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ZAMBIA

The overall country score for Zambia remained virtually unchanged from 2010, with a small increase from 1.77 to 1.84. Media continue to face political interference, and journalists continue to deal with the kinds of challenges identified in the 2010 MSI. Oppressive media laws are still being enforced, and the country still lacks legislation governing access to information.

However, since the Patriotic Front (PF) took over control of the government from the Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD) in September 2011, there have been three significant changes. First, state-owned media have been given more freedom. Second, a non-statutory, self-regulating body called the Zambian Media Council was established on July 6, 2012. The Ministry of Information and Broadcasting and Labour (known still by the old acronym for the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Services, MIBS, its name until February 2012) has given it conditional backing but will be watching progress closely to assess whether media organizations are effectively regulating themselves. The council is not yet fully functional.

Third, Zambia is engaged in the process of drafting a new constitution, led by a technical committee appointed by President Michael Sata. The first draft of the constitution, which was published on April 30, 2012, guarantees the “freedom and independence of electronic, print, and other types of media.” The draft prohibits the state from exercising control over “any person engaged in [the] broadcasting, production, or circulation of any publication or the dissemination of information by any medium.” It also upholds the right of individuals to broadcast and publish their opinions without fear of penalty. Furthermore, the licensing of broadcast media is limited to matters of signal distribution and must be free from political or commercial interference. State-owned media must provide for a divergence of views, be impartial, and be allowed to independently determine the content of their broadcasts.

The draft constitution also gives citizens the right to access information held by the state and obliges the government to publicize “any information that is in the public interest or affects the welfare of the nation.” The draft also guarantees freedom of expression, which includes the right to hold an opinion, to receive and impart information or ideas, and to exercise the rights to artistic creativity, academic freedom, and freedom of scientific research.

The new constitution is expected to be put to a nationwide referendum in 2013. Justice Annel Silungwe, chairman of the Technical Committee on the Drafting of the Zambian Constitution, said his committee has proposed that the government appoint a National Referendum Commission to lay out a procedure for voting.

Panelists suggested that many Zambians are cautiously optimistic about the possibilities for enhanced freedoms associated with the new constitution, but they are also somewhat cynical, having witnessed other potentially progressive developments become mired in bureaucracy and competing political interests.

ZAMBIA AT A GLANCE

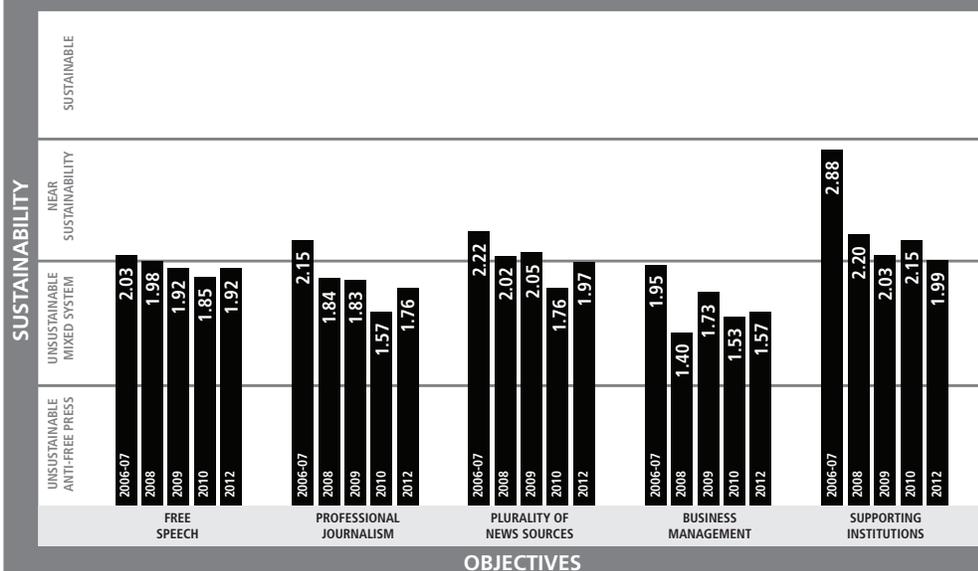
GENERAL

- > **Population:** 13,817,479 (July 2012 est., *CIA World Factbook*)
- > **Capital city:** Lusaka
- > **Ethnic groups (% of population):** African 99.5% (includes Bemba, Tonga, Chewa, Lozi, Nsenga, Tumbuka, Ngoni, Lala, Kaonde, Lunda, and other African groups), other 0.5% (includes Europeans, Asians, and Americans) (2000 Census, Central Statistical Office Zambia)
- > **Religions (% of population):** Christian 50%-75%, Muslim and Hindu 24%-49%, indigenous beliefs 1% (*CIA World Factbook*)
- > **Languages (% of population):** Bemba 30.1% (official), Nyanja 10.7% (official), Tonga 10.6% (official), Lozi 5.7% (official), Chewa 4.9% (official), Nsenga 3.4% (official), Tumbuka 2.5%, Lunda 2.2% (official), Kaonde 2% (official), Lala 2%, Luvale 1.7% (official), English 1.7% (official), other 22.5% (2000 Census, Central Statistical Office Zambia)
- > **GNI (2011-Atlas):** \$15.619 billion (World Bank Development Indicators, 2012)
- > **GNI per capita (2011-PPP):** \$1,490 (World Bank Development Indicators, 2012)
- > **Literacy rate:** 71% of adults over 15 years of age (2005-2010, Unicef.org)
- > **President or top authority:** President Michael Chilufya Sata (since September 23, 2011)

MEDIA-SPECIFIC

- > **Number of active print outlets, radio stations, television stations:** 3 daily newspapers, approx. 58 radio stations, 8 television stations
- > **Newspaper circulation statistics:** *The Post*, circulation 70,000 (privately-owned, statistics from General Manager Goliath Munkonge, August 28, 2012); *Zambia Daily Mail*, circulation 22,000 (state-owned); *Times of Zambia*, circulation 18,000 (state-owned, statistics from Managing Director and Editor-in-chief Godfrey Malama, August 28, 2012)
- > **Broadcast ratings:** N/A
- > **News agencies:** Zambia News and Information Service (state-owned), Palesa (private)
- > **Annual advertising revenue in media sector:** N/A
- > **Internet usage:** 816,000 (2009 est., *CIA World Factbook*)

MEDIA SUSTAINABILITY INDEX ZAMBIA



Unsustainable, Anti-Free Press (0-1):

Country does not meet or only minimally meets objectives. Government and laws actively hinder free media development, professionalism is low, and media-industry activity is minimal.

Unsustainable Mixed System (1-2):

Country minimally meets objectives, with segments of the legal system and government opposed to a free media system. Evident progress in free-press advocacy, increased professionalism, and new media businesses may be too recent to judge sustainability.

Near Sustainability (2-3):

Country has progressed in meeting multiple objectives, with legal norms, professionalism, and the business environment supportive of independent media. Advances have survived changes in government and have been codified in law and practice. However, more time may be needed to ensure that change is enduring and that increased professionalism and the media business environment are sustainable.

Sustainable (3-4):

Country has media that are considered generally professional, free, and sustainable, or to be approaching these objectives. Systems supporting independent media have survived multiple governments, economic fluctuations, and changes in public opinion or social conventions.

OBJECTIVE 1: FREEDOM OF SPEECH

Zambia Objective Score: 1.92

The score is similar to that of the previous review period in 2010, demonstrating that the situation has changed very little in the past two years. Of the nine indicators, fairly high scores were recorded only for indicator 8 (media outlets' access to and use of local and international news and news sources) and indicator 9 (freedom of entry into the journalism profession); the latter scored more than a point higher than the objective score. Indicators 5 (state or public media do not receive preferential legal treatment, and the law guarantees editorial independence) and 7 (access to information) recorded the worst scores; each lagged behind the objective score by at least seven-tenths of a point.

On indicator 1, dealing with legal and social protections of free speech, the panelists were generally in agreement that free-speech rights existed, but that their protections are enforced differently in each province.

Sydney Imasiku, a media lawyer and legal consultant, said the current constitution's guarantees of freedom of speech are enforced most of the time. Imasiku added, though, "It would seem that our communities do expect a level of 'social responsibility' on the part of journalists and media practitioners when a matter reported borders on morality." Otherwise, he said, "A state of emergency to curtail free speech has not existed since the late 1980s and early 1990s,

LEGAL AND SOCIAL NORMS PROTECT AND PROMOTE FREE SPEECH AND ACCESS TO PUBLIC INFORMATION.

FREE-SPEECH INDICATORS:

- > Legal and social protections of free speech exist and are enforced.
- > Licensing of broadcast media is fair, competitive, and apolitical.
- > Market entry and tax structure for media are fair and comparable to other industries.
- > Crimes against journalists or media outlets are prosecuted vigorously, but occurrences of such crimes are rare.
- > State or public media do not receive preferential legal treatment, and law guarantees editorial independence.
- > Libel is a civil law issue; public officials are held to higher standards, and offended parties must prove falsity and malice.
- > Public information is easily accessible; right of access to information is equally enforced for all media and journalists.
- > Media outlets have unrestricted access to information; this is equally enforced for all media and journalists.
- > Entry into the journalism profession is free, and government imposes no licensing, restrictions, or special rights for journalists.

so government involvement in 'bottlenecking' free speech has been limited," Imasiku said.

By contrast, Reuben Kajokoto, Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation's director of programs, said, "The law provides for freedom of the press or the media, but on the ground, things are different. There are restrictions."

According to Bellon Chintombwa, a community radio station manager, "People speak freely along the Line of Rail [the urbanized central area of Zambia] but not so in other areas of the country." In other words, urban dwellers can be more outspoken, even on controversial issues, than those in other parts of the country without getting into trouble with authorities. Mukeya Liwena, station manager at Radio Lyambai, echoed the sentiment that some regions are not free to discuss matters of regional interest, citing his experience in Western Province, where "Authorities pounce on you when you discuss matters perceived to be sensitive."

One such sensitive matter, cited by both Liwena and Kajokoto, is ongoing separatist and autonomy issues surrounding Barotseland, in Zambia's western region, which is home to the Lozi people who were incorporated into Zambia when it gained independence in 1964. Liwena explained that people in Lusaka are free to discuss the ongoing controversy, but the same is not true in Western Province, which is where the people affected by the Barotse Agreement live—and where there is a heavy presence of army and police personnel. Neither the previous MMD government nor the new PF regime have tolerated debate about the Barotseland issue within Western Province.

In one example, panelist Liwena noted that community radio station Radio Lyambai had at one time stopped transmitting news bulletins because of problems it had with government officials. According to an article by *ZambianWatchdog.com*,¹ the station was once closed by the government for investigations into its involvement in broadcasting seditious materials regarding the Barotseland controversy.

Henry Kabwe, coordinator at the Media Network on Child Rights and Development, bemoaned the fact that laws on freedom of expression "depend on the goodwill of politicians in terms of implementation," but he also expressed the hope that the current government's goodwill in this regard will be translated into law and practice.

Mabvuto Chipeta, managing editor of the small, private *New Vision* newspaper, noted in written comments that the provisions allowing for freedom of expression in the current constitution are overruled in practice by oppressive laws, such

¹ <http://www.zambianwatchdog.com/2011/02/04/government-refuses-to-re-open-radio-lyambai/>, February 4, 2011.

According to Bellon Chintombwa, a community radio station manager, "People speak freely along the Line of Rail [the urbanized central area of Zambia] but not so in other areas of the country."

as the 1931 Penal Code. He also cited the Official Secrets Act, the Printed Publications Act, CAP 161, and the State Securities Act of 1969 as laws that impede media freedom.

Chipeta said the media in Zambia were beset with political interference and that there is a lack of political will to promote freedom of expression and access to information. Chipeta also said media practitioners are not fully protected by political and social pressure groups and that a lack of good policy makes it difficult to exercise media rights.

Ruth Kambenja, assistant news editor for North-Western Television, held similar views, saying the practice of journalism is not easy in the country because officials tend to politicize everything media people do. Media trainer Djokotoe commented, "As things stand, political and government leaders say that journalists cannot be trusted, and as such, a law that gives them almost unlimited access to information will be abused." He added that when journalists or news organizations are hit with official penalties, media advocates issue statements of condemnation but do not attempt to engage the law. "There is a need to go to court and attract attention," he said.

Masautso Phiri, media consultant, agreed with him and added that Zambian media do not like to challenge the establishment.

Brenda Zulu, a journalist/blogger and director of Africa Interactive Media, argued that despite legal protections, when government feels uncomfortable with media activity it will react negatively. She noted that the government has repeatedly interfered with social media platforms and Internet websites, such as www.bantuwatch.org, a mobile and social media mapping tool used for election monitoring in 2011.

On indicator 2, regarding whether licensing or registration of media protects a public interest and is fair, competitive, and apolitical, the panelists generally agreed that the situation has not changed since 2003, when parliament passed two acts intended to reduce the government's control of the airwaves. While the texts of the laws are sound, neither the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC) Act

nor the Independent Broadcasting Authority Act has been fully implemented.

Each act requires the government to set up an independent board to oversee and regulate public broadcasting and broadcast licensing, but nine years down the road these boards have not been formed. As a result, the regulation of broadcasting and the governance of the ZNBC still remain under the direct control of MIBS. According to media trainer Djokotoe, "The net effect is that access to broadcast licenses remains at the minister's discretion, enabling politicians to issue threats of closure or withdrawal of licenses at will."

Zulu wondered how licensing in the draft constitution would work because it proposes a geographically based system, when technology has gone beyond that. She cited the Radio Phoenix license, which allows for broadcasting along the Line of Rail, but, because of technological advancements, the station is now also online and can be received around the world.

Liwena added that the government is also considering currently how websites could be regulated. He expressed concern that registration requirements would put most online media at a disadvantage.

Zulu said mobile media license registration is very expensive in Zambia, as an applicant must pay for a one-year license even if his or her project is only one month long. Rapid development has led to many online media organizations that are not registered with the Patents and Companies Registration Agency. She said that media using SMS alerts to report news should be registered, as they get shared revenue with the mobile-service providers. She also said that while the licensing process is expensive, it is also fair. The Zambia Information and Communication Technology Authority is an independent regulator that controls licensing grants frequencies with government approval.

Zulu said politics does affect the appointment of the board members of state-owned and -controlled media houses, the Patents and Companies Registration Agency, and the Zambia Information and Communication Technology Authority. She said media personnel do not know how to behave; even given the fact that the PF government has given them "independence," journalists who served the interests of the MMD have been dismissed.

The new PF government has been using the lack of registration of sites such as online newspaper ZambianWatchdog.com as a pretext for threats to shut them down. But licensing has not succeeded in limiting the number of outlets, especially in the Internet era. Currently, the country has no regulation for online media, and entry into the market does not require registration. Many bloggers

have been threatened with lawsuits. Consequently, they often self-regulate what they publish.

Regarding indicator 3, whether market entry and tax structure for media is fair and comparable to other industries, panelists agreed, as in previous years, that taxes were too numerous and too high. This was especially true for print media, which face taxes of 16 percent imposed on both newsprint and advertising. The purchase of broadcast equipment is also taxed. There are no tax breaks for the media in Zambia. State media organizations, as well as private outlets, pay taxes.

Kabwe explained that radio in the country had grown mainly because of donors; otherwise, market entry for electronic media is difficult because of a lack of implementation of the Independent Broadcasting Authority Act and the continued role of the MIBS. Furthermore, Liwena said, the problem is further compounded by the capital requirements: someone setting up a television or radio station must have ZMW 60,000 (about \$12,000) in a bank account. Interest on loans is also too high.

Liwena lamented the fact that community media, though relatively new in Zambia and operating under very difficult economic conditions, are made to pay the same taxes as other businesses. He added that the community media business is difficult and that taxes are hindering growth of the sector. Djokotoe added that this is probably why, 12 years after the liberalization of the airwaves, the country has only 53 community radio stations. "Even on the Line of Rail, it is difficult to sustain media," he said.

Kabwe re-emphasized that entry into the print media sector is easier, but very expensive, for a startup.

Regarding indicator 4, dealing with the handling of crimes against media professionals, citizen reporters, and media outlets, the panelists agreed that nothing much had changed during the year under review. To a large extent, the security of journalists depends on the political nature of their assignments. If they are covering the ruling party in government activities, then they were safe—but not so if they are covering opposition parties or organizations critical of the government.

Djokotoe said police continue to target journalists, citing the example of ZNBC reporter Andrew Mpandamwike, who was arrested in Kitwe, a town in the Copperbelt region, on May 24, 2012. He and his driver were detained for hours, and authorities considered charging him with criminal trespass until his assignment editor, Chansa Mayani, intervened.

Djokotoe, referencing his "Soul to Soul" column published in *The Post* on June 1, 2012, explained that Mpandamwike

According to a Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) Zambia Media Alert dated April 26, 2012, police officers Abram Banda, Cephass Phiri, and Use Mukalipi were jailed for physically attacking a Muvi TV news crew that had gone out to cover a land dispute between residents of Nakachenje area and party cadres in Lusaka West.

was assigned to a story of a police officer who had been transferred four times in a year and complained that his children's education was being disrupted. Mpandamwike was reportedly harassed by other police as he covered the officer's story.

Mayani reported that Mpandamwike went to the officer's house at Riverside Police Camp to verify that his property had been forcibly moved. The reporter then went to seek comment from relevant authorities at the camp's police station, where he was arrested. It took hours to secure the release of Mpandamwike, the driver, and the camera containing footage for the story. The officers did not stop at harassing and detaining the ZNBC crew; they also went to ZNBC studios to view the footage as they sought instruction from police superiors on whether to give the videotape back to the television station.

Agreeing with Djokotoe, Liwena said that police officers who have been on the forefront of persecuting media representatives in Western Province have been able to do so with impunity, often being promoted.

But this is not always the case. According to a Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) Zambia Media Alert dated April 26, 2012, police officers Abram Banda, Cephass Phiri, and Use Mukalipi were jailed for physically attacking a Muvi TV news crew that had gone out to cover a land dispute between residents of Nakachenje area and party cadres in Lusaka West. The three were also found guilty of stealing mobile phones, a television camera, a flash drive, personal items, and cash from cameraman Emmanuel Kaluba and driver Edward Ntele. In sentencing the officers, Magistrate Alice Walusiku said journalists had a duty to investigate, disseminate, research, and inform and that they should not be hindered in carrying out these tasks. "Imagine a situation where there are no reporters in society; there is going to be not much to read about, including such things before the court today. It is for this reason that the court shall not allow political parties or

any other persons to suppress journalists in their work," the alert quoted the magistrate as saying.

Regarding indicator 5, dealing with the law protecting the editorial independence of state or public media, the panel members agreed that neither print nor electronic state media are truly independent and that there are no legal provisions for such independence. The government still appoints all heads of these institutions.

Kajokoto explained that the ZNBC Act explicitly calls for the independence of the institution but that MIBS still appoints the broadcaster's board members.

With regard to the sixth indicator, dealing with libel, it was observed that in Zambia, libel cases still may be tried in both civil and criminal proceedings.

Regarding the seventh indicator, on access to public information, panelists noted that access to public information is still a very big challenge, especially because the country still has no access to information legislation. The PF government promised to reintroduce the Access to Information Bill (previously called the Freedom of Information Bill) in parliament before the end of 2012, but it appears highly unlikely that this will be done. According to media trainer and consultant Edem Djokotoe, MIBS, which is supposed to be spearheading the proposed law, has already had three different ministers in less than a year. The current minister has not yet said a word about the bill's future.

Djokotoe argued that the constitution may guarantee freedom of speech, but other legal restrictions impinge on this democratic principle in the absence of access to public information. "Efforts to enact a Freedom of Information Bill or Access to Information have been locked in the stranglehold of political interests for many years and look unlikely to be enacted," he said.

On the eighth indicator, dealing with media outlets' free access to and use of local and international news and news sources, the panelists overwhelmingly agreed that there are no restrictions. Kabwe observed that most Zambians use foreign news service providers.

With regard to the ninth indicator, dealing with free entry into the journalism profession, panelists noted that there are no restrictions and cited the establishment of the Zambian Media Council to advocate for media professionals.

OBJECTIVE 2: PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISM

Zambia Objective Score: 1.76

The score for this objective rose moderately because, the panelists agreed, the country had made some headway toward achieving socially acceptable, ethical, and professional journalism practices despite many challenges. Four indicators rose modestly to drive this improvement. These are indicator 1 (fair and objective reporting), indicator 4 (journalist cover key events), indicator 5 (pay levels for journalists), and indicator 8 (niche and investigative reporting). All indicators scored close to the objective score.

In general, the panelists agreed that journalism as a whole in Zambia meets professional standards but that there are partisan extremes. Generally speaking, the public media are perceived to be pro-government and the private media to be pro-opposition. Most panelists also noted that professionalism is hurt by some reporters' casual attitude to their responsibilities, resulting in some shoddy work.

Regarding indicator 1, on whether reporting is fair, objective, and well sourced, almost all the panelists agreed that it is not. Djokotoe argued that it is difficult to talk about standards because most coverage is event-driven, and most media organizations are struggling to come to terms with how to cover "spot news" (breaking stories).

Phiri said most journalists do not consult relevant sources. Djokotoe said, "Technocratic, expert sources are also invisible, and, for me, this is why content seems largely superficial and lacking depth." These sources communicate through public-relations representatives who do not

JOURNALISM MEETS PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS OF QUALITY.

PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISM INDICATORS:

- > Reporting is fair, objective, and well sourced.
- > Journalists follow recognized and accepted ethical standards.
- > Journalists and editors do not practice self-censorship.
- > Journalists cover key events and issues.
- > Pay levels for journalists and other media professionals are sufficiently high to discourage corruption.
- > Entertainment programming does not eclipse news and information programming.
- > Technical facilities and equipment for gathering, producing, and distributing news are modern and efficient.
- > Quality niche reporting and programming exists (investigative, economics/business, local, political).

understand complex subject matter adequately to explain it to the media. Zulu said there is no follow-up on stories generally. Chintombwa added that reporters generally do not cross-check facts, and Kabwe stated that investigative journalism in the country is nonexistent.

As for indicator 2, dealing with journalists following recognized and accepted ethical standards, it was observed that political pressure affects performance in this area. Imasiku was of the view that private media are biased toward sensationalism instead of factual reporting. "Even where facts are available, these are sensationalized, perhaps to improve sales or listenership. The same can be said of the private media's standard of practice of ethics," he said.

However, the *New Vision's* Chipeta was of the view that media professionals in Zambia are very careful ethics-wise, as evidenced by the low number of legal suits against journalists and media organizations. He argued that in spite of the relatively low salaries for journalists at both public and private outlets, there is a growing trend toward objectivity and fairness.

Liwena said the ethics among the Zambian media are on par with international standards, but Kajokoto said that implementation is a problem. He noted that some staff members from the BBC had spent a month at ZNBC reorienting staff on ethics and professionalism.

Joan Chirwa-Ngoma, news editor of *The Post* in Lusaka, felt that to some extent the country is still lacking in terms of media professionalism. She gave the example of freelance journalist Chanda Chimba III, who in the run-up to the 2011 elections produced the controversial documentary "Stand Up Zambia," which critics said smeared opposition politicians. Chirwa-Ngoma stated that "professional journalism does not ride on character assassination."

Kambenja said self-censorship is driven by concerns that officials could accuse the media of inciting the public at the behest of the opposition. Imasiku said self-censorship is more identified with the public and government media than with private. Kajokoto acknowledged that state media do self-censor but that ZNBC, in particular, was seeking to address the problem, including by bringing in outside mentors.

Panelists agreed that self-censorship creates problems for covering key events. Djokotoe, for example, pointed out that while the country gets most of its money from copper, "mining is never in the headlines."

With regard to pay levels for journalists and other media professionals being sufficiently high to discourage corruption and retain qualified personnel, Liwena was of the opinion

Imasiku was of the view that private media are biased toward sensationalism instead of factual reporting. "Even where facts are available, these are sensationalized, perhaps to improve sales or listenership. The same can be said of the private media's standard of practice of ethics," he said.

that corruption is a mindset that transcends the level of salary one might receive.

As for the question of whether entertainment programming eclipses news and information programming, the panelists generally agreed that it does not, because people generally listen to news bulletins. Kajokoto pointed out that even in pubs and other public places, most people want to listen to, for instance, ZNBC's daily news broadcasts.

Most panelists said facilities are lacking, but Djokotoe pointed out that technology such as mobile phones and Internet facilities are widely available to individual journalists.

Panelists agreed that there is no niche reporting and no investigative journalism. Djokotoe noted that media institutions "either don't have [investigative journalists] or are not willing to invest in investigative journalism."

OBJECTIVE 3: PLURALITY OF NEWS

Zambia Objective Score: 1.97

The score for this objective rose because, the panelists agreed, the country has no serious restrictions that prevented citizens from accessing news and information from a variety of sources. Indicator 8, (news coverage and information about local, national, and international issues), scored the highest, a little more than half a point more than the objective score. Indicator 4, (independent news agencies) scored about a half a point lower than the objective score. The rest of the indicators scored close to the objective score.

In general, the panelists agreed that Zambia has abundant media capable of covering a diversity of stories and events, and that citizens have a wide choice of media outlets to get their news from or even double-check the information they are receiving. People can now listen to several different radio and television stations, as well as resort to the Internet.

However, Djokotoe argued that plurality of news sources suffers because media cover areas only along the Line of Rail, “using lack of resources as an excuse” to not venture into the undeveloped parts of the country.

On indicator 1, regarding the existence of a plurality of affordable public and private news sources (e.g., print, broadcast, community, Internet), panelists agreed generally that there is such a plurality, but they were not satisfied with the way the various media operate. Kabwe said that different media are available but that there are problems with, among other things, the content and access. The content is not diverse enough, and access depends on geographical location, he said; most rural people are out of reach of key information.

Kajokoto alone was of the view that options for media consumers are “wide open.” However, he also observed that it is almost a norm to find one-source stories. He argued that ordinary people are almost always invisible in news content, perhaps because there is a widely held view in newsrooms that they cannot be sources—except as crime victims or witnesses or beneficiaries of government, church, and NGO largesse. Political sources and stories predominate in the news.

MULTIPLE NEWS SOURCES PROVIDE CITIZENS WITH RELIABLE AND OBJECTIVE NEWS.

PLURALITY OF NEWS SOURCES INDICATORS:

- > A plurality of affordable public and private news sources (e.g., print, broadcast, Internet) exists.
- > Citizens’ access to domestic or international media is not restricted.
- > State or public media reflect the views of the entire political spectrum, are nonpartisan, and serve the public interest.
- > Independent news agencies gather and distribute news for print and broadcast media.
- > Independent broadcast media produce their own news programs.
- > Transparency of media ownership allows consumers to judge objectivity of news; media ownership is not concentrated in a few conglomerates.
- > A broad spectrum of social interests are reflected and represented in the media, including minority-language information sources.

As for indicator 2, dealing with restriction of citizens’ access to domestic or international media, the panelists agreed that there are no such restrictions.

Zulu observed that registration is not required to access the Internet or to own a satellite dish. She noted that radio is the most prevalent medium in rural areas and that illiteracy is a barrier to consumption of print media.

As for indicator 3, which considers whether state or public media reflect the views of the entire political spectrum, are nonpartisan, and serve the public interest, it was agreed that steps are being taken to ensure this but that much remains to be done.

Kajokoto pointed out that since coming to power last year, the PF government has been encouraging professionalism in news reporting, at least at ZNBC. But Liwena argued that while that may have been the case last year, in 2012 the broadcaster was focusing heavily on pro-government coverage.

Zulu pointed out that the firings of journalists after the PF came to power have left others worried about how to do their jobs without running afoul of the government.

For Kabwe, the biggest contributor to the problem is that public media board members are still political appointees.

As for indicator 4, dealing with independent news agencies gathering and distributing news for media outlets, panelists agreed that the only source in this regard is the free-of-charge Zambia News and Information Service (ZANIS). Liwena’s view was that ZANIS’s lack of editorial independence means its coverage is not very objective. Phiri noted that the service was created in 2005 by combining Zambia Information Services (ZIS), which was the government’s public-relations department, and the Zambia News Agency (ZANA). The merger of news and public relations has created a service that lacks focus, Phiri said.

As for indicator 5, on the question of whether private media produce their own news, the panelists agreed generally that they do, especially community media, which produce mainly localized content. Kajokoto also agreed that some private media produce a lot of their own content.

With regard to indicator 6, the panelists agreed that ownership is transparent and that people are able to judge the objectivity of the news. It was also agreed that ownership is diverse and that other than donors to community media, there are no significant foreign investments.

As for indicator 7, one of the lowest-scoring indicators, the panelists agreed that the media fail to reflect a broad spectrum of social interests and do not provide minority-language sources of information. Liwena pointed out that only a few of Zambia's minority and regional languages are represented.

For indicator 8, dealing with media providing news coverage and information about local, national, and international issues, the panelists agreed generally that Zambian media have the resources to, and do try to, provide news from all sectors, but there was disagreement about how successful they are. Some panelists felt that to a large extent they are succeeding. Kajokoto noted that even ZNBC has its special-bulletin "News from the Districts" program, though on a limited scale. Kabenja pointed out that "in almost every news outlet, local, national, and international news is covered."

However, Djokotoe argued that plurality of news sources suffers because media cover areas only along the Line of Rail, "using lack of resources as an excuse" to not venture into the undeveloped parts of the country. He pointed out that while Lusaka-based media are intended to serve the whole nation, stories from community media do not make their way to the national news.

OBJECTIVE 4: BUSINESS MANAGEMENT

Zambia Objective Score: 1.57

The score for this objective remained about the same, and none of the indicator scores stood out as being much higher or lower than the objective score.

INDEPENDENT MEDIA ARE WELL-MANAGED BUSINESSES, ALLOWING EDITORIAL INDEPENDENCE.

BUSINESS MANAGEMENT INDICATORS:

- > Media outlets and supporting firms operate as efficient, professional, and profit-generating businesses.
- > Media receive revenue from a multitude of sources.
- > Advertising agencies and related industries support an advertising market.
- > Advertising revenue as a percentage of total revenue is in line with accepted standards at commercial outlets.
- > Independent media do not receive government subsidies.
- > Market research is used to formulate strategic plans, enhance advertising revenue, and tailor products to the needs and interests of audiences.
- > Broadcast ratings and circulation figures are reliably and independently produced.

Chipeta said, "It is very difficult to manage a media house in Zambia because the cost of running a TV, radio station, or newspaper is huge. And there is very low investment in the media industry."

For this objective, the panelists agreed generally that media are not properly managed due to a lack of financial and human resources, a lack of advertising revenue, especially for community media, and the fact that the Zambian advertising industry is not very well developed.

For indicator 1, dealing with media outlets operating as efficient and self-sustaining enterprises, the panelists agreed that only about 50 percent are effectively managed. They cited Radio Breeze in Chipata, Eastern Province, and Radio Phoenix in Lusaka as examples of well-managed radio stations.

Kambenja pointed out that media management training programs have been introduced in the country in only the past three years or so, and few people, especially community media employees, have benefited from them so far.

Kabwe argued that the sector is lagging in terms of efficient management because media organizations cannot afford to pay qualified people to manage them. This is especially true for community media. Imasiku, on the other hand, was of the view that private media were relatively well-managed enterprises.

Chipeta said, "It is very difficult to manage a media house in Zambia because the cost of running a TV, radio station, or newspaper is huge. And there is very low investment in the media industry."

As for indicator 2, considering whether media receive revenue from a multitude of sources, it was agreed that, in general, there are not multiple sources of income for community media. But Kajokoto noted that the bigger media organizations are in a better position. He pointed out that ZNBC, for instance, has multiple sources of income and gave examples of the television levy (on television owners, which is collected at the point of the television purchase) the corporation receives, its partnership with satellite television service Multichoice Africa, and sponsored programs it airs or broadcasts.

Regarding indicator 3, the question of whether advertising agencies and related industries support an advertising market, it was agreed that the advertising industry is not very well developed. The few organizations that do make use of advertising do so mostly along the commercially developed

Line of Rail. These advertisers include mobile-phone service providers, government agencies, commercial banks, mines, NGOs, and manufacturers.

Chipeta argued that because of the high cost of doing business in Zambia, many companies fail to appreciate the relevance of advertising as the main source of income for media organizations. Kabwe noted that business interests and demographic factors have a huge role to play in the decisions of these institutions to advertise in the areas they do.

Kajokoto said, "Advertising in Zambian media does influence what the media publish." But, in the case of ZNBC, he said, "the editors have no dealings with advertisers, who usually deal with the directorate of marketing, which is very different from the directorate of news. This 'separation of power' ensures that editors and journalists are allowed to do their work freely without influence from advertising houses."

In terms of advertising rates, it was noted that mainstream media organizations set them, but that in community media the opposite is true, with the advertisers calling the shots. Advertisements in some papers take up half the space, while in others there is more content than advertisements.

Aside from commercial advertising and classified advertisements, congratulatory messages and announcements of deaths and memorials are also important sources of revenue. The panelists agreed that marketing professionals at media outlets are not skilled in using the possibilities of advertising to produce additional revenue.

As for indicator 4, considering whether advertising revenue as a percentage of total revenue falls in line with accepted standards, the panelists could not agree on whether this was the case. But they were in agreement that media managers do feel pressured to take more and more advertisements as their only substantial source of revenue. Zambia has no subscription media. The panelists also agreed that advertisements take up too much space in newspapers and too much time on electronic media, and that news and information often got lost amid the flurry of advertising.

Regarding indicator 5, the panelists agreed that government does use advertising (not subsidies) to exert pressure on critical media or to reward loyal media. The government is a key advertiser, and there is no law that mandates fair placement or placement through a third party to mitigate political pressure. Legal notices are placed only in national circulating media. In the run-up to the general elections, the state tends to provide greater funds to state media outlets.

As for indicator 6, considering the extent to which media organizations use market research, the panelists agreed that in very many instances research is used to tailor

programming, but not as part of strategic business planning or to enhance advertising revenues.

On indicator 7, dealing with broadcast ratings, circulation figures, and Internet statistics being reliably and independently produced, Zulu said there is no media organization or company doing this in Zambia.

OBJECTIVE 5: SUPPORTING INSTITUTIONS

Zambia Objective Score: 1.99

The score for this objective dropped because, the panelists acknowledged, some of the supporting institutions in question, such as trade associations and media distribution channels, do not yet exist in the country. With the exception of indicator 1 (trade associations), all indicators scored close to the objective score. Indicator 1 lagged by about three-quarters of a point.

For indicator 1, the panelists were in agreement that no journalism trade associations exist in Zambia, even though there are no legal restrictions on their establishment.

As for indicator 2, dealing with professional associations working to protect journalists' rights and promoting quality journalism, the panelists agreed that there are many such associations, such as MISA-Zambia, the Zambia Media Women's Association, and the Society for Senior Journalists in Zambia, to name a few.

It was pointed out that associations such as MISA and NGOs such as Panos effectively provide training, do lobbying work, and sometimes also provide funding for various media professional needs. Membership in associations is voluntary,

SUPPORTING INSTITUTIONS FUNCTION IN THE PROFESSIONAL INTERESTS OF INDEPENDENT MEDIA.

SUPPORTING INSTITUTIONS INDICATORS:

- > Trade associations represent the interests of private media owners and provide member services.
- > Professional associations work to protect journalists' rights.
- > NGOs support free speech and independent media.
- > Quality journalism degree programs that provide substantial practical experience exist.
- > Short-term training and in-service training programs allow journalists to upgrade skills or acquire new skills.
- > Sources of newsprint and printing facilities are in private hands, apolitical, and unrestricted.
- > Channels of media distribution (kiosks, transmitters, Internet) are private, apolitical, and unrestricted.

and membership numbers of organizations such as MISA and the Zambia Union of Journalists are rising.

Generally, these associations promote journalism to the public in a positive way, and they are able to support themselves through dues and other revenue. These associations are general membership associations and independent of government. There are no legal restrictions that prevent the registration or functioning of trade unions or other professional associations in the country.

As for indicator 3, dealing with NGOs supporting free speech and independent media, the panelists agreed that such organizations work with the media sector to support freedom of speech and independence. But Djokotoe argued that apart from pressing for better sales and conditions of service, and organizations such as MISA and the Press Association of Zambia issuing alerts and statements, there is very little real support for the profession.

“Not a single body has filed an injunction restraining politicians from controlling editorial content in the so-called public media or intervening legally and constitutionally in matters of professional principle. The state of media today leaves a great deal to be desired. ZAMCOM [Zambia Institute of Mass Communication], which once upon a time offered in-service training, is on life support and has lost credibility. Other institutions like EHC [Evelyn Hone College] are manned by lecturers who have not paid their dues sufficiently in the media to bring value and vocation to media training and to professional practice,” Djokotoe said.

Chipeta concurred, arguing that while there are institutions that seek to protect journalists’ rights, members of the media remain underpaid and continue to suffer unfair treatment as they attempt to do their jobs.

Kabwe noted, on the other hand, that though NGOs are mostly found in the main cities, they partner very well with media outlets to serve as watchdogs, and they do react to freedom-of-speech violations. NGOs are involved in reviewing legislative changes affecting media and have made positive submissions to several bodies (including the Constitutional Review Commission), but they do not provide legal support to the industry. Some of these organizations do work in cooperation with international free-speech and human-rights organizations.

Regarding journalism degree programs, the panelists agreed that quality programs exist but fail to provide substantial practical experience. The University of Zambia’s Department of Mass Communication curriculum is designed in such a way that students get only 12 weeks of practical experience, through attachments to various media instructions around the country. But to try to make up for the short attachments, the university

However, Zulu noted that few training programs address the professional needs of all departments within media outlets, especially advertising and marketing.

has a radio station, UNZA Radio, and a newspaper, *The Lusaka Star*, both of which students run and publish.

The university does teach modern techniques, and there are opportunities for students to get degrees abroad. Most of those who have gone to study abroad have returned home.

Kambenja emphasized that the training programs are of high quality and efficient, and that some students are allowed to control content.

Although a number of media organizations are not happy with the preparation level of new hires, there are jobs for journalism graduates. Kabwe argued that “in fact, there are not enough spots on the journalism degree program to meet the demand.”

As for indicator 5, the panelists agreed that training by both local and international organizations is available but not sufficient to meet the demand. Currently, popular courses are business and economics reporting, environmental reporting, computer-assisted reporting, and courses dealing with social media and citizen journalism. These courses do address the immediate shortcomings in the field, such as in use of the Internet and multimedia. However, Zulu noted that few training programs address the professional needs of all departments within media outlets, especially advertising and marketing. Fees are generally charged for participating in these programs and may be covered by the participants, their employers, or donor organizations.

In considering whether sources of media equipment, newsprint, and printing facilities are apolitical, not monopolized, and not restricted, the panelists all agreed that there are no restrictions—other than economic ones—on importing and/or purchasing the materials that media or journalists need to produce their work, such as newsprint, software, video equipment, or transmission equipment. However, it was pointed out that the printing firms are not efficient enough. The government owns a printing house, the Government Printer, where it produces official documents. Private printing facilities are in business to make money and serve anyone who can afford to pay them.

As for indicator 7, dealing with channels of media distribution (kiosks, transmitters, cable, Internet, mobile) being apolitical, not monopolized, and not restricted, the panelists agreed

that the government, political parties, and businesses do not seek to exercise monopolies over all forms of information distribution. But it was agreed that government (through ownership of ZNBC and *The Times of Zambia* and *Zambia Daily Mail* newspapers) does control some aspects of media distribution: broadcast transmitters or towers and print distribution. In addition, big companies, such as Zamtel, Airtel, and MTN, control towers and mobile networks. This does result in difficulties for some media outlets, bloggers, and citizen journalists.

Broadcasters own their transmission equipment, and Zambia has no cable networks. Suspicious equipment failures, network outages, and selectively low Internet bandwidth do hinder broadcast, mobile, and Internet media, particularly those that are outspoken or critical. However, media making use of mobile technology (e.g., SMS alerts or MMS content) have equal access to mobile networks, and to the knowledge of the panelists, mobile or Internet service providers do not block certain media from using these networks for any reason.

Online media outlets and bloggers are free to choose software and platform options, which the state does not control. The allocation of domain names or IP addresses is not a source of pressure or used to block the startup of new online media, because most organizations get these from foreign providers.

As for the indicator dealing with information and communication technology infrastructure sufficiently meeting the needs of media and citizens, the panelists were in agreement that these did not do so. Because of this, they said, the media cannot offer some of the products consumers might want, such as digital broadcasting, Internet streaming of audio or video, podcasting, and content via mobile-phone networks. Citizens are not always able to access media in ways they wish to do so, such as on mobile phones. Such devices are also costly, and there are significant differences between cities and rural areas in terms of information and communication technology capacity.

List of Panel Participants

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Henry Kabwe, coordinator, Media Network on Child Rights and Development, Lusaka

Mukeya Liwena, station manager, Lyambai Radio, Mongu

Masautso Phiri, media consultant, Lusaka

Sydney Imasiku, media lawyer and legal consultant, Lusaka

Bellon Chintombwa, station manager, Mazabuka Community Radio Station, Mazabuka

Ruth Kambenja, assistant news editor, North-Western Television, Solwezi

Reuben Kajokoto, regional director-North, Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation, Lusaka

Brenda Zulu, director, Africa Interactive Media, Lusaka

The following participants submitted questionnaires but did not attend the panel discussion:

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