/a; 2009 = 1.3)

### 3.8 The state/public broadcaster is technically accessible in the entire country.

Terrestrially, ZNBC TV is available in 65 out of the country’s 72 districts – an improvement on 2009 when the state broadcaster’s television signal reached only 63 districts through analogue aerials. DSTV subscribers are able to receive ZNBC via satellite throughout the country.

ZNBC radio technically reaches all 72 districts, although the signal is weak in some of the country’s more remote border areas. This applies to ZNBC TV also: Zambians residing near the border with Zimbabwe, for example, can pick up a better quality of the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation signal than that coming from ZNBC.

It was pointed out that the state is attempting to make its broadcasting service accessible to the entire country and the broadcaster is replacing old transmitters to improve the situation.

ZNBC radio is not on the DSTV satellite bouquet but Radio 1 and 4 are available online.
Scores:

Individual scores:

1. Country does not meet indicator
2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
3. Country meets some aspects of indicator
4. Country meets most aspects of indicator.
5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 3.7 (2005 = 3.0; 2007 = 3.9; 2009 = 2.2)

3.9 The state/public broadcaster offers diverse programming formats for all interests.

Generally speaking, the ZNBC does not offer diverse programming for all interests on radio or TV. ZNBC radio offers marginally more diversity than the state’s TV station. ZNBC Radio 1 and 2 have a number of specific locally produced programmes, while Radio 4, a commercial and entertainment channel, plays more music. Apart from Radio 1, which offers programmes in the seven main local languages and the brief ZNBC TV news broadcasts from 5pm in these same languages, ZNBC broadcasts in English.

“Everything has been politicised. The ZNBC’s programming is very selective, mostly reflecting the state and ruling party’s interests.”

ZNBC TV does, however, have some variety of programmes, including sports, children’s shows and soap operas, some of which are locally produced.

During the ‘rainy season’ (pre-election period), ZNBC TV broadcasts more developmental programmes, showing what the government is doing in this regard. “If you challenge the broadcasting of these programmes, you are seen to be anti-government.”
Scores:

Individual scores:

1. Country does not meet indicator

2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator

3. Country meets some aspects of indicator

4. Country meets most aspects of indicator.

5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 2.3 (2005 = 1.3; 2007 = 1.8; 2009 = 3.4)

3.10 The state/public broadcaster offers balanced and fair information in news and current affairs, reflecting the full spectrum of diverse views and opinions.

ZNBC (both radio and TV) does not offer balanced and fair information in news and current affairs, as its content is heavily skewed towards positive reporting on the government and the ruling party. The broadcaster may cover news from different locations around the country, but this mostly concerns news about the president or the ruling party. “ZNBC does not even attempt to offer balanced reporting.”

In July 2011, the Law Association of Zambia (LAZ) wrote to the state broadcaster, saying that it was flouting the law in its coverage of national affairs as stipulated in the ZNBC Act. LAZ said that the broadcaster’s news coverage is unbalanced and slanted towards the ruling MMD party. ¹⁰

Scores:

Individual scores:

1. Country does not meet indicator
2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
3. Country meets some aspects of indicator
4. Country meets most aspects of indicator
5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 1.2 (2005 = 1.0; 2007 = 1.1; 2009 = 1.6)

3.11 The state/public broadcaster offers as much diverse and creative local content as economically achievable.

Generally, the content on ZNBC TV and radio is not considered very creative. “ZNBC staff are fearful of being creative because this might make them appear to support opposition views and this will cost them their jobs.”

ZNBC’s TV 2 was originally intended to broadcast programmes which were commissioned from independent production studios, but this has not happened and most of the content is produced in-house. This includes soap operas and programmes about social issues.

“The support to private production houses is not there in practice, only on paper.” ZNBC’s TV 1 programming comprises mostly entertainment, including foreign films and local music, and “one-sided” panel discussions. In general, there are no human interest stories in ZNBC.

“Even under (former president Kenneth) Kaunda, the debates on the state broadcaster were more controversial and included different political parties. Since the MMD took over, these discussions have become very one-sided. We are worse off than we were in Kaunda’s time.”

The programming on the private station, Muvi TV, is considered to be more creative, more punchy and more connected with society.
“The *ZNBC* is failing Zambia. Political interference restricts it in many ways. *ZNBC* staff don’t want to offend the powers that be, so they don’t feel they can think out of the box.”

**Scores:**

**Individual scores:**

1. Country does not meet indicator
2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
3. Country meets some aspects of indicator
4. Country meets most aspects of indicator
5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 2.5 (2005 = 3.1; 2007 = 1.8; 2009 = 3.2)

### 3.12 Community broadcasting enjoys special promotion given its potential to broaden access by communities to the airwaves.

The IBA Act of 2002 supports a three-tier system of broadcasting: public, private and community. However, as this act is not operational, as there is no IBA board, these three types of broadcasting in Zambia exist in a legislative vacuum, with the Minister of Information and Broadcasting Services issuing licences and not an independent body, such as the IBA.

While government allows community broadcasters to operate in Zambia, it does not fund such initiatives, or provide training, but the state does keep them under its control and interferes with programming seen to be contrary to the state’s agenda. “Community broadcasting has been allowed by government to mushroom in Zambia. But such stations are constantly under threat, to the degree that many of them behave almost like the *ZNBC* and present the government in a positive light, so as not to get on the wrong side of powers that be.”

Government has been known to issue directives to community radio stations about restricting their news broadcasts to five or seven minutes only, “because they are not national broadcasters”. State officials have also issued directives to community broadcasters not to have political phone-in programmes in the run-up to national elections. (See indicator 1.2 about *Radio Lyambai* being forcibly closed down by police as it was perceived to be anti-government.)
A National Media Policy is currently being revised. Its definition of community broadcasting, however, is at odds with that of the Zambia Community Media Forum. The policy framework makes very general statements about community media and it is not in tandem with rapid developments in broadcasting and telecommunications worldwide. The Policy is generally not well thought out and not well articulated in terms of community broadcasting.

Scores:

### Individual scores:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Score</th>
<th>Description</th>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Country meets only a few aspects of indicator</td>
<td><img src="icon2.png" alt="Image" /></td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Country meets some aspects of indicator</td>
<td><img src="icon3.png" alt="Image" /></td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Country meets most aspects of indicator</td>
<td><img src="icon4.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Country meets all aspects of the indicator</td>
<td><img src="icon5.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Average score:** 2.3 (2005 = 4.0; 2007 = 3.6; 2009 = 2.9)

**Average score for sector 3:** 2.0 (2005 = n/a; 2007 = n/a; 2009 = 1.9)*

* The indicators were reviewed, changed and shifted in 2009. Therefore the scores of some indicators and sector scores are not comparable to scores of previous AMBs.
SECTOR 4:
The media practise high levels of professional standards.
The media practise high levels of professional standards.

4.1 The media follow voluntary codes of professional standards, which are enforced by self-regulatory bodies that deal with complaints from the public.

While all major media houses in Zambia, excluding The Post, used to be members of the voluntary Media Council of Zambia (MECOZ), this self-regulatory body collapsed in 2010. MECOZ had a code of ethics and conduct for the print and broadcasting media. One problem with MECOZ was that the state media refused to abide by some of its recommendations and it was seen as a weak body, as the most it could do was demand that a media house guilty of defamation, for example, issue a public apology.

Attempts have been made to establish a new self-regulatory body, the Zambia Media Council (ZAMEC) but at the time of writing in July 2011, this process had stalled. This process was being driven by the Media Liaison Committee, representing all media organisations, such as MISA Zambia and PAZA, and all media bodies have agreed to subscribe to its provisions.

The problem appears to stem from the hostilities between the state and the private media over self-regulation. While members of the government media subscribe to ZAMEC and its code of ethics, the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Services is reportedly stalling the process. Government has long been talking about introducing statutory regulation.

“The ministry perceives that ZAMEC will allow The Post newspaper off the hook, so they don’t want to be part of it...”

Discussions are ongoing in this regard, however. The Post has long been seen in opposition to the ruling party.

Thus, at the moment, there is no general code of ethics in place for the Zambian media and each media house has its own individual code.
Scores:

Individual scores:

1. Country does not meet indicator
2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
3. Country meets some aspects of indicator
4. Country meets most aspects of indicator
5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 2.0 (2005 = 3.3; 2007 = 3.0; 2009 = 2.3)

4.2 The standard of reporting follows the basic principles of accuracy and fairness.

There is consensus that the quality of media reports in Zambia often is not accurate or fair. This applies to both state and private media, both of which tend to have specific biases in their reporting – with the state strongly supporting the ruling party/government and the private media giving a voice to the opposition.

“Top management within the state media are under pressure to fulfil a pro-government agenda. The journalists also know that they have to go out and find a pro-government angle. There is no choice, no option.”

Journalists in Zambia are also known to present source’s quotes out of context or have specific ideas in mind when they interview people: “The newsroom originates the story and then looks for sources to support their point of view.”

“Very good people have been tarnished in the media because somewhere in the newsroom a story was twisted.”

Some participants pointed fingers at editors, rather than the journalists themselves, as these are the people in charge of shaping the final product. At the same time, journalists know that if they don’t write an article in a certain way for a specific media house, it won’t be considered for publication.
**Scores:**

**Individual scores:**

1. Country does not meet indicator
2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
3. Country meets some aspects of indicator
4. Country meets most aspects of indicator
5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

**Average score:** 2.2 (2005 = 2.5; 2007 = 2.8; 2009 = 2.5)

### 4.3 The media cover the full spectrum of events, issues and cultures, including business/economics, cultural, local and investigative stories.

The mainstream media does not cover the full spectrum of events and issues equally. As much as 80 per cent of what is reported in the mainstream media is said to be political, with the rest being divided between business, entertainment and sport. There is virtually no investigative reporting and very little analytical content. Much of the reporting in Zambia is event-driven and in a “he said, she said” style.

“There is not enough specialisation by Zambian journalists in certain topics – most journalists cover everything... Twenty years ago, we had more journalists in our newsrooms. But the industry has shrunk as circulation has shrunk and so have resources. Now there are only a handful of news journalists who have to cover all topics.”

In addition, each media house covers issues selectively and from their point of view, so while there may be some cultural stories, the state media, for example, will give such a story a pro-government slant.

“In the state media, almost everything is politicised: even business, sports and gender!”

Community radio stations concentrate on community issues, including politics and religion.
Scores:

Individua scores:

1 Country does not meet indicator
2 Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
3 Country meets some aspects of indicator
4 Country meets most aspects of indicator
5 Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 2.7 (2005 = 2.5; 2007 = 3.2; 2009 = 2.9)

4.4 Equal opportunities regardless of race, social group, gender/sex, religion, disabilities and age are promoted in media houses.

There are no deliberate affirmative action policies with regard to the above criteria. The media in Zambia tends to be male-dominated in terms of staff. The highest position a woman has ever achieved in journalism in the country is as a deputy editor (Times of Zambia), but never as editor. In general, the top management of media houses – print and broadcasting, state and private – is male.

“Discrimination is real and it’s happening within Zambian media. Even though human resources policies may state that there are equal employment opportunities with regard to gender, there is actually discrimination.”

“If there are women in senior positions within the media, it is often window dressing.”

Interestingly, there are more female students than male students within the Department of Mass Communication at the University of Zambia. Many female graduates go on to work in the field of public relations, however. Although, Zambia is a signatory to the SADC Protocol on Gender, it does not implement it – not even the state media houses. Gender policies at newspapers, for example, focus on content and not employment policies. Media Houses in Zambia do not have gender employment policies.
“As much as people want to balance gender within the media, the practicalities are not always so simple. The environment may not be friendly towards women, in terms of the hours, which are not family-friendly.”

Community radio stations are very selective when it comes to staff and in this regard ethnicity is an issue.

“Even if you know the language, if you’re not of the right ethnic group, you won’t get the job. Members of the community will complain that you’re not one of them.” Within the state media, there appears to be a bias towards those who are “somehow connected or affiliated to” the ruling party, and those who are not are politically discriminated against when it comes to employment opportunities.

The panel felt that there were general “no issues” within the media with regard to religion or disability, however there are few Muslims, for example, or disabled people within the staff of media organisations.

### Scores:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Individual scores:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>2 Country meets only a few aspects of indicator</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Country meets some aspects of indicator</td>
<td>![check marks]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Country meets most aspects of indicator</td>
<td>![check marks]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Country meets all aspects of the indicator</td>
<td>![check marks]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Average score:** 2.4 (2005 = n/a; 2007 = n/a; 2009 = 3.5)

### 4.5 Journalists and editors do not practise self-censorship.

“Self-censorship in the media is part of our lives.” Self-censorship is more prevalent in the state media, than the private media, for reasons already discussed in earlier indicators. The state media tends to be “100 per cent pro-MMD” and alternative, opposition views won’t find a voice here.

However, the private media is guilty of this too. After *Muvi TV* journalists were harassed by MMD cadres, Information Minister referred to the attackers as unknown people while his
fellow minister, who is also MMD chairperson for youth acknowledged that the assailants were MMD party members. Private mainstream newspapers generally will not publish positive articles in support of Zambia’s president.

“Journalists know what kind of stories editors expect and so they deliver these censoring their writing so as not to upset their editors and ultimately the powers-that-be, be they private or state.”

Scores:

Individual scores:

1. Country does not meet indicator
2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
3. Country meets some aspects of indicator
4. Country meets most aspects of indicator.
5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 1.6 (2005 = 1.4; 2007 = 2.0; 2009 = 2.0)

4.6 Owners of established mainstream private media do not interfere with editorial independence.

There are attempts within the private mainstream media to avoid the interference of the owner in editorial issues, but however this does not often happen. A good example is *The Post*, where the owner (Managing Director), Fred M’membe, is also the editor-in-chief. In such a situations, no-interference is almost impossible.

“To a certain degree, the owner’s agenda will always influence editorial decisions, it’s just the degree of the interference that differs.”
Scores:

Individual scores:

1. Country does not meet indicator
2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
3. Country meets some aspects of indicator
4. Country meets most aspects of indicator
5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 1.5 (2005 = 1.4; 2007 = 1.8; 2009 = 2.1)

4.7 Journalists and media houses have integrity and are not corrupt.

There is a sense that, although there are journalists who will report ethically, journalistic integrity has “been lost in recent years” and that Zambian journalists are susceptible to corruption, especially through cash (“brown envelopes”).

“As journalists, we’ve become accustomed to a culture where wherever we go to cover a story, we expect to get money or airtime or some other incentive.”

It is felt that the government media are particularly prone to bribes offered by sources for favourable coverage, via money, food, transport and accommodation. It is common for journalists to be “embedded with the source”, especially for out-of-town stories, and this does result in a skewed and unobjective article.

Private media journalists are also affected and could be compromised, professionally, as the economic situation has worsened for media houses, which may not have the money or the transport to send journalists to cover particular events beyond Lusaka.

“Lots of journalists choose assignments and will only cover a particular event if they will get a ‘brown envelope’ at the end of it.”

Some journalists are also known to demand a daily allowance to cover rural or out-of-Lusaka events, even though both the private and the state media pay subsistence fees in this regard. Others will attend workshops only for the travel allowance given afterwards.
“The issue of bread-and-butter is so prevalent and the salaries are generally so low that journalists can be corrupted.”

There have also been instances of certain media houses being “blacklisted” by the government, and therefore not invited to attend certain government events, because they did not give positive coverage in the past.

Scores:

Individual scores:

1. Country does not meet indicator
2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
3. Country meets some aspects of indicator
4. Country meets most aspects of indicator
5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 2.0 (2005 = n/a; 2007 = n/a; 2009 = 2.5)

4.8 Salary levels and general working conditions for journalists and other media practitioners are adequate.

Salaries for media practitioners are generally thought to be getting worse, with private media salaries generally lower than those offered in the state media, especially when one considers the benefits available to state employees, such as housing, medical, vehicle, and education and ‘retention allowance for graduates’.

An entry level salary for a state print media journalist in Lusaka is about K2.1 million (about US$440) a month, plus K1 million for housing; while a senior state media journalist can expect to earn about K6 million (US$1,250) to K7 million (US$1,460).

An entry level salary for a reporter in the private print media in Lusaka is about K1.5 million (US$313), after tax, while a senior editor in the private media can earn between K3 million (US$626) and K5 million (US$1,043).

Because there is no union for private media journalists in Zambia, they have no means of addressing the working conditions or salary levels in an organised manner. The state media journalists have a choice to belong to a number of different labour movements (see indicator 4.10).
Freelance journalists in Zambia are also not in any organised group and thus have no association that could negotiate rates with media houses. Freelancers are very poorly paid, with no benefits.

**Scores:**

**Individual scores:**

1. Country does not meet indicator
2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
3. Country meets some aspects of indicator
4. Country meets most aspects of indicator
5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 2.0 (2005 = n/a; 2007 = n/a; 2009 = 2.2)

**4.9 Media professionals have access to training facilities offering formal qualification programmes as well as opportunities to upgrade skills.**

As was mentioned in the 2009 report, formal journalism training is provided at three main institutions: the Department of Mass Communication at the University of Zambia, which offers a four-year Bachelor of Professional Communication (BMC) degree, as well as masters and doctoral programmes; Evelyn Hone College (EHC), which offers a one-year certificate and a three-year diploma course; and the Zambia Institute of Mass Communications (ZAMCOM), which provides certificate and diploma-level training.

The privately run Mindolo Ecumenical Foundation offers a two-year diploma course in media studies, while the Africa Literature Centre offers a certificate in journalism.

Within newsroom, *The Post* has its own in-house training school and new staff members are given a three-week orientation course.

Transparency International Zambia (TIZ) last conducted an investigative journalism course in 2009. The Bank of Zambia runs economic/financial journalism courses.

“The University of Zambia offers quality teaching, but we find that once the graduates get into the newsrooms, it is not so professional.”
4.10 Journalists and other media practitioners are organised in trade unions and/or professional associations.

Journalists or other media workers from the private media are not organised in any union.

“Owners of private media houses have an unwritten rule that their employees are not allowed to belong to the labour movement.”

State media journalists can belong to the Zambia Union of Journalists (ZUJ), the National Union for Communication Workers (NUCW) and the Zambia Union of Broadcasters and Other Information Disseminators (ZUBID).

“The ZUJ has been weakened by government.”

There are also a number of media associations in Zambia, including MISA Zambia, the Press Association of Zambia (PAZA), the Zambia Media Women’s Association (ZAMWA), the Society of Senior Zambian Journalists (SSZJ) and the Zambia Editors Forum (ZAEF). Apart from MISA Zambia, which has a wide membership of media houses and individual journalists, including those from The Post, most of these associations are considered very weak and inactive. They are considered unrepresentative and many have failed to hold even Annual General Meetings (AGMs) in the past two years. PAZA has also been under pressure from government lately and has thus appears to have lost its voice.
Scores:

Individual scores:

1. Country does not meet indicator
2. Country meets only a few aspects of indicator
3. Country meets some aspects of indicator
4. Country meets most aspects of indicator
5. Country meets all aspects of the indicator

Average score: 2.8 (2005 = 4.5; 2007 = 4.5; 2009 = 3.8)

Average score for sector 4: 2.3 (2005=n/a; 2007=n/a; 2009=2.7)*

OVERALL COUNTRY SCORE: 2.6 (2005 = n/a; 2007 = n/a; 2009 = 2.4)

* The indicators were reviewed, changed and shifted in 2009. Therefore the scores of some indicators and sector scores are not comparable to scores of previous AMBs.
Developments since 2009 and the way forward

Positive developments in the media environment in the past two years:

1. The rise of new community radio stations.
2. ZAMEC, although it is not yet launched, the process has begun to form a new, inclusive self-regulatory body for the media.
3. The adoption of the ICT Act.
4. The National Media Policy is being reviewed and circulated to stakeholders.
5. There is increased dialogue between the media and the government, opening up an entry point to the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Services.
6. Slightly improved relations between the media and political parties.
7. Rejection/stalling of Constitutional Bill of Rights: offers the fresh opportunity for more debate and an overhaul of the Bill of Rights, considered by some to be “flawed from the start”.
8. Broadcast media have been given licences by the state to extend their range of transmission. (ZNBC 2 now in Livingstone, while Muvi TV has expanded to reach Livingstone and the Copper Belt. Muvi TV also has a new channel, Africa Unite.)

Negative developments in the media environment in the past two years:

1. Amendments to the IBA Act and the ZNBC Act from 2002 have still not been passed, after nine years. A 2010 amendment to the ZNBC Act has also not been passed, but it represents a narrowing of the space for independence by the state broadcaster.
2. Harassment of journalists continues, especially by those supporting the state.
3. Closure of Radio Lyambai and the forceful dismantling of this community radio station’s equipment.
4. The polarisation of the media (private/state) is getting worse. The bickering that takes place between media players “diverts attention of MISA Zambia from organising activities by the media as a whole”.
5. There is no self-regulatory media council and no code of ethics for the Zambian media.
6. The lack of proper co-operation between civil society and the media.
7. The Freedom of Information Bill appears to have been completely shelved by government.
8. There are still no independent boards for any of the state media (ZNBC, Daily Mail and the Times of Zambia). These bodies are currently being run by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Services.

**Activities for the next two years**

1. To push ZAMEC to its logical conclusion: to be an active and inclusive self-regulatory media body. – MISA Zambia to be responsible for this.
2. To initiate University of Zambia accreditation/affiliation for Kitwe journalism school, to improve access to good quality journalism training.
3. To lobby for new laws to replace the ZNBC and IBA acts. – MISA Zambia to initiate this.
4. To launch a new approach for a campaign for right to / freedom of information legislation – MISA Zambia to bring stakeholders together.

**The Panel:**

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<th>Function</th>
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<td><strong>Civil society</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Rev. Susan Matale</td>
<td>Civil society representative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Goodwell Lungu</td>
<td>Anti-corruption activist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Joyce Nondo</td>
<td>Trade unionist</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mr. Lee Habasonda</td>
<td>Civil society representative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Emily Sikazwe</td>
<td>Women’s rights activist</td>
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<td><strong>Media</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Mr. Julius Sakala</td>
<td>Journalist</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ms. Emelda Libanga Musonda</td>
<td>Editor/journalist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Samuel Bwalya</td>
<td>Journalist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. Elizabeth Mweene-Chanda</td>
<td>Journalist/lawyer, media</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Kenny Makungu</td>
<td>Lecturer for mass communication</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Moderator:
Ms. Sarah Chiumbu, media studies lecturer

Rapporteur:
Ms. Sarah Taylor, freelance writer, editor and researcher

The meeting of the panel took place at Fringilla Lodge in Chisamba, Zambia, from July 23–24, 2011.
Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES)

fesmedia Africa
Windhoek, Namibia
Tel: +264 61 237438, Fax: +264 61 237441
E-mail: info@fesmedia.org
www.fesmedia.org

Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES)
Zambia Office
5583 Great East Road
Kalundu, Lusaka
P.O. Box 30554
Phone: +260 211 295615/6
Fax: +260 211 293557
info@fes.org.zm
www.fes.org.zm

Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA)
Regional Secretariat
21 Johan Albrecht Street
Windhoek
Namibia
Private Bag 13386
Tel: +264 61 232975
Fax: +264 61 248016
www.misa.org