

AFRICAN MEDIA BAROMETER

The first home grown analysis of the
media landscape in Africa

ZAMBIA 2013





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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-Sahara Africa and into the advocacy efforts of other local media organisations like the Media Institute of Southern Africa.

Methodology and Scoring System

Every three to four 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 1½ days they discuss the national media environment according to 39 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 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.

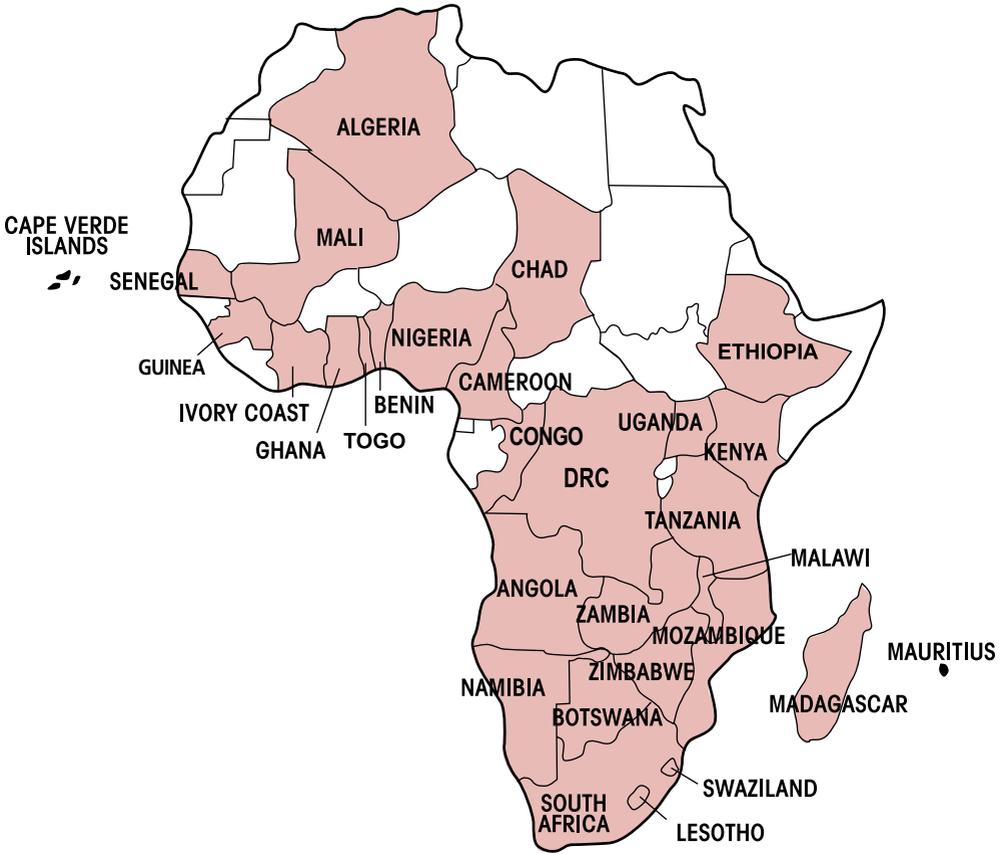
In 2009 and again in 2013 the indicators were reviewed, amended, some new indicators were added and some were replaced.¹

By the end of 2013 the African Media Barometer had been held in 30 African countries, in some of them already for the fifth time.

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¹ Consequently, the comparison of some indicators of previous reports is not applicable (n/a) in some instances in which the indicator is new or has been amended considerably. Furthermore sector scores are not applicable (n/a) as indicators have been moved.



See above 30 AMB Countries (2005-2013)

African Media Barometer

Zambia 2013

Summary

Hailed as one of Africa's success stories, Zambia is highly regarded as an attractive investment opportunity, considering the country's steady economic growth and its relatively stable environment after the reintroduction of multi-party politics in 1991. Celebrated as an example of the democratic progress, the 2011 general election saw the exit of the Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD) and its 20-year grip on power when the Patriotic Front (PF) became the new ruling party.

However, that gleaming image is slowly tarnishing as civil society activists, church leaders, opposition politicians and sections of the media "berate the government and party in power for autocratic tendencies as they clamp down on voices of dissent".

High expectations that there would be a visible and positive change in the media environment following the defeat of the MMD in the elections have been lowered. Freedom of expression is slowly being curtailed.

"There is serious backsliding and, although people express themselves, there is fear of reprisals."

This accusation comes against the backdrop of several attacks carried out by ruling party PF cadres on different sectors of society. The attack on people who had assembled peacefully in the Bible Gospel Outreach Church in Africa (BIGOCA) in Matero to express their views on the removal of food subsidies has had "a particularly chilling effect because the assault took place in a church". These attacks are on the increase because very few of the perpetrators are held accountable for their actions. Two people were arrested and briefly appeared in court but nothing much has come of the court case and the PF has distanced itself from those accused of being responsible.

In another incident, PF cadres stormed Radio Free in Chipata and pulled a commentator out of a live talk-show because of his criticism of government. There have been other incidents involving the abduction and arrest of civil society activists.

On the other hand, citizens and bloggers are extremely candid and critical of the president, government and even state policies on radio and online platforms.

“People express themselves freely in the blogosphere, but access to online media is limited.”

There are journalists who work for mainstream media, who express themselves more candidly and more openly on the blogosphere, than they do in their mainstream media jobs. However, “the fact that they (bloggers) go anonymous says a lot” about the fear that people face in expressing themselves openly.

Radio is another medium favoured by citizens who engage with phone-in programmes and “speak their minds on a daily basis”. They are comfortable providing their names, phone numbers and addresses and there have been no reprisals reported in this regard.

It is estimated that at least 15¹ community radio stations broadcast alongside the public broadcaster and other private stations. The major restriction faced by community radio stations is sustainability and reach, as they are only allowed to broadcast within a 150km radius. However, radio continues its dominance over the media terrain as it is the most accessible, wide-reaching and fastest growing medium, with over 87 percent of households in Zambia owning one or more radio set(s), according to Afrimap statistics. The strength of community radio stations lies in their localised content and use of vernacular languages.

The Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC) Amendment Act No. 20 (2002) was enacted to transform the national broadcaster into an independent and professional entity.

However, in March 2010, the Zambian government passed the ZNBC Amendment Bill No. 6, which reverted the power to appoint the nine part-time members of the ZNBC board back to the Minister of Information and Broadcasting Services.

This allows the minister to bypass parliament in the appointment of the board as had earlier been stipulated in the ZNBC Act of 2002. According to the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) Act, the minister is also authorised to appoint board members of the IBA and issue broadcasting licences at his whim.

Under the new government, the state print media is enjoying a certain amount of latitude and

“there is still some influence here and there, and there is self-censorship to a certain extent, but now you don’t feel that there is someone with a whip behind you waiting for you to make a mistake”.

Political issues continue to dominate the mainstream media, and diversity of content in the print media remains limited. Even social, cultural and economic stories are angled to take on a political dimension. Investigative stories are sporadic and often lack depth and analysis. ZNBC’s TV2 and ZNBC radio present diverse programmes which are more creative, with local content.

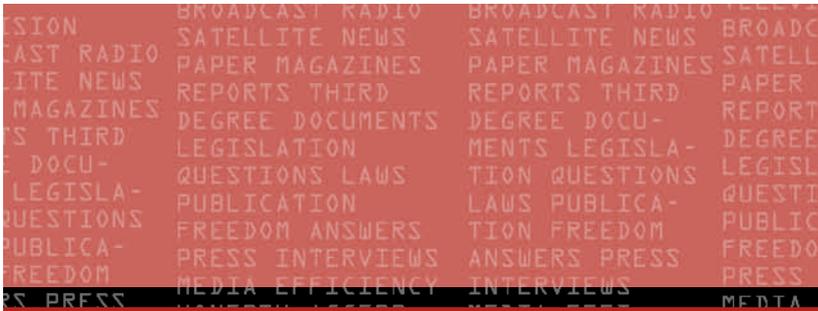
1 Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Services, 2013

There is awareness and recognition in the media sector that professional standards are steadily declining and attempts are being made to address this situation by both the Press Association of Zambia (PAZA) and the Media Liaison Committee (MLC), which boasts the membership of the Press Association of Zambia (PAZA), Press Freedom Committee of The Post, Catholic Media Services, MISA-Zambia, Zambia Union of Broadcasters and other Information Disseminators (ZUBID), Zambia Media Women's Association (ZAMWA), Zambia Union of Journalists (ZUJ), United Nations Information Centre (UNIC Lusaka) and Panos Southern Africa.

Great strides have been made in the area of self-regulation, which has narrowed the divide between state and privately owned media as they unite to commit to the establishment of the self-regulatory body, the Zambia Media Council (ZAMEC). ZAMEC is planning to engage with local online media, which continue to publish with complete disregard of professional standards and ethical practice as anything can be posted anonymously on this forum, thereby presenting challenges for regulation.

The creation of ZAMEC was a highly consultative process that took a long time, and was often controversial; but consensus was finally reached. ZAMEC now has a council, a code of conduct, and a constitution in place, but it is experiencing "teething problems".

However, "all the major media institutions have accepted [membership of ZAMEC]."



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 is protected in Article 20 of the Zambian Constitution², which in 20(1) states: “Except with his own consent, no person shall be hindered in the enjoyment of his freedom of expression, that is to say, freedom to hold opinions without interference, freedom to receive ideas and information without interference, freedom to impart and communicate ideas and information without interference, whether the communication be to the public generally or to any person or class of persons, and freedom from interference with his correspondence.”

However, this provision within the constitution is inadequate as a guarantee of freedom of expression, because of other existing statutes. Furthermore, there is no express guarantee, in the constitution or elsewhere, that ensures the freedom of the media.

With regard to media protection in the constitution, Article 20 (2) states that “subject to the provisions of this constitution no law shall make any provision that derogates from freedom of the press.”

This provision is regarded as “inadequate”, and it was noted that “providing for something that does not exist, subverts the whole expression intent, because without freedom of media, freedom of expression is questionable.”

“Our cry is that the current constitution does not guarantee media freedom”, and there is need for a “clear and express provision” in this regard.

Countering the freedom of expression guaranteed in the constitution are a number of clauses in the Penal Code Act, chapter 87³, which threaten both individual freedom and media practice. Specific pieces of legislation that are inimical to freedom of expression in general, and to freedom of the media, specifically, include a clause on prohibited publications and seditious practices, the State Security Act (formerly titled the Official Secrets Act), and a clause on defamation of the president, among others. There are close to 17 such laws that impede media freedom.

² Constitution of Zambia, 1996

³ Penal Code Act, Cap 87. http://zamlaws.zambia.co.zm/laws_view.php?chapter=87

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

Zambian citizens and journalists express themselves on varying levels, depending on the media platform being used, the level of anonymity that is possible, and the issues being addressed. Moreover, regardless of where they express themselves on issues, the fear factor is not negated. Panellists' responses on this indicator were mixed.

On the one hand, citizens are not at all able to express themselves freely, particularly due to the perceived high levels of political intolerance. "Any debates on the legitimacy of the chief justice are prohibited; some people were getting lynched for attempting to discuss [the scrapping of government food] subsidies⁴; and there have been abductions of people and arrests of representatives from civil society organisations."

On the other hand, however, Zambian citizens express themselves without fear on other platforms. There are those who call in to phone-in-discussions on radio, and most of the time they provide their names, phone numbers and addresses, all the while voicing their criticism of government. "I haven't heard of any reprisals based on this account."

Although "people speak their minds on a daily basis", this is done mostly on radio, which is the biggest media platform, and which provides a certain level of anonymity. Panellists noted that when arrests or attacks are made, it is usually of "cadres of civil society organisations", wherein there has been some build-up in "momentum" in expressing their views on certain seemingly "politically sensitive" topics.

"The freedom to say what I want is there. But feeling intimidated is something else."

Although people express themselves, there is fear of reprisals, such as the attacks on people by certain party cadres, in response to gatherings and/or discussions on subsidies. "People in the communities are afraid. People that were on their way to a meeting [to discuss the specific issue of subsidies] were pulled off the bus, taken to a police station, and made to apologise for something they hadn't done. A lot of people are afraid, and access to media by citizens is even more difficult, because people are afraid to go to the media. So it's only a small group of people who are always writing about the same thing. So fear affects diversity of views."

4 In May 2013, at least 31 students were arrested for protesting government's decision to scrap staple food subsidies. (Mail & Guardian, 18 May 2013)

The attack on people who had assembled peacefully in the Bible Gospel Outreach Church in Africa (BIGOCA) in Matero to express their views on the food subsidies has had particularly chilling effects because the assault took place in a church. “No one was held accountable for these attacks on citizens and journalists,” and the PF distanced itself from those deemed responsible.

Another example relates to a song which criticises the president about having promised certain things, but not having delivered. “We heard that song on radio once or twice, and then heard that the artist was arrested and the song banned.”⁵

“There is diminishing space for citizens to discuss openly and freely”, and “even political parties can’t meet freely”.

The level at which people, including journalists, express themselves is often dependent on the media platform being used. One panellist stated that although people freely express themselves in the blogosphere, access to online media is limited. “If you go to the bloggers, people can tell you what they think!”

However, “the fact that they (bloggers) go anonymous says a lot” about the fear that people face in expressing themselves openly. There are journalists who express themselves more candidly and openly via blogs, than they do in their mainstream media jobs.

A clamp down on online media practitioners has also taken place. Following the arrest of a journalist who was publishing online, the Bloggers’ Network decided to show solidarity, and undertook the cumbersome process of attaining a permit to hold an event to demonstrate this arrest. Only six people came to support the demonstration, which attracted an additional six security personnel who questioned the demonstrators.

Often, the perpetrators of attacks on journalists and citizens are known, but they are not dealt with by the law. “As long as no action is taken against perpetrators, there will be fear.”

The Press Association of Zambia (PAZ) wrote several letters to the Ministry of Home Affairs requesting that it act against the perpetrators of the Kanyama incident⁶, but to date, no action has been taken. Other incidents cited in these letters included the beating up of people at BIGOCA, and an incident at the community station Radio Free in Chipata, where a man was “pulled out of a live talk-show because of his criticism of government”.

Notable forms of intimidation against the media include statements made by “permanent secretaries or ministers who say things like ‘we are going to close

5 In 2008, Zambian artist Maiko Zulu’s song ‘Mad President’ was banned on radio for its critical content. (<http://freemuse.org/archives/1260>)

6 On 9 September 2012, a Post newspaper photojournalist Salim Dawood was beaten by suspected ruling Patriotic Front (PF) political party supporters in Lusaka’s Kanyama Township as he tried to photograph them. (<http://www.misa.org/component/k2/item/1742-zambia-suspected-ruling-party-supporters-clobber-journalists-civil-society>)

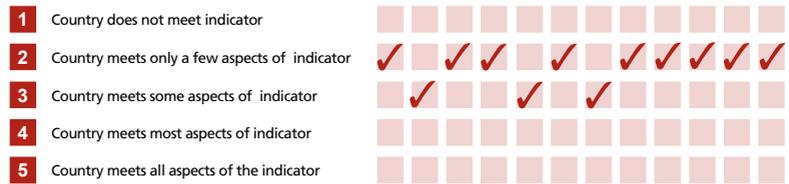
down this station because they are going beyond the boundaries of what we gave them a licence for”.

In 2011, Radio Lyambai in Mongu in the Western Province was shut down for alleged incitation against Lozi King Litunga and carrying critical coverage of the Barotseland Agreement⁷.

Members of the panel noted, with concern, the “gradually escalating restriction of freedom of expression coming from party members”.

Scores:

Individual scores:



Average score: **2.3**
(2011:2.6; 2009:3.0; 2007:2.9; 2005:2.3)

1.3 There are no laws or parts of laws restricting freedom of expression such as excessive official secret, libel acts, legal requirements that restrict the entry into the journalistic profession or laws that unreasonably interfere with the functions of media.

Several laws restrict freedom of expression, such as those that entitle the president to ban publications which he considers not to be in the public interest. Journalists have also faced suspension from their media houses, as well as arrest, for writing material seen as critical of government.

Many laws exist that restrict the functions of the media, including the State Securities Act, the Parliamentary Privileges Act, the Anti-Terrorism Act and the Penal Code which the panellists noted that it is one major law that, consists

⁷ Barotseland is a region in western Zambia - home to the Lozi (Barotse) people. According to Wikipedia, “On 18 May 1964, the Litunga and Kenneth Kaunda Prime Minister of Northern Rhodesia signed the “Barotseland Agreement 1964” which established Barotseland’s position within Zambia in place of the earlier agreement between Barotseland and the British Government. The agreement was based on a long history of close social, economic and political interactions. The Barotseland Agreement granted Barotse authorities and people specified limited local self-governance rights and rights to be consulted on specified matters, including over land, natural resources and local government.”

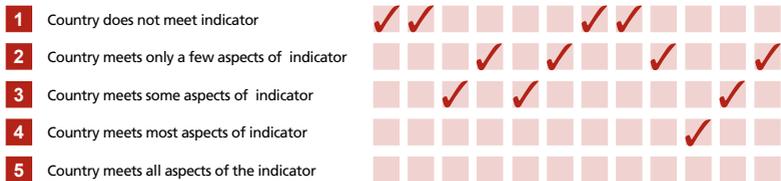
Protocol on Culture and Information, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), and the AU Declaration, among others.

“Zambia has failed in this area. What is the point of ratifying if you can’t domesticate?”

However, there was also a feeling that ratification in itself presented some form of commitment to media freedom, while others noted that certain aspects of these regional and international laws are already embodied in local laws. In this respect, “domestication isn’t the issue. Rather, it’s about the need for implementation.”

Scores:

Individual scores:



Average score:

2.1

(2011:1.8; 2009: 1.4; 2007: n/a; 2005: n/a)

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

Print publications do not have to get permission to publish, but the Print and Publications Act does require them to register with the National Archives. Print media are also required to deposit each issue of their publication with the National Archives. Although the process is simply a formality, panellists noted that one could be prosecuted if not registered. It was agreed that the registering a publication with the National Archives is a straightforward process and there are no obstacles to begin publishing.

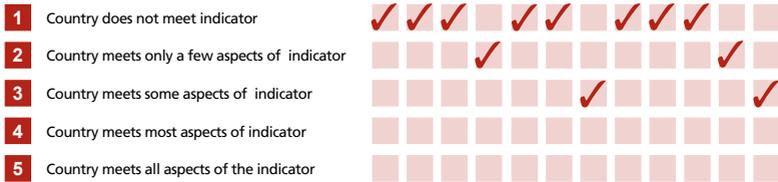
“By the time you engage with the National Archives, you’ve already started the process.”

“In the law, there is no room for rejection. It’s not about getting permission. You just need to register.”

The registration process also guarantees that no one else will use the name of the registered publication. “It protects you and the name of the paper.”

Scores:

Individual scores:



Average score:

1.5
(2011:3.1; 2009:1.8; 2007:1.1; 2005:1.2)

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

Access to information (ATI) is highly problematic in Zambia, especially for media practitioners.

"This is one of the ongoing battles... we have been fighting for ATI for about 12 years now."

To date, there is no ATI legislation, and state-held information is not easily accessible. There are no express guarantees for ATI, and the media usually has to fall back on Article 20 in the constitution to gain public information.

"Right now, you can go to a minister, and he/she will say 'I don't run government through the media', which means that government doesn't even feel obliged to release information to citizens."

A civil society task force has been constituted under the Ministry of Information to work with government on the draft ATI Bill through what is meant to be a consultative process. However, the task force has not met for over a year, despite hearsay that the draft law (which was supposed to be made public on 6 June, 2012) is ready to go to parliament. One panellist noted that those involved on the task force had been "put under oath not to disclose the contents of the draft law".

"The issue is lack of access, and even the draft law on ATI is inaccessible."

The ease of access to information may also depend on whom one approaches. Staffs at the Ministry of Gender were cited as being helpful in providing various organisations with information, including full access to the Gender Act and the draft Gender Policy. "It often depends on the ministry and the content of the law to which access is being sought."

Public officials/civil servants are restricted from giving out information. These restrictions are not contained in any law, *per se*, but are noted in their employment contracts. Executives in government do not feel compelled to ensure access to information. “The current president has never held a press conference.”

Government also has a tendency to treat documents as secret – whether officially or unofficially. The Draft Digital Migration Policy is confidential under the Official Secrets Act. Holding public officials to account is therefore difficult.

Another example cited was a recent case where meat from the country’s largest meat producer, Zambeef, was reported to be contaminated through the use of chemicals that were not supposed to be used. “You could see from the stories that there was an issue of lack of ATI.” At a press conference on the issue, the media was told that the results of the testing done to assess this contamination were available, “but they wouldn’t say what the results were.”

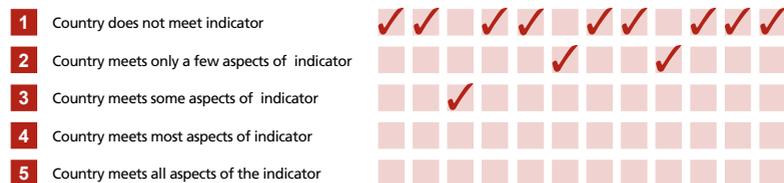
In addition to the poor sharing of information from public officials, citizens and the media have to contend with outdated government ministry websites. Additionally, information is centralised in Lusaka, and is not readily disseminated to the regions. People with hearing and visual impairments also lack platforms for accessing information.

The official language of documents is English, yet the majority of Zambians speak other languages. “Community media has made a difference [to broadening access to information] in terms of providing information in other languages... [so] news and other programmes are conducted in Bemba and Lamba at some community stations, rather than just in English.”

The Zambian Governance Foundation and the Zambia Civil Society Organisations have also translated some official documentation into some of the country’s seven major languages.

Scores:

Individual scores:



Average score:

1.3
(2011:2.3; 2009:1.2; 2007:1.2; 2005:1.0)

1.8 Websites, blogs and other digital platforms are not required to register with, or obtain permission, from state authorities.

Digital platforms have to register with ZICTA. This registration is compulsory when using a .zm domain as well as when opening an internet café. Under the Electronic Communications and Transactions Act the use of a satellite dish for internet also has to be registered with ZICTA.

It was noted that *Zambian Watchdog* did not register its website, but is registered as a news organisation.

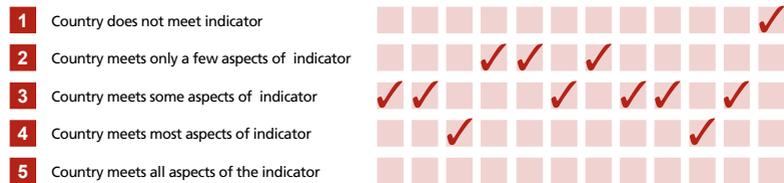
Community radio stations have to register with an Internet Service Provider (ISP), which in turn has to register with ZICTA. Those who do not register with a .zm domain are not under the ZICTA jurisdiction. However, because they have to register with an ISP, which in turn has to register with ZICTA, this is an indirect form of ZICTA registration. Needless to say, “even if you don’t need to register, they (government) can still block it”. (See indicator 1.9)

The government is currently “insisting on the registration of SIM cards” for mobile phone usage.

The implication of registration is that people may censor themselves for fear of the repercussions for publishing something that may be seen as antagonistic to government.

Scores:

Individual scores:



Average score:

2.8
(2011:4.4; 2009: 4.3; 2007: n/a; 2005: n/a)

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

With the formation of the ZAMEC, media lobby groups actively advanced the cause of media freedom by ensuring that it was set up as a self-regulatory mechanism, instead of the statutory mechanism that government had been attempting to create. The general public was also engaged in this regard, through radio and TV programmes.

The Media Liaison Committee (MLC) has also been working with civil society to create a strong push around ATI legislation. “In the past, media bodies tended to speak about ATI as something to benefit the media only. There is a greater attempt by MLC to broaden the ATI debate.”

In efforts to counter political statements about ATI only being a media issue, the coalition is being driven by civil society and has been going into some of the country’s more remote areas – e.g. Ndola and Eastern Province — to engage with traditional leaders and communities on ATI.

“There is a need for much more work to be done because if the public realised how important this law would be, they would support it more.”

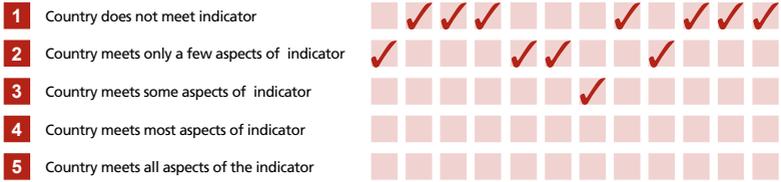
The public is “not really aware of media freedom issues”, as exemplified in the few submissions that were made on the media provisions in the draft constitution. “The report of the commission shows that less than five people made submissions on provisions for the media issues. Unions and NGOs made submissions, but not on media issues. They want to use the media when they need the media, but on media issues they are quiet.”

The public is not well-informed on the media situation, and more needs to be done to inform stakeholders in this regard. The media has not been very effective in communicating media freedom issues, and the value of collectively lobbying on these issues. “Media lobby groups are not communicating effectively.”

Some years ago, the MLC drew up a strategy to engage civil society more, “but this has not been carried out effectively”.

Scores:

Individual scores:



Average score:

1.5
(2011:2.1; 2009: 1.3; 2007: n/a; 2005: n/a)

Average score for sector 1:

2.3

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, mobile phones) is accessible and affordable to citizens.

A wide range of information sources exist in Zambia's media landscape, with various print, broadcasting, internet and mobile phone platforms. Zambia also has one government-owned national news agency, the Zambia News and Information Services (ZANIS).

Print

Print publications are highly accessible, although their reach is limited. "Most publications do not reach all the other provinces as distribution is focused on major urban centres and it is expensive for small papers to distribute to other parts of the country."

The price of a newspaper, at K3 (US\$0.0006), is cheaper than the cost of a loaf of bread, and while this price has remained constant for approximately seven years, it is still considered restrictive in some places.

Notable newspaper publications include *The Times of Zambia* and the *Daily Mail* (with a combined print run of approximately 20 000), both of which are government-owned, as well as the privately owned *The Post*, which is the biggest paper in Zambia with a print run of over 50 000. All of these newspapers have a wide distribution across the country. *The Daily Nation*, which was launched in 2011, is another daily newspaper. The total print run of the four daily newspapers stands at about 100 000.

Around election time, several other newspapers crop up and experience high sales, "but then they can't sustain themselves beyond this period".

The *Kavindula Newspaper* is a community paper with a print run of 4 000 and content is written by members of the community and sourced from social networks, tweets and profile statuses.

The table below provides a summary of the various newspapers that exist in Zambia and their circulation. Note that the information below is based on Afrimap data from 2010⁹.

9 OSI (2010) Public Broadcasting in Africa Series: Zambia. In the absence of an Audit Bureau of Circulation, the circulation figures could not be verified. Accessed on 29 September 2013 from <http://www.afrimap.org/english/images/report/Zambia%20Broadcasting%20Survey%20Web.pdf>

Title of publication	Language	Frequency of publication	Circulation**	Ownership
Times of Zambia*	English	Daily	9000	Government
Zambia Daily Mail*	English	Daily	8500	Government
Sunday Times of Zambia*	English	Weekly	16000	Government
Sunday Mail*	English	Weekly	13000	Government
The Post*/ Saturday Post	English	Daily	47 000	Privately owned
Sunday Post*	English	Weekly	47 000	Privately owned
Monitor & Digest	English	Weekly	2000	Privately owned
Weekly Guardian	English	Weekly	5000	Privately owned
The New Vision*	English	Weekly	6000	Privately owned

* These newspapers are distributed in all major towns and provincial centres.

** In the absence of an Audit Bureau of Circulation, the circulation figures could not be verified.

Print magazines include *The Bulletin and Record*, a monthly magazine reaching 15 000 readers, which focuses on lifestyle and economic issues. Another new magazine – *Flip Magazine* – contains cartoons, satire and some investigative articles. A panellist described the project as one that is trying to challenge the status quo but it is being “killed by the system”.

Radio

Over 60¹⁰ radio stations exist in Zambia, and radio “reaches every corner of the country”. It is the most accessible information medium, and according to Afrimap, “87 percent of households in Zambia own one or more radio sets (94 percent in urban, 84 percent in rural areas) ... with 88 percent of respondents (according to a survey) listening every day or having listened over the last seven days.”¹¹

It is estimated that at least 16¹² community radio stations broadcast alongside the public broadcaster and other private stations. Technology has helped to enhance the reach of radio broadcasters significantly. With the use of mobile phones (as well as the ability to use solar energy for charging mobile phones), access to radio has increased dramatically. Panellists noted that the challenge for the media is to diversify its content.

The state-run broadcaster, ZNBC, has three radio stations: ZNBC 1 (multi-lingual), ZNBC 2 (English), and ZNBC 4 (English).

10 Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Services and Mr Gillies C Kasongo, senior programme officer (Media development & ICTs), PSAf and chairman, MLC

11 OSI (2010)

12 <https://en.unesco.org/radioict/countries/zambia>

Commercial stations include QFM, a private Lusaka music station; Radio Phoenix; Radio Sky FM; Zambezi FM; Hot FM; 5FM; Your Anthem Radio; Radio Breeze; Joy Fm; Flava FM and Radio Choice¹³.

Community radio has been very effective in reaching smaller communities, and these stations generate their own local stories. The major restriction for community radios is their reach, as they are only allowed to broadcast over a 150km radius. As such, people do not have ready access to most community radio stations. During its campaign in the last election, the PF promised that it would extend the radius of community stations. "Community is not just geography, but also about linguistics."

Some community stations include Radio Chikaya in Lundazi, Radio Lyambai in Mongu, Radio Petauke Explorers, Mazabuka Community Radio, Radio Mkushi and Radio Pasmé.

Catholic Media Services has eight community stations throughout the country, all of which generate their own autonomous, non-prostheytising content. The Catholic radio stations include Radio Maria Zambia in Chipata, Radio Icengelo in Kitwe, Chikuni Radio in Monze, Radio Yangeni in Mansa, Radio Musi-O-Tunya in Livingstone, Oblate Radio Liseli in Mongu, Radio Kabangabanga in Solwezi and Radio Yatsani in Lusaka¹⁴.

Community stations also provide content that is relevant for special interests. For example, Radio Breeze in Chipata broadcasts content on agricultural and farming techniques.

UNZA Radio broadcasts from the University of Zambia campus in Lusaka.

Television

Approximately 45 percent of Zambian households own a television set.¹⁵

Several television stations exist in Zambia. These include ZNBC, which is the national broadcaster, and broadcasts on two channels as ZNBC 1 and ZNBC 2. Other television stations include Muvi TV (for which a decoder is required for access), NorthWest TV, TBN (a religious station), Prime TV, and Copperbelt TV, the latter which has minimal reach.

The more popular stations include ZNBC 1 and ZNBC 2. Multichoice and GoTV are popular programme providers. In terms of programming, news bulletins on ZNBC are most popular.

13 OSI (2010) and BBC (2013) Zambia Media profile. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-14112924> on 29 September 2013

14 Catholic Zambia (2013), Catholic Radio Stations. Retrieved from http://www.catholiczambia.org.zm/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=58&Itemid=89 on 29 September 2013.

15 OSI (2010)

Mobile

Mobile phones have broad penetration in Zambia, with an estimated penetration of approximately 78 percent of the population¹⁶.

Cheap mobile phones are accessible to the people, and various promotions, point systems and incentives are used by telecommunications operators to get more people to use them. Airtime to make phone calls is relatively expensive, but the denominations in which airtime can be bought make this expense more manageable.

Internet

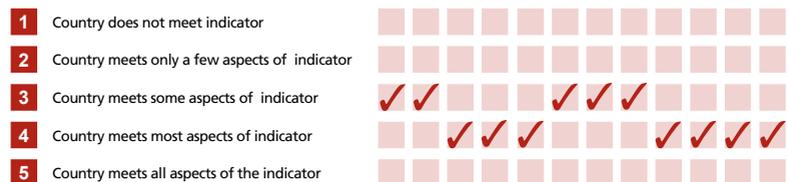
Internet use in Zambia is still limited, but has increased with the advent and growth in the smartphone market. Smartphones are, however, expensive, and unaffordable for the majority of Zambians.

According to ZICTA, as of June 2012, 76 803 mobile phone users subscribed to mobile internet. This is in addition to the approximately 2,2 million mobile internet users as at December 2012.¹⁷

There has been a growth in the presence of online media sources, including a number of blogs. Most notable is the emergence of *Zambian Watchdog*.

Scores:

Individual scores:



Average score:

3.6
(2011:3.1; 2009:2.3; 2007:3.0; 2005:2.6)

¹⁶ ZICTA (2013) ICT Statistics and Indicators. Retrieved from http://www.zicta.zm/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=126&Itemid=56 on 29 September 2013.

¹⁷ Ibid

in leadership from the MMD to the PF, “there has been some improvement, but there is serious backsliding.” Recently, a journalist was “retired in the national interest” because of his reporting.

“There is no editorial independence. He who pays the piper calls the tune.”

In October 2011, soon after the PF came to power, a panellist was contacted by a reporter from the *Times of Zambia* to comment on the ministers of Information and Broadcasting Services announcement regarding the termination of the contracts of the “Zambia Daily Mail Managing Editor Evans Milimo and Times of Zambia Editor John Phiri”. The panellist had responded that he had nothing against the individuals chosen, but took issue with the way in which the appointments were done. “There was nothing in the paper for the next few days. Then five days later, a story was published with someone else responding to all the comments I had made, but without my comments being noted.” The panellist questioned why these papers bothered to seek varied views if they weren’t going to print them.

Another example relates to coverage on the subsidy issue: “If the opposition and public are against it and the government is for it, you see several editorials from a government perspective.”

Another example is a case in which the president left the country quietly, but government refused to disclose his destinations or the reason for the trip. When he returned, the state papers carried headlines stating that he had returned. “But they were too scared to publish where he was returning from. So it is clear that interference is there.”

On other controversial issues, several voices with the same opinions receive media coverage, while divergent voices are “shut out”.

Despite the perceived improvement in the landscape for practising journalism under the new government, there is a sense that self-censorship in Zambian state media newsrooms still takes place, especially in terms of political reporting.

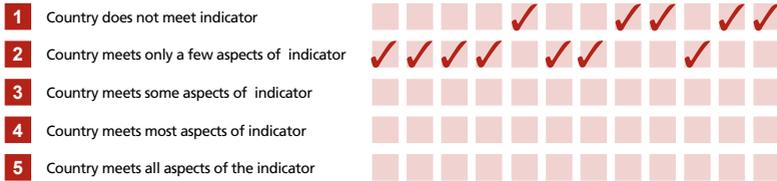
The editorial boards of the public print media lack independence, in the sense that the minister appoints the entire board, as well as the chief executive officer (CEO). “The minister appoints who he wants. There is a lack of criteria, reason or justification, and the appointees are often party cadres, and others who are being awarded for their loyalty.”

There appears to be the sense of a “clash of professionalism and ownership” at the Daily Mail and the Times of Zambia, based on the perception that they serve to “protect government’s interests”.

“There’s a need for greater corporate governance, and following of procedures.”

Scores:

Individual scores:



Average score:

1.6
(2011:1.2; 2009:1.4; 2007:1.2; 2005:1.0)

2.4 Transparency of ownership of media houses in print/broadcasting is guaranteed by law and enforced.

Ownership of media houses in print or broadcasting is transparent, and people can easily access this information through the Patents and Companies Registration Agency (PACRA). However, a small fee has to be paid to access this information.

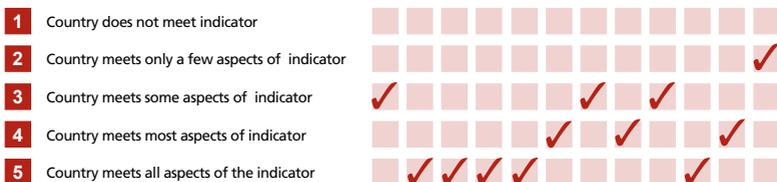
The public is generally aware of which media houses are owned by the state.

Generally, people are not very interested in who owns what. However, depending on the content of various media, they may want to know about ownership simply to place that content in context.

At ZNBC, the union is “making noise regarding the appointment of the board at ZNBC”. Questions have also been raised by the union and the MLC regarding the appointment of the CEO, as “procedure had not been followed”.

Scores:

Individual scores:



Average score:

4.0
(2011: n/a; 2009: n/a; 2007: n/a; 2005:n/a)

2.6 Government promotes a diverse media landscape with economically sustainable and independent media outlets.

There is insufficient government intervention in supporting the media, and few media houses are able to exist sustainably.

Government provides financial support to public media institutions (*Daily Mail*, *Times of Zambia*, and ZNBC), and advertises on these platforms. It also advertises in the private media, but is selective with its advertising, depending on the level of criticism of government by individual media houses.

Currently, there are no tax reductions, subsidies or efforts to enhance the sustainability of small media enterprises. The MLC is lobbying government to remove/reduce taxes on inputs and materials for media institutions, such as printing, radio equipment, and so forth. Negotiations in this regard are ongoing.

A point of concern is also the fear of government repercussions on suppliers to media institutions. Some distributors refuse to distribute politically related content, and the government does not counter this by ensuring a more diverse media landscape.

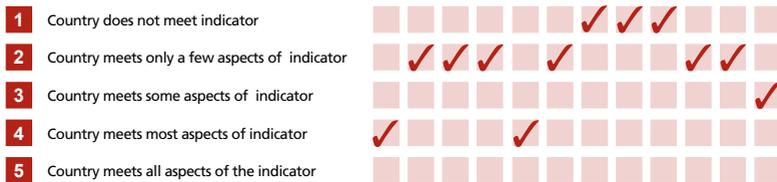
Another issue that affects media sustainability is late or non-payment by ministries for adverts placed in the media.

The government has a fund through the Citizens Economic Empowerment Commission, where funds can be accessed to increase the economic participation of Zambian citizens. It is not clear whether this source of funding has been used by or extended to the media industry.

The government could also promote sustainability by encouraging a reading culture among Zambian citizens from a young age. "The reading culture is limited. For a population of 10 million, the daily print run of all daily print publications is only 100 000." Beyond inculcating a reading culture, a panellist contended that it's also "about people looking for interesting things to read".

Scores:

Individual scores:



Average score:

2.2

(2011:2.5; 2009: 2.1; 2007: n/a; 2005: n/a)

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

In Zambia, newsmakers tend to be men, because most decision-making positions are held by men, and these are the voices sought by journalists. The landscape is slowly shifting, with some of the new appointments made by the president, but on the whole, women remain under-represented in Zambia's highly patriarchal society.

The media most often report on politics and most politicians are male. "You can only use what is available."

A panellist noted that with regard to fairness, objectivity and balance, there are considerations beyond gender. "You find yourself in a situation where with males and females, it comes down to who's articulating the issues."

The under-representation of women is not only visible in government, but also in the private sector. "In high positions at Zambian Breweries, there are 75 percent men and 25 percent women, so women's voices are not heard."

Moreover, within the media, women are often portrayed as victims in news stories, and gender stereotyping is rife. "Women are represented negatively, and are predominantly featured in issues of violence, or where their nakedness is portrayed, in comparison to men."

It was noted that women are not vocal when approached for their comments. "Women are shy when it comes to speaking. When you try to interview them, they don't speak out."

"But they're shy because they are viewed more critically. There are some things that men say and can get away with, as opposed to women."

Media coverage of women seems to be a reflection of Zambian society, tradition and culture.

“The challenge is not only for the media, but across Zambian society,” where the message from media is that those who are worthy are men. “We need to change the strategy across the board” to ensure that women in all places have a space to participate, through editorial policies, for example.

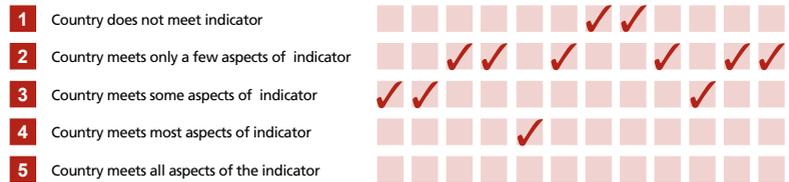
The *Times of Zambia* has a gender mainstreaming policy. “It’s a mind-set issue and not a policy issue.” The Daily Mail has a gender desk with an allocation of three pages in the main paper. The role of the gender desk is to highlight issues such as women in leadership, business and fashion as well as discrimination based on gender.

However, separating women’s issues from mainstream issues is problematic, and does not ensure that women’s voices are being heard. Various mainstream issues with a strong gender perspective are being “edited out in the mainstream media”, and many political and human interest stories are being taken up via internet blogs, which is one platform where women are well represented.

Overall, there have been some developments, with certain deliberate steps to ensure coverage on how women are affected by specific issues, but as one panellist explained: “one has to strike the delicate balance of what will sell”.

Scores:

Individual scores:



Average score:

2.3
(2011:1.8; 2009: 2.3; 2007: n/a; 2005: n/a)

2.8 All media fairly represent the voices of society and its minorities in its ethnic, linguistic, religious diversity.

The fair representation of the society's voices, including minorities, is inconsistent. Around election time, several media houses crop up to communicate particular agendas. It is at these times that "vernacular languages see a re-emergence in the media". Zambia has seven major languages, and 73 local dialects. Bemba and Nyanja, as the bigger language groups, enjoy broader coverage.

The Moon newspaper, published fortnightly, carries content in some vernacular languages, but the publication is not widely distributed. Smaller tribal languages are further under-represented, including on community radio. For example on Mazabuka and Radio Lyambai in Mongu community radios, they didn't want small tribal languages used. "We have *minority* languages and minority languages."

On television media, there is limited programming in local languages, and there is a hope that with digital migration there may be increased airtime for this, through switching to provincial centres.

In terms of religious diversity, the larger percentage of religious content is based on Christianity, and then on Islam. Representation of other religions is rare. The Catholic radio stations do not discriminate on content from other denominations. The stations "discuss any religion, and do not attack any religion". In fact, this is done to the extent that at Radio Musi-O-Tunya, the main churches felt that they were being marginalised with regards to coverage.

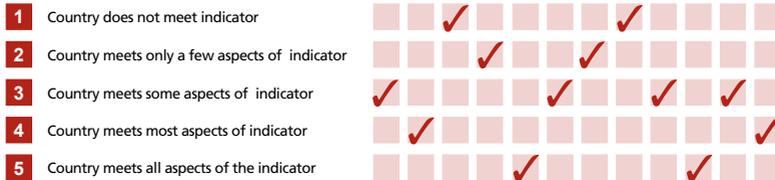
Lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) communities are also under-represented in the Zambian media, probably because homosexuality is criminalised in Zambia. "It is a criminal offence to be engaged in sexual conduct with someone of the same sex, so how do you cover this without causing victimisation of the source?" It was also noted that where coverage on LGBT individuals or communities takes place, this is done in a derogatory way. "When you talk about homosexuality, in our case in Zambia, it is not something that has been accepted. Socially they are not accepted."

In August 2013, "ZNBC showed a movie where two gay people kissed. For the next two days, they were apologising for screening this. It is not tolerated."

There is also a culture of fear among private companies who are afraid of advertising in papers that seem antagonistic to government policies, and this problem needs to be addressed. Additionally, state-owned media also refuse to publish ads that seem antagonistic to government.

Scores:

Individual scores:



Average score:

3.0
(2011:1.5; 2009:1.9; 2007:3.1; 2005:2.0)

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

The advertising market is estimated at approximately K9 million (US\$ 1,608,120). The biggest advertisers in this market include mobile telecommunications operators, the banks, and the mines, “so different media houses are fighting for the same source” of revenue.

This market is not large enough to support a diversity of media. “You have to compete for the limited resources from the big advertisers.” Furthermore, the advertising budgets of these companies are often directed at mainstream media, and that “smaller outfits suffer and can’t sustain themselves”.

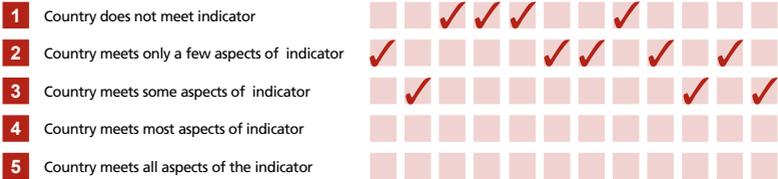
Information on the specific breakdown of adspend is unavailable, as there are no auditing bureaus with systems to monitor the placement of ads and the amount spent by advertisers. Advertising is placed through advertising agencies, which “have adequate information to advise their clients on where best to place their ads in terms of reach, placement, etc. But it remains with the advertisers themselves to make a choice”.

Transparency is also an important issue in the placement of advertisements, and there have been allegations of media houses having to pay advertising agencies to get their clients to advertise. A recent report for the United Kingdom’s Department for International Development (DFID) explored this problem.

The influence of advertising on editorial content is also a topic of concern. Corporate companies are known to cancel advertisements due to negative stories in the media. "When you look across the media, you rarely find stories on the major spenders," noted a panellist, highlighting the absence of reportage on the Barclays Bank strike.

Scores:

Individual scores:



Average score: **1.9**
(2011:3.2; 2009:2.2; 2007:4.4; 2005:2.5)

Average score for sector 2: **2.9**

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.

Broadcasting legislation has been passed which, in theory, provides a conducive environment for public, commercial and community broadcasting. Legislation for the IBA, which issues broadcasting licences and regulates broadcasting activity, has been in place since 2002 (IBA Act 17 of 2002). An amendment was made to the act in 2010, giving the minister the power to appoint the board. In June 2013, a director general was appointed to head the IBA.

During its election campaign, the PF said that it would revert to the 2002 Act, but this has not been done. Furthermore, the IBA's top management was appointed by the permanent secretary in the Ministry of Information. "Their allegiance is to the government rather than to providing a service, and the decisions they make are ones that will not annoy the appointing authority." It is hoped that the separation of powers in terms of broadcasting regulation will not cause a "power struggle" between the IBA and the ministry, which previously handled this function.

Progress at the IBA is difficult to fully assess, as the director general was only recently appointed. The appointments at the IBA have also been handled incorrectly. "They should rather have had the board in place, and then have the board hire the DG. In this situation, the DG was appointed by ministry, and has been in power longer than the board."

In addition, the IBA's management staff was appointed before the DG entered office. Initially, it seemed that there was a push for transparency in setting up the IBA, but "implementation is where things have gone wrong". The removal of an ad hoc committee in the 2010 Amendment Act "takes us back to square one" and may be problematic because "some powers are giving out frequencies (i.e. ZICTA), while others are handing out the licences (i.e. IBA)".

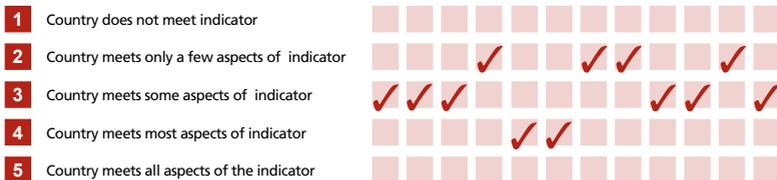
With regards to the public broadcaster, again, in theory, the ZNBC Act guarantees independence, but not in practice. "The ZNBC operates more as a state media than public broadcaster." The 2010 amendment to the act also provides for the appointment of the ZNBC board by the minister of Information.

There are no exemptions for community broadcasters, and like the commercial stations, they have to pay K3400 to ZICTA for a frequency and K1000 to the Ministry of Information for a licence. “To start a community radio station, you have to have a minimum K60,000 in your account before you even can be considered at the application stage.” “In other words, a poor man cannot own a radio station.”

Notably, at the behest of members of parliament (MPs), several small community stations have been set up in their constituencies with resources acquired from the Constituency Development Fund (CDF). While the MPs are allowed to facilitate the creation of these stations, they may not be involved in terms of the management of these stations. It was opined that this trend “seems to be done just for point-scoring to make it seem they are taking development to their constituencies, but the ‘communities still benefit’.” Examples where stations have been created through the CDF include Muchinga, Katete in the Eastern Province, Radio Chikayi in Mukushi, and a station in Feira constituency.

Scores:

Individual scores:



Average score:

2.8
(2011:2.0; 2009:1.8; 2007:2.1; 2005:2.1)

3.2 Broadcasting is regulated by an independent body that is adequately protected by law against interference and whose board is not dominated by any particular political party and is appointed – in an open way - involving civil society and not dominated by any particular political party.

Both the ZNBC and the IBA are meant to operate independently. Legislation for the ZNBC has been in place since 1987 (Act 16 of 1987), with amendments in 1994 (Amendment Act 13 of 1994) and 2002 (Amendment Act 20 of 2002)¹⁸. Legislation for the IBA has been in place since 2002 (Act 17 of 2002).

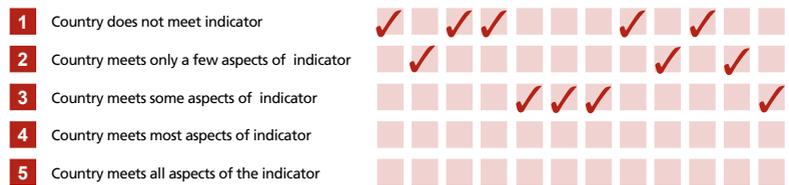
Additional amendments were made to both the ZNBC and IBA Acts in 2010, and in both cases, changes were made that give power to the minister to appoint board members, instead of to an ad-hoc committee. The 2002 act allowed for appointments by an ad-hoc committee, which also created a greater level of representativeness in the process.

Currently, two of the nine positions on the ZNBC board are vacant. The IBA currently does not have a board. In the case of the IBA, there has been an “attempt to do the right thing”, whereby the MLC was asked to propose names for consideration by the minister. “They made some considerations, but it has not been an inclusive process. Two years down the line, maybe they are still considering.”

The reluctance to make the institution more independent is due to the “ZNBC being used as a security installation to some extent”. Another element at play is political interference: “they’ll never appoint a CEO who does not toe the line.”

Scores:

Individual scores:



Average score:

1.9
(2011:1.2; 2009:1.1; 2007:n/a; 2005:n/a)

¹⁸ Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC) Act, http://zamlaws.zambia.co.zm/laws_view.php?chapter=154

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

The ZNBC Act establishes ZNBC as a public broadcaster, but in actuality, it operates as a state broadcaster. The draft constitution also provides for the ZNBC's transition to being a public broadcaster.

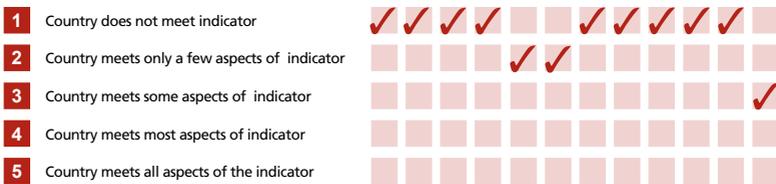
The ZNBC union is vested in "making sure that the ZNBC is transformed into a true public broadcaster" in order to justify why people should be paying licence fees. The MLC, MISA-Zambia and Afrimap are also working towards this end.

In line with the act, the board is appointed by the Minister of Information and Broadcasting Services, thus compromising the independence of the board, and opening up the possibility of political interference.

Additionally, instead of being accountable to the public, "the broadcaster is accountable to the state, and toes the party line." This is exacerbated by the fact that the ZNBC relies on the state for a significant part of its operational budget. Although the budget is approved by parliament, which is in turn accountable to the public, at the moment, the ZNBC is accountable only to the Ministry of Information.

Scores:

Individual scores:



Average score:

1.3
(2011:1.1; 2009:1.2; 2007:1.2; 2005:1.0)

3.5 The editorial independence of the state/public broadcaster from political influence is guaranteed by law and practised to ensure balanced and fair news and current affairs programmes.

Although the ZNBC Act guarantees the editorial independence of the national broadcaster, in practice, the ZNBC still struggles to be a truly public broadcaster that is free from political influence.

News and current affairs programmes remain one-sided – favouring whoever is in government at the time. Despite the guarantees of editorial independence, “power being what it is, they are making sure that the master is always being listened to.”

Additionally, in current affairs programmes, there appears to be a sense of fear to air a programme that may be critical of government, without the presence of a government representative to rebut any such criticism.

“Last week, there was supposed to be a live radio debate between the Minister of Youth and Sport, and another commentator. But the minister didn’t pitch, so they didn’t air the programme. They just phased it out quickly, and music started to play with no explanation. However, there have been other instances where ministers speak alone.”

With respect to its practice of editorial independence, the ZNBC has been criticised for having a “plantation mentality”, wherein it is being told that it is free (as per the act), but it doesn’t believe so.

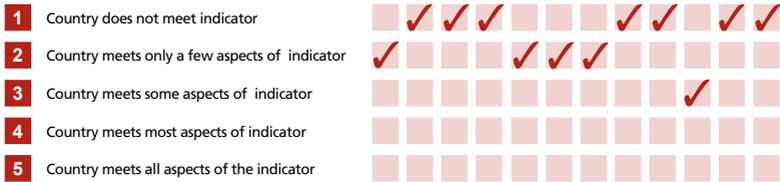
With regards to political content, some panellists felt that the state broadcaster lacks diversity, and that it has showcased “the same programming over time”. “Even if it claims that things have changed, since the by-elections, ZNBC has only been following the ruling party and their rallies. Opposition parties are not covered. It [ZNBC] hasn’t moved. It’s still where it started.”

“Only during and after elections, can you see how bad ZNBC is.”

However, given that the act provides for the appointment of the ZNBC’s nine board members by the Minister of Information and Broadcasting Services, the true independence of the broadcaster’s news and current affairs programming remains questionable.

Scores:

Individual scores:



Average score:

1.5

(2011: n/a; 2009: n/a; 2007: n/a; 2005:n/a)

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

Aside from advertising income, the ZNBC relies on government funding for part of its operational expenditure, and a committee is set up each year and tasked with defending the budget to the Ministry of Information. The broadcaster produces annual financial results.

This year, the broadcaster received a surge in funding due to broadcasting regional and international events that took place in the country, including the Cosafa Cup, the Zone VI Games and the World Trade Organisation meeting.

ZNBC also receives income from licence fees, which the public pays directly into a ZNBC account. However, this income from licence fees amounts to less than the funding amounts provided by government through the annual budget. If income from licences superseded income from the national budget, "things would be different". Others noted, however, that irrespective of the funding ratio, "we need a change in attitude and to follow the law to the letter in implementing the act."

In terms of political interference, the management of the broadcaster faces the challenge of trying to remain independent while relying on government for a good part of its funding. "This is where you say 'you can't bite the hand that feeds you'."

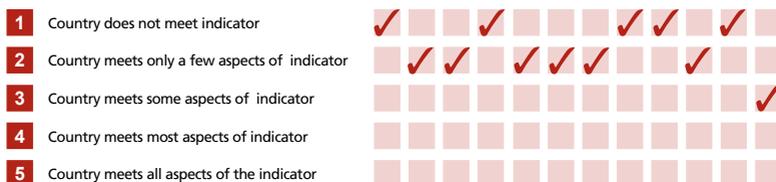
However, there is a push for the broadcaster to become more of a public broadcaster as opposed to a state broadcaster, in line with the ZNBC Act. "The tax man does not discriminate about who pays taxes, and so as a public broadcaster, we shouldn't be selective about news, in the interest of the public."

It was noted that advertisers and commercial sponsors do not interfere with editorial policy at the broadcaster.

Whatever funding the ZNBC collectively receives remains insufficient to ensure quality programming.

Scores:

Individual scores:



Average score:

1.7
(2011:2.3; 2009:1.3; 2007:n/a; 2005:n/a)

3.7 The state/public broadcaster offers diverse programming formats for all interests including local content and quality public interest programmes.

The ZNBC offers a variety of programmes for various interests. In terms of news content, however, the public broadcaster is not objective, and provides too rosy a picture of what is happening. "If you want to hear balanced or more detailed news, then switch over [to one of the private stations]." However, the ZNBC's news content has improved and become more balanced and the broadcaster is working hard to meet minimum standards.

The ratio of local content to international content on ZNBCs television channels are noted below:

TV1 – 60:40, and TV2 – 70:30.

A local production called *Uendo* is produced by the ZNBC, and is "a local drama with local artists, that depicts village life in various languages".

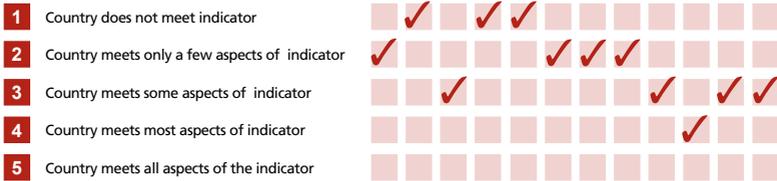
ZNBC's TV2 "presents more diverse programmes, which are more creative, with local content", and the quality of this station is superior to that of TV1. TV1 and TV2 are different stations that were set up for different reasons, and to cater to different audiences. TV2 is "a 24-hour entertainment channel with a news segment", it was established for commercial reasons to generate revenue for the

sustenance of the operational costs of ZNBC. The other reason was to ensure that it runs as a non-political channel and it broadcasts in English as well as local Zambian languages.

ZNBC Radio enjoys a diversity of programming and is doing well, although news bulletins require some improvement. The union is working to provide checks and balances, and to provide a watchdog role in this regard.

Scores:

Individual scores:



Average score:

2.3

(2011: n/a; 2009: n/a; 2007: n/a; 2005:n/a)

Average score for sector 3:

1.9

SECTOR 4:

The media practise high levels of professional standards.

The media practices high levels of professional standards.

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

Reactions from panellists on this indicator were mixed, with one panellist summarizing the full panel's view in one phrase: "In some cases, yes, in some cases, no!"

Reporting "consistently does not meet the required standard", to the point that sub-standard journalism has become the norm. An "increase in cadre journalism" has been observed, wherein stories are one-sided, reflect "partisan politics", and are not balanced to ensure all relevant viewpoints. Furthermore, stories are often incomplete, and not well researched. "I'm always left with questions, because there always appears to be something missing."

The background and context to stories is often missing, and journalists do not conduct adequate research to provide a clear and holistic perspective. Follow-up and/or follow-through on reports is also problematic, which affects the level of engagement from civil society, and the public at large. "These days, you find that the byline is longer than the story," a panellist quipped.

Other issues included misquotes being made too often, incorrect captions being provided with photographs, broadcast journalists being unprepared for live interviews, and self-censorship based on fear.

"There's a crisis in the newsroom today. The standards are low. We have reporters who want to be told what to cover, and to have questions written for them."

"That is what is driving people to social media. People are losing faith in mainstream media and are searching for alternatives."

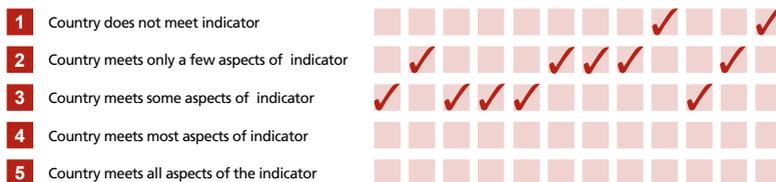
Reasons for this state of affairs include laziness, inadequate staff and overburdened journalists, under-resourced newsrooms, the lack of competence and competitiveness, and poor pay.

The "lack of integrity" in newsrooms (see indicator 4.5) among journalists, as well as the "mushrooming of substandard colleges" is also problematic. In this regard, recent graduates were often a burden to editors. "Sometimes you can't even make sense of what they are writing. They can't construct a sentence, and they expect the editor, who was not there [at the event, interview, etc] to fill in the blanks."

In order to correct this situation, journalists and media houses need to return to the basics of journalism, especially with regard to accuracy and fairness. Training institutions need to be engaged to ensure a basic level of competence of students coming out of tertiary institutions. "They should be equipped with the critical tools of analysis." Media institutions should be encouraged to conduct an orientation for new journalists, to explain the culture of the respective institution, the professional standards and ethics to be followed.

Scores:

Individual scores:



Average score:

2.3
(2011:2.2; 2009:2.5; 2007:2.8; 2005:2.5)

4.2 The media follow voluntary codes of professional standards, which are enforced by independent/ non-statutory bodies that deal with complaints from the public.

There are attempts to have the media follow voluntary codes of professional standards enforced by a non-statutory body, in the shape of ZAMEC. ZAMEC now has a council, a code of conduct and a constitution, but is experiencing "teething problems".

The creation of the ZAMEC code was a highly consultative process that took a long time, and was often controversial; but consensus was finally reached. Most media houses have already subscribed to ZAMEC, which aims to serve as an alternative to the court process. "The most important thing is that we have commitment from all media." At one point, The Post was not on board, but because it is the largest print publication, the council had to make sure that it came to the table, in order for ZAMEC to be recognised by government.

"All the major media institutions have accepted. The constitution is set up in such a way that a media house is unable to withdraw just because of a case against them."

All mainstream media are currently involved in ZAMEC, but the organisation is still working on ways to engage with online media, as anything can be posted in this forum, and this can be done anonymously, thereby presenting challenges for regulation.

Although it took a long time to establish, ZAMEC has a National Governing Council (NGC) and is planning to employ an ombudsperson – “ideally someone eminent with values of impartiality” – in its secretariat. The ombudsperson will be the lead adjudicator, and consult the NGC sub-committees when necessary.

The main task for ZAMEC is to ensure that it becomes and remains self-sustainable, as “those who subscribe to it do not want to entertain donor funding.”

At the institutional level, there is a need for media practitioners to “relearn the basics” of professional standards and ethics when they enter, and throughout their tenure in, media institutions.

Where institutions have their own codes of conduct, these are not well publicised, and the public therefore cannot hold them accountable to these standards. Additionally, in terms of issuing apologies, panellists felt that media had to be more accountable to the public. “The media is often in a defensive mode. So an apology for a mistake made in a front-page story is on page seven under a very big ad.”

“The media needs to come out and accept that the public has a right to hold them to account. They fear that giving an apology can be held against them, but it is necessary.”

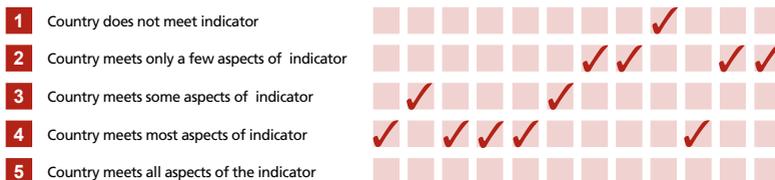
The Post has its own press ombudsman, who is “supposed to adjudicate complaints and concerns from the public”. The Office of the Press Ombudsman was formed in response to the lengthy process of realising ZAMEC. Despite this potential duplication of roles, *The Post* is a “fully committed” member of ZAMEC, and the “setting up of the office does not take away from ZAMEC’s process”.

The Post’s ombudsman receives complaints from members of the public, and reviews and addresses these. Where necessary, “high-standing members of the public” may be called upon to advise on certain issues. The ombudsman advises the editor on his ruling and the paper takes action accordingly. If the complainant is unhappy with the outcome, he/she may consult other channels, such as the courts or ZAMEC.

The Post’s Office of the Press Ombudsman was launched in March 2013 and the procedures that surround it have not been adequately advertised, but efforts are being made to address this. To date, three complaints were received between the period between the Office’s launch, and the AMB Zambia.

Scores:

Individual scores:



Average score:

2.9
(2011:2.0; 2009:2.3; 2007:3.0; 2005:3.3)

4.3 Salary levels and general working conditions, including safety, for journalists and other media practitioners are adequate.

The salary levels of journalists and other media practitioners in Zambia vary broadly, depending on the type of media house, and whether it is privately owned, run by the state or community based.

“A poorly paid journalist is a threat to media freedom because they can be compromised” in terms of corruption, bribery, and other forms of illegal and unethical inducements. PAZA is working on addressing this issue.

In terms of actual salaries, the range is vast. A qualified entry-level journalist can, in most instances, expect to earn approximately K3 500 (USD700) a month. However, there is no set minimum wage for media practitioners. In Zambia, the minimum cost for a food basket is pegged at K3 800. This amount is based on a household of six people, and includes groceries and utilities, as well as a 30 percent apportionment to accommodation. Zambia does not have a set living wage.

In private media enterprises such as *The Post*, remuneration is not structured. “The concern is to survive in the market”, and journalists are paid based on the “value” that they can add to the organisation. Entry-level journalists at *The Post* can expect to start at K5 000, while assistant editors’ earnings begin at K17 000. Starting salaries are negotiated based on ability, and increments are performance-based. “This is a competitive market, and if an organisation has to survive, we need people that add value.”

At the *Daily Mail*, a qualified entry level journalist begins with a basic salary of about K3 000, in addition to committed overtime (K600), and other benefits: = K1 600 (housing), K600 (retention allowance) = K5800. At the senior level,

salaries depend on how long practitioners have been working for the paper, and increments are negotiated, along with performance-based rewards and other benefits. Increments are in three categories: notch, which is a small amount added to an employee's salary on the day they were engaged or anniversary; annual increment across the board, which is usually negotiated for by the union; and performance-based increment, which is effected yearly after an employee has satisfactorily met or surpassed given targets. Every employee is also entitled to medical, education and fuel allowances.

At UNZA Radio, only two people earn salaries: the station manager, who holds two degrees and earns a salary of about K13 000, and the station's technician, who earns about K9 000.

Salaries at community radio stations are much less than those at the private and public media houses. Catholic Community Radio has 10 salaried employees, and several volunteers. The radio service recently implemented contracts, including for volunteers, and provides some incentive for transport. The contracts have helped to clearly outline the obligations of each party, and to ensure that time commitment is defined, as volunteers or part-time employees would often stay longer at the station, with the hope of landing a full-time position.

At other community radio stations, full-time staff could expect a salary of K1 800, reporters earn about K1 600, and volunteers receive K280 to K300.

The implementation of a minimum wage for media employees was debated, with some panellists highlighting the need for "at least a basic salary and security of employment through due process". Others felt that "when we employ people, they should protect their jobs. It's not for the employer to protect their jobs."

Various unions exist in the media fraternity, and have acted on behalf of their members to negotiate wages (see indicator 4.4). Community media are unable to form unions because to form one, a minimum of 25 people is required, which poses a challenge for most community stations as they have a very small number of staff.

The timely payment of media practitioners has been a problem on occasion. This includes the payment of freelancers. One panellist recounted how he lost his "job after two months because I wrote a letter to the editor asking for overdue payment. I was told 'how can you ask for payment, when there are others that haven't been paid for four months?'" As a freelancer, ensuring the receipt of payment can also be a burden, particularly in cases where there is no contract, and only a verbal agreement exists, which "can be set aside at the whim of an editor".

The health and safety of journalists is not always guaranteed or safeguarded, Photojournalists are particularly vulnerable and their safety is often compromised for simply taking photographs. These problems can't be addressed universally by

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

Levels of integrity and/or corruption in media houses vary from one journalist to another and from one media house to the next. “It depends on who you ask and which media.”

A panellist from civil society noted that “As people who interact with the media, we find ourselves in situations where if we provide transport and lunch, then you see your story in the paper. But if you haven’t provided such, then it’s a problem. It’s difficult to tell if they are holding you ransom, or if they genuinely don’t have those facilities.”

An example provided was that of an MP who took a journalist to their constituency several times to cover developments there, but each time, the story was not published. It appeared the journalist was attempting to solicit a bribe without outrightly asking for it.

“These institutional weaknesses compromise integrity and lead to corruption.”

The Post has a very clear policy that contacts should be made through the editor, as a means of preventing journalists from creating relationships with their sources that may compromise objectivity and integrity. A journalist was suspended for leaving the paper and arranging to travel out of town with a source, without seeking permission from the editor. *The Post* feels that “these should be authorised by those in a higher position, in order to mitigate journalists being compromised in the line of duty.”

There have been articles on newspaper journalists who had taken bribes and were taken to the ACC, but these journalists returned to their institutions. Panellists wondered if media houses were really taking this issue seriously given the occurrence of such scenarios.

News sources sometimes do not know that the writing of an article should not come at a cost. A panellist recounted an incident where a news source was ready to pay for an article, and had done so in the past with another “unethical” journalist. In this case, the journalist told the source that articles were not to be paid for.

It has become “very tricky and difficult for media houses to have integrity and avoid corruption” as there is the problem wherein “news stories walk to the newsroom” and get published, but their relation to the public interest is questionable.

With regards to integrity, there has been a trend whereby journalists fight for certain sources “because they keep them well”. It was felt that this amounted to

“personal greed”, because in most cases, journalists are provided with subsistence and travel allowances when going on assignment. *The Daily Mail*, for example, requires that a reporter receive an allowance before going out.

While several examples exist of journalists compromising their integrity, there are also many examples of journalists who stand up against and report incidences of attempted corruption. In 2006, a senior journalist at *The Post*, outed MP Max Mukwakwa who had offered him an inducement with the intent of influencing the reporter’s coverage. The matter was reported to the ACC, and the MP was arrested for offering a bribe.

Corruption also takes place at the editorial level. “There’s no reporter who makes a decision about the publication of the story. Higher staffed people are also accepting bribes.” Two specific examples were provided, where corruption had been attempted at the editor level at respective media institutions. In one case, the editor took the bribe, while in another case, the money was sent back to the woman who had offered the bribe, with a letter stating that the publication’s employees were on a payroll, and would not accept any sort of inducement.

Taking a bribe is not only risky for the giver, but also for the receiver of that bribe, as it compromises integrity and reputation. An example was given of a certain businessman who liked publicity and had the tendency to pay journalists to ensure such publicity. He would “even go and complain at the media house if his story was not published and tell editors, ‘but I gave this reporter a sum to publish my story’”.

Institutional problems were also highlighted as a possible factor propelling journalists to take bribes. Staff members at the *Times of Zambia* have not had their salaries paid for some time. “This raises a question as to how they’re surviving”.

“It’s a crisis. Something needs to be done urgently.”

There is a general perception that corruption is related to the pay that media practitioners receive. “If people are getting good salaries, corruption will not be there.” But corruption also often amounts to “personal greed”, and can take place irrespective of the pay level.

Institutional policies with respect to receiving gifts from news sources are often unclear and differ from one media house to the next. At the *Daily Mail*, there is “no pronounced policy” and “no clear action” with regards to gifts. At *The Post*, however, “everything has to be declared. If the editors do not agree with the gift and intention of the gift, it is taken back.”

Young journalists are especially vulnerable to these gifts. “What I find difficult are the big corporations and the generous gifts they give. Sometimes they’re

4.6 Journalists and editors do not practise self-censorship in in the private broadcasting and print media.

Journalists and editors do practice self-censorship, to the extent that “some journalists know that writing a certain story is a waste of time because it won’t even be published.” This self-censorship occurs in both print and electronic media, and is “induced by fear”.

“The worst form of censorship is self-censorship.”

“Journalists are influenced by an agenda organised by top management,” which may often be misconstrued, with journalists writing what they think the editor wants. “This results in a failure by the journalists themselves to balance the story.”

“Self-censorship begins at the time you are preparing the story.”

There is influence from the owners of media houses, even in the case of the public media. “In public media, the Ministry of Information is the most feared office,” and this is how “self-censorship creeps in”.

“Owners of media organisations will always have an influence on programmes and stories carried and published. In a nutshell, the agenda is driven by the owners.”

In general, however, it appears that the levels of independence of journalists at different media houses vary, with some owners giving editors freedom to manage the process, while others “check on everything being published, even in cases where there is a policy around editorial independence”.

Political influence may also invoke self-censorship at private media houses. In an editorial, *The Post* made a public apology around differences with president. It was also noted that at *The Post*, directors and/or shareholders are not allowed to have a direct influence on what is being published. This has resulted in some directors having removed themselves from the board “because they felt they should have an influence and receive favourable coverage”.

they want to study, “and then depending on management and their budget, they can take you on”.

Some media organisations also take advantage of regional opportunities to send their reporters for training, including events such as Highway Africa, to which both *The Post* and ZNBC sent journalists in 2013.

While there are a number of avenues for accessing training facilities and programmes in Zambia, there is a need to improve the quality of these programmes, and that of the students who emerge from tertiary institutions.

The training policies of media institutions are general, and lack a systematic approach for identifying skills shortages. There is limited short- and long-term planning by media houses to ensure that training is provided in areas required for sustainable growth.

Additionally, academic institutions that provide degree, diploma and certificate programmes in media studies are not doing enough to prepare their students for the media environments in which they will work. “Many times, you find that these students have not had an opportunity to do practical work; so when they are released into the industry, they have no idea whatsoever. Their writing skills are bad, and this creates problems for both the editors and the graduates themselves.”

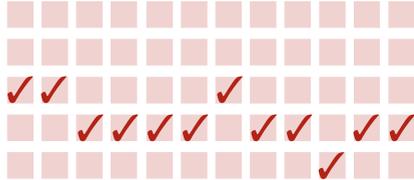
One panellist questioned students’ level of commitment to the media profession, noting that, “a lot of kids these days don’t know what they want to do with their life, and haven’t had career counsellors. So they get to Grade 12, and then ask ‘with these grades, what can I do?’ So there’s no commitment.”

“You have journalists who don’t read. How can you have a journalist who isn’t up-to-date with current affairs? One even wonders how they got entry into university. Our entrance requirements into university are a problem.” Students lack “the basics of analysing” and the capacity to “think outside 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:

3.8
(2011:2.4; 2009:3.5; 2007:n/a; 2005:n/a)

Average score for sector 4:

2.9

The way forward

1. What were the developments in the media environment in the last two/three years?

Positive developments

- The emergence of new media organisations, including the Daily Nation, which was formed in 2011.
- The growth in internet and mobile phone usage, which facilitates citizen journalism, thereby creating greater sources of information.
- The emergence of blogs as an additional information/news stream.
- Greater access to radio stations using mobile phones.
- The formation of ZAMEC.
- A number of community radio stations that have gone online (e.g. Masumbuka Radio).
- The MLC had an agenda to ensure that IBA is operationalised. It is now operational, though the board is yet to be formed.
- Unanimity around media laws that need to be reformed. These laws have already been identified, and include a number of laws in the Penal Code.
- Government has been revising the media policy from 1996, and making the new policy all-inclusive in view of developments that have taken place. The new policy has been circulated to key stakeholders, but has not yet been made official.
- Zambia now has four daily newspapers, with the creation of the *Daily Nation*.

Negative developments

- Blocking of the website, *Zambian Watchdog*.
- Clamp down on journalists.
- Observance of professional standards in the media is not being upheld, and people are losing faith in mainstream media.
- Social media also needs to be questioned as it can be libellous, but it has an important role to play because people have lost faith in mainstream media because they “are not rising to the occasion”.
- Impact of the change in the political climate:
 - New government is too sensitive to criticism – less tolerance.
 - Decreased diversity/divergence in the media.
 - Increased self-censorship in the media to “toe the line”, and the lack of self admission among the media that this is happening.+
 - Journalists are writing stories on online publications and blogs that are very different from the stories that they write for their respective media outlets (where they work for mainstream media houses). This may be an indication that the climate in mainstream media is restrictive for journalists.

2. What kinds of activities are needed over the next years?

- ***A commitment has been made regarding making ZAMEC operational, and the NGC just needs to begin to function.*** The new NGC members have noticed some issues in the constitution, and these will be taken to the MLC and to the AGM. Discussions are ongoing as to “how we can begin functioning, and address some of these issues later”. There is agreement that ZAMEC has to be member-driven in terms of finance. The MLC is driving this process, and hopes to be done by the end of –October 2013. “What is remaining is employing an ombudsperson. As soon as the MLC starts collecting members’ contributions money, they can get started.” Member contributions are categorised based on income levels, and there is consensus that this is the direction to be taken.
- ***Address falling professional standards.*** Panellists noted that submission with regards to professional standards can be taken to the MLC and addressed there, in order to find a solution to this problem. “At the last MLC meeting, we set out a programme of media law reform, including creating a conducive environment for media institutions to thrive.” The MLC will also lobby for a reduction of taxes on materials for media production.
- ***Transformation of the ZNBC into a public broadcaster.*** There is consensus that a concerted effort from the public, civil society and the unions is required to transform the ZNBC into a public broadcaster. There has been a good start to this process with the analysis conducted by Afrimap. “If this could be made more public or redistributed and discussed locally, that would be important.” There is also a need to engage MPs on the importance of public broadcaster. The ZNBC Act states that it should be a public broadcaster. “If we can have brave people, this would begin the transformation. We need people who can change things.” Panellists noted a need to combine efforts on this issue to garner greater support from outside the media sector.
- ***Training.*** An audit of what training is currently taking place across the board is needed. An assessment of training needs to understand the skills required is also critical. MISA –Zambia has been monitoring this, and the findings should be shared, so that media houses can find ways “to complement each other’s training needs”. MISA-Zambia will be responsible for driving this process, alongside the MLC’s associations/members.
- ***Lobbying government on the implementation of ICT Policy.***

The panel discussion took place at Fringilla Farm lodge, Lusaka, Zambia, on 13-15 September 2013.

Panellists:

Media:

1. Andrew Sakala, journalist
2. Emelda Musonda, editor
3. Chintomba Bellon, community broadcaster
4. Kiss Brian Abraham, publisher and IT researcher
5. Kenny Makungu, media lecturer
6. Father Paul Samasumo, media manager
7. Sheik Chifuwe, media manager
8. Martin Maseka, journalist

Civil Society:

9. Juliet Chibuta, gender activist
10. Astridah Phiri, trade unionist
11. Elizabeth Mweene Chanda, lawyer/media researcher
12. Lee Habasonda, lecturer (politics)/human rights activist

Rapporteur:

Nangula Shejavali

Moderator:

Reyhana Masters

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