



**Reflections on the Question of Media in Zambia: Implications on Building Peace. A
Case Study of MUVI Television**

By

Maurice Sililo Sepiso

**A dissertation submitted to the University of Zambia in collaboration with the
Zimbabwe Open University in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Science in Peace, Leadership and Conflict Resolution**

July, 2016

DECLARATION

I hereby certify that the work presented in this dissertation is to the best of my knowledge and belief. I further certify that this paper is my original work, except in instances where I have cited other research works.

I hereby declare that I have not submitted this material, either in whole or in part thereof, for a degree at this or any other University. The flaws that might be found in this paper whatsoever are exclusively mine.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'M. Sepiso', with a large circular flourish on the left side.

MAURICE SILILO SEPISO

.....
Date

APPROVAL

This dissertation of Maurice Sililo Sepiso is approved as fulfilling the partial requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Science in Peace, Leadership and Conflict Resolution by the Zimbabwe Open University in Collaboration with The University of Zambia.

Signed:

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DEDICATION

To my dear wife, Ritah Kapeela Muyinda Sepiso and my beloved son Wami Sepiso.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to convey my sincere gratitude to the following people who provided me with support and inspiration during good and difficult times in my quest to achieve a Master of Science in Peace, Leadership and Conflict Resolution (MSPL). First and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisor Dr. G. Muleya, who supported me throughout and provided guidance while giving me the freedom to exercise my intellectual capabilities. I greatly attribute the level of my dissertation to his seasoned encouragement and vast knowledge on the role of media in building peace without which, this paper would not have been completed successfully.

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Above all I thank my God for divine intervention without which I would not have come thus far.

List of Acronyms

ECZ	Electoral Commission of Zambia
WWW	World Wide Web
UNESCO	United Nations Education Scientific and Cultural Organisation
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
UNIP	United National Independence Party
MMD	Movement for Multiparty Democracy
ZICTA	Zambia Information and Communication Technology Authority
MISA	Media Institute of Southern Africa
CPJ	Committee to Protect Journalists
PF	Patriotic Front
UNZA	University of Zambia
RTL	Rhodesia Television Limited
ZNBC	Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation
CABS	Central Africa Broadcasting Services
TBN	Trinity Broadcasting Network
CB-TV	Copperbelt Television
CBC	Central Broadcasting Company
DSTV	Digital Satellite Television
TV	Television
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Sciences

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ABSTRACT

The study was investigating the implications of the media on building peace in Zambia using Muvi television as a case study. The study employed a mixed method which combined quantitative and qualitative methods through the use of self-administered questionnaires (quantitative) and in-depth interviews (qualitative). The study identified the role played by the media in Zambia in enhancing peace. The findings of the research indicate that the media in Zambia are polarised especially in the realm of politics. The private media find it difficult to provide an open civic forum for exchange of ideas because they are under government surveillance. The state owned public media is a government mouth-piece and offer no criticism to the government because they are controlled by the state. This has denied the common Zambian credible information on which to base decisions hence, creating tension in society. The study also revealed that Muvi television was the major source of information on peace in Zambia. The study further indicated that poor programming and lack of peace and conflict reporting qualifications among journalists at Muvi television were hindrances to effective peace building communication. The study concluded that improved programming, like introduction of edutainment also known as peace education through drama by Muvi television could interest its audience in peace building programmes. This would ultimately assist in changing the attitudes in society towards a culture of peace. Recruitment of journalists who are trained in peace building matters was also recommended as a way to improve conflict coverage by the commercial broadcaster.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.0 Overview

The chapter provides the background information of the study. It advances the problem statement, objectives of the study, research questions and also the significance of the study. The chapter finally provides the operational definitions of the key terms used in the study.

1.1 Background Information

In recent years, Zambia has experienced mushrooming of many media organisations. Media are directly connected to the great communication inventions such as printing press, telegraph, radio, television and the internet. Numerous researches have been dedicated to the effects of media especially how media impacts on peace (Kuusik, 2010; Gadi, 2004; Kumar, 2006; Dimitrova, et al, 2005). Media have a direct effect on peace. Lack of information for instance, can make people desperate, restless and easy to manipulate (Kuusik, 2010). The United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (2007) also argued that ignorance, prejudice and stereotypes are obstacles to mutual understanding and peaceful dialogue.

Information enhances the ability of the public to make informed decisions, hence strengthening society and fostering social cohesion and ultimately peace. Media can promote dialogue, peace education, collective identity and non-violent political solutions by providing a platform where citizens can interact and share ideas (Hardy *et al*, 2011). Information should be accessed by the public in its unbiased form to enable them make informed choices.

The Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) on its website observes that the media can be a tool for fanning violence and conflict if not properly managed. Affirming this, Gadi (2004) contends that if used for propaganda purposes, media can incite hatred and spread rumours thus, creating public tensions. This scenario was also observed during the Rwandan genocide in 1994 in which media was used to mobilise the population to take part in violence. Kuusik (2010) argues that the role of media is twofold. On one hand, the media report and reflect on pressing issues and can help to question certain conceptions. While on the other hand, media can be used for political propaganda purposes instead of revealing truths. This conceals the

truth and curtails people's freedom and right to information. The above view may represent the state of media in Zambia today.

1.2 Problem Statement

Media play a significant role in propagating peace in a nation. However, in Zambia, very few studies have been conducted to assess the contribution of media towards peace building. Therefore, in spite of the mushrooming of media houses in Lusaka, their contribution to peace has remained unclear. It is for this reason that this study was undertaken to reflect on the question of Media in Zambia and its implication on peace building.

1.3 General Objective

The general objective of this study is to examine the implications of media on building peace in Zambia.

1.3.1 Specific Objectives

- a. To examine the type of information accessed through media with regards to peace.
- b. To establish how media has impacted on peace in Lusaka.
- c. To provide insights on how media can help build and sustain peace in Zambia.

1.4 General Research Question

In general the research endeavoured to answer the following question:

- In what ways have the media influenced the people of Lusaka in promoting peace?

1.4.1 Specific Research Questions

- a. What have the media done to promote peace in Lusaka?
- b. What are the perceptions of the people in Lusaka on media in relation to building peace?
- c. How can media be used to promote peace in Zambia?

1.5 Significance of the Study

The findings of the study might:

- a. Stimulate the reader to consider conducting a similar study on a larger and more rigorous scale focusing on media and its implications on building peace in Zambia.
- b. Be used to inform media policy formulation and implementation on the promotion of building peace in Zambia.
- c. Motivate the community agents to engage the media in the quest of building peace.

1.6 Definition of Terms

From the outset it is important to identify and define the key words or terms used in the study in order to establish their contextual meaning. In this study, the key terms are: media, peace, conflict, culture of peace.

Media: the primary means of communication used to reach the vast majority of the general public such as newspapers, magazines, radio, television, and the internet.

Peace: the absence of physical or direct violence, presence of social justice, non-exploitative relationships, harmony or social wellbeing.

Culture of peace: a commitment to peace-building, mediation, conflict prevention and resolution, peace education, education for non-violence, tolerance, acceptance, mutual respect, intercultural and interfaith dialogue and reconciliation.

Conflict: contest between people with opposing needs, ideas, beliefs, values or goals which emerges when parties perceive that their interests are incompatible, express hostile attitudes or pursue their interests through actions that may damage the other party.

1.7 Summary

This introductory chapter has highlighted the background to the study, the problem statement, the purpose of the study. It has also addressed the objectives of the study as well as the research questions of the study. Finally, the chapter has provided the working definitions of the key words and terms used in the study. The following chapter will review the literature relevant to this study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Overview

This chapter reviews the influence and role of the media and its implication on building peace in Zambia. Its focus is on broadcast media covering the television. The chapter addresses the current media situation in Zambia by first providing the historical perspective of the media in the country. In addition, it offers background information on the media house under study. Furthermore, the chapter positions the study within existing research by providing a theoretical framework for understanding the role of the media in the promotion of peace premised on the Agenda-setting theory.

2.1 The Role of the Media

In this study media refers to various channels or means used in an organized fashion to communicate information to people. Newspapers, radio and television are some of the well-known examples. The Internet and World Wide Web are more recent additions (Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict, 2013; Potter, 1975). However, for the purposes of building peace, media encompasses more than just the news and information business so typical of those channels. Entertainment programs from music, talk shows through to soap operas are part of the channels disseminating information.

These media remain in the forefront of peace building initiatives and to safeguard the democratic governance. This comprises accurate and balanced reporting which fairly represents a diversity of views sufficient enough for the public to make well-informed choices. Howard (2002) points out that a reliable and diverse media that can express itself freely provides early warning of potential outbreaks of conflict. It serves as a watchdog over leaders and officials and holds them accountable. It monitors human rights issues. Its presence is essential to the functioning of other civil society actors. Further,

“...with a capacity to reach large or influential segments of a given population in the shortest possible time, and to provide factual information, analysis and opinion, the mass media helps shape popular perceptions of the nature of a society. In terms of basic human rights, the mass media can transform the ideas of freedom of opinion and expression into a concrete reality, by being able to openly communicate information and ideas and by acting as a

'watchdog' on public institutions and leaders...The principle roles of the media are to expose shortcomings of the government, educate the public, popularize peace initiatives and promote dialogue (Howard, 2002:3)."

The Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (2013) observes that in less optimal environments, the media can still foster stability by providing essential information about humanitarian initiatives. However, the media is a double-edged sword. It can be a frightful weapon of violence when it propagates messages of intolerance or disinformation that manipulate public sentiment (Howard, 2002). The Rwandan genocide of 1994 stands out as a good example of what happens when the media deliberately opts to become economical with the truth, turn a blind eye to facts and distort information. In Rwanda, Radio Mille Collines using a blend of popular entertainment and proselytizing by announcers, the government-supported broadcasts demonized one group of people and built resentment and fear among the other group. The messages implanted and legitimized the belief that genocide was an appropriate self-defence initiative, and hundreds of thousands of people were slaughtered in that country (Phiri, 2015).

To begin this analysis of media's role in building peace, one can find an excellent research premise in the comments offered by Howard (2002) who asserts that the news media is also capable of causing considerable damage when no-one is intentionally wielding it at all. Nonetheless, its culture of professional and financial instincts can drive the media to practices which obsess with violence and influence opinion in socially destabilizing ways. However, there is another aspect to the media. It can be an instrument of conflict resolution and peace building, when the information it presents is reliable, respects human rights, and represents diverse views. It's the kind of media that upholds accountability and exposes malfeasance. It is the kind of media that enables a society to make well-informed choices, which is the precursor of democratic governance. It is a media that reduces conflict and fosters human security (Howard, 2002).

2.2 Power and Influence of the Media

Over time the media has changed in importance. There was a time when the media had little power and conveyed little meaning (Mohatta, 2004). In this era, using relatively recent advances in information technology, it is a global entity represented everywhere, and a seemingly inviolate shell has developed around news gatherers. According to Pilger (1996)

some media giants distort the way people see much of their world without many of them realizing it. Mohatta (2004) also adds that the old adage stating that “the pen is mightier than the sword” has been proven time and again since the advent of writing and development of the media. Whether it is watching television, reading a newspaper, listening to the radio, even reading electronic mail, one is subjected to an array of information from a variety of sources (Pilger, 1996).

The penetration into people’s lives by the media leaves most of them open to the influences and pressures that the media choose to exert. It is an unusual individual that can disassociate themselves and make a balanced decision free from media based biases. Notably, the media have extended their reach in what can be termed as a culture of peace. However, the world today is still characterised by conflict and war, whether local, regional, or international. Seemingly, the media have played significant double role in promoting conflict as well as enhancing peace and protection of human rights (Mohamed, 2012). History has shown that world over, the media can incite people toward violence. For instance, Bratic and Schirch (2007:7) state that “Hitler used the media to create an entire worldview of hatred for Jews, homosexuals, and other minority groups.” While Rwanda’s Radio Television Libre des Milles Collines (RTL) urged listeners to pick up machetes and take to the streets to kill what they called ‘the cockroaches.’ Similarly, broadcasters in the Balkans polarized local communities to the point where violence became an acceptable tool for addressing grievances. At the same time, it is evident also that the media can work against conflict and promote peace (Bratic & Schirch, 2007). The experience of Rwanda as Allen and Stremlan (2006) noted that the radio Milles Collines station was later set up in the post-genocide Rwanda as part of peace and democratisation project supported by international organisations.

Other lessons can be drawn from the Sudan where media was used for and against the conflict. According to Snow and Taylor (2015) the media in Sudan played a great role around the 1990s in mobilising the public for war and conflict through television which produced a weekly programme called ‘Fee Sahat Alfedat’ which means redemption arena or scarification. The programme viewed the fighting in the south of Sudan as a holy act. The war was regarded as Jihad. This motivated all Sudanese to support the war and majority of them got involved (Snow & Taylor, 2015). After the peace agreement the Government of Sudan stopped the programme and the media produced new programmes which supported peace

building, which accelerated the decline of insurgents and the conflict. The lessons can also be drawn from the case of Darfur which implicates the media as a powerful tool that can breed many reactions nationally or internationally. In 2004 after a year of the conflict breakdown in Darfur, the New York Time's columnist published an article about Darfur with some photos of atrocities. It is alleged that the article sparked the save Darfur movement which played a great role in internationalisation the conflict (Snow & Taylor, 2015).

However, there is a long-standing debate in development circles over this question. Some authorities see media as vital for enabling inclusive public dialogue in conflict, particularly where formal mechanisms of accountability are inherently weak. Others contend that the initial freedom of expression that accompanies a liberalising media actually reinforces identity politics and thereby risks undermining democratic stability, at least in the short run (Deane, 2013). The empirical literature on this relationship has been quite thin. Schoemaker and Stremlan (2013), argue that to date there is relatively little evidence to confirm or reject claims that media promotes or prevents conflict. From time immemorial, a great deal of emphasis has been placed on the negative side of that influence, and in particular, on the potential of media to promote violence through the promulgation of hate speech. Paluck (2010) illustrated how a talk show successfully encouraged discussions about intergroup conflict and co-operation in the Democratic Republic of Congo. In so doing, the Talk show also heightened tensions and intolerance among the citizens. In this respect therefore, some scholars such as Allen and Stremlau (2005) attempted to conclude that allowing media to flourish in societies especially those that are in the process of resolving violent conflicts is imprudent policy. It amounts to risks of divisive and inflammatory material which outweigh the benefits of promoting robust discussion and debate.

2.3 Media and Peace Building

Many scholars have established that there is more literature on the negative effect of the media in propagating violence. Wolfsfeld (2004) argued succinctly that:

"Simply put, it is a hell of a lot easier to promote conflict through the media than peace. ...a case for media leading to peace is much more difficult hypothesis to prove than the one that media can lead to war. In other words, the idea of lowering the level of hate is clearly in any case a much more difficult challenge than raising the level of hate. Like anything else, it is easier to start the fire and burn the building than to build one." (Wolfsfeld, 2004:40)

However, with huge ability to set social agendas and legitimize what they carry and convey, media has a key role to promote dialogue and peace building. Conversely, when media is controlled, it can be manipulated to indoctrinate populations for conflict. The United Nations Education Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) Executive Board has recognized the importance of dialogue founded on mutual respect and understanding as the best way to overcome ignorance and promote peace and tolerance among societies (UNESCO, 2015:13). Mutual understanding can only be achieved through a continuous exchange of information and knowledge through the free flow of ideas by word and image. This free flow of information is a prerequisite for eradicating misconceptions about the root causes of conflict and wars (UNESCO, 2007).

The potential of media therefore, as a platform for human dialogue is irrefutable. The conflict sensitive journalism can play a huge role in this regard (UHoward, 2009). For this reason most scholars feel that the media has a duty to society to behave in a "proper" manner (Paul, Singh & John, 2013). The media should 'stick to the facts.' In a real-world situation often the facts are coated in many layers of misinformation by the media. According to Devrani (2008) the media is the watchdog of political democracy. When media play their honest role, they can be a great force in building of peace in society. However, the media houses have become commercialized sectors only looking for news that sell to make profits (Pilger, 1996). In this regard, the media makes such decisions as where to send journalists, how to word a paragraph, which headline to run or which pictures to show (Pilger, 1996). Stories that the media do not wish to carry will not be broadcast. Meanwhile, stories that may not be factual can be made to look like issues. In most cases it is up to the media broadcasting to decide what is, and what is not to be transmitted. According to Kashore (2006), playing with any of these variables the media can give information a particular slant, or bias.

Majority of media scholars such as Kasoma (1988), Kashore (2006) and Pilger (1996) argue that with an ever-increasing percentage of the world's population under the "viewer" umbrella, the media is still growing in terms of power and influence. A similar opinion is held by Mohatta (2004), who also argues that media can build or break society. In recognition of this fact, some scholars have stated the importance of media industry to be conscious of their role and act responsibly in highlighting trouble spots. Furthermore, Mohatta (2004) contended that media should avoid the persecution of a particular cause without good reason. The media therefore, should endeavour to keep the audience well-informed and present their views objectively. In this regard, the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe

prohibits ‘hate speech’ in the media (Committee of Ministers, 12 February 2004). In its Freedom of Political Debate Recommendation No: R (97) 20 on ‘hate speech’, the Committee emphasises that freedom of political debate should not include freedom to express opinions that incite hatred.

2.4 Politics and Media

The media does not exist in isolation. It is part of a wider society. This implies that the media like any other institution is not spared by the influence of environmental and social factors which often include the political influences. The relationship between the media and politics cannot be over emphasised. In this study politics is defined as the use of power by one person to affect the behaviour of another person. Various researchers have indicated that in countries experiencing conflicts; public discourse, politics and violence are intimately linked (Snow & Taylor, 2015). In Kenya for instance, elections were marked by widespread of violence (Ruteere, *et al.*, 2013). The close and growing association between violence and politics identified in Kenya inflected with ethnic, regional and religious differences were exacerbated by the media propaganda (Ruteere *et al.*, 2013). Similarly, Scott- Villiers and colleagues further argue that it is not only in the cities but also in rural areas where such forms of violence combine with politics to exert powerful control over people’s lives (Scott-Villiers *et al.*, 2014). These authors identified hate speech as being both the background and driver of violence. They demonstrated that ethnicity was a proxy for the erupted violence as they stated: “It is the politicians who instigate violence and conflict among people. They propagate hate speech. They talk against other communities” (Scott-Villiers, *et al.* 2014:13).

According to Schultze-Kraft and Hinkle (2014) Nigeria has also experience protracted civil unrest in the Niger Delta in which the interests of political elites through media are central to spurring violence in that part of Nigeria. In addition, some researchers have further examined the links between Boko Haram’s expansion and the political interests of local elites in northern Nigeria using the influence of media (Olojo, 2013). According to the Nigerian Stability and Reconciliation Programme (2014), the Lemu Panel Report found that rumour mongering and negative campaigning propelled by the media were among the factors which caused the spates of violence in Nigeria.

The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) Media Action (2015) also observed that when there is high media penetration in a country, with nearly everyone having access to one form of media or another, there is an accompanying risk of media biases. For example, Nigeria media profile- is one of the most vibrant in the world with over 200 radio stations and more than 120 television stations. Similarly, Kenya has a rapidly developing and diverse media with over 100 radio stations and 17 television stations (BBC Media Action, 2015). According to the BBC Media Action (2015) in Nigeria, 94 per cent of people have access to television and 97 per cent to radio. Meanwhile, in Kenya, 81percent have access to television and 98 per cent to radio. In both countries more than 50 per cent of the population have access to the internet.

In Zambia, the situation is not any different. There are many media houses currently existing particularly in Lusaka. Political elites dominate the media and a day can hardly go by without one being subjected to hate speech. For example, the online *Zambian watchdog* on their website observed that the public media, which is funded by taxpayers' money, has sadly been turned into a tool of oppression and is now routinely used for repetition of hate speech and derogatory language that seeks to divide rather than unite the nation. The Second Patrotic Front Republican President was also quoted in the *Zambia Daily Mail* (13 December, 2015) acknowledging that:

"It is unbelievable the amount of hate most users of media are being subjected to on a daily basis. It is sad that people have taken advantage of the virtual space to spew out their hate and their negative feelings about others, some of whom are not even able to defend themselves..... Sadly, if unchecked, any manner of hate speech has the potential to divide a nation and once that nation's peace has been lost, it can never be reclaimed."

Therefore, the first factor for maintaining peace through media is politics. This is because politics is the main reason; most of the societies lose their peace. Politics is assumed as one of the reasons that ignite hatred in any place. Media can play a critical role in promoting and upholding peace. The role of media, therefore, is crucial when it comes to violence as influenced by politics. According to Mohamed (2012), politicians have a reputation for being greedy and selfish. The media have a responsibility to avoid such violence in the society by revealing the news in an unbiased way.

2.5 A Historical Perspective of Media in Zambia

This section begins by positioning Zambia's media scenario within a wider African media landscape. According to Mbennah, Hooyberg and Mersham (1998) mass media in Africa have developed quite steadily since the late 1950s particularly during the early period of decolonisation. In the 1970s, Africa was the continent least endowed with news communication resources compared to other continents. Africa had fewer newspapers, periodicals, broadcasting transmitters and receivers, and cinemas (Mbennah, Hooyberg & Mersham; 1998). These authors further argue that mass communications, served a small, educated elite group, about 10 per cent of the population, clustered in urban areas).

The media in Zambia, like in other African countries, have a legacy of the country's colonial past. The development of the media was directly or indirectly linked to the colonial objectives of the British Empire. Mytton (1983) affirms this by observing that Africa's modern media developed as the direct or indirect result of contact with Europe. It was in this crucible of changing political fortunes, between 1940 and 1960, that most of the country's media were born (Mytton, 1983 & Kasoma, 1986).

2.5.1 Pre-Independence Era

The media in Zambia dates back to the pre-independence era when the country was called Northern Rhodesia. The first newspaper in Northern Rhodesia was started in the early 1900s by white settlers, while the colonial rulers established the first radio station in Lusaka in 1941 (Kasoma, 1986). According to Kasoma (1986:25) the "... radio was primarily established to serve Africans in Rhodesia". He further adds that the establishment of the radio during the Second World War is marked as a revolution. It was thought that the radio was a blessing in disguise because the families of soldiers in the war could be informed on the news about their loved ones and the happenings in the war in general.

By and large, the colonial government's interests were to set up radios as a tool for educating and entertaining people. The media in the colonial era was used as a channel of communication by the colonialist to the colonized. Kasoma (1986) claims that the 'white papers' were instrumental for the agitation of the formation of a federation between Rhodesia and Nyasaland. However, the same media was also used as a tool for the de-campaigning of the federation. Banda (2007) explains that the Central African Post, for instance, was one such paper that was pro-native in its editorials. Furthermore, television was not left out in this

regard. According to Kachingwe (October, 2014) of the Zambia daily mail, the first television station was set up in Kitwe in 1961. This was solely established to serve the Europeans as a means of entertainment. The influence of television on African society was somewhat restricted if any.

2.5.2 The Post-Independence Era (1964-1991)

Similar to the colonial government, the post-independence era (1964-1991) perceived the media as a tool for communicating government information and activities to the people. The media was also regarded as a tool for national building and unity. During this era, Zambia followed a humanistic ideology, borrowed from the Soviet Union. In that scenario media was used as a facility for political consolidation and an instrument for national development programs. It is during this period that the media in Zambia were owned and wholly controlled by the State. Divergence view was subdued and not heard. The media became a propaganda tool of the ruling government. There were limited other sources where people could obtain divergence views. During this period media in Zambia were not only owned by the government but were also a mouth piece for the government. Admittedly, the Press Reference (2016), observe that during this period television became an integral part of the Zambian government's propaganda machinery. The only television station by then dutifully parroted government policies, repeatedly featured UNIP leaders and ignored opposition parties and leaders, except to denigrate them. According to Kasoma (1990), the president became a fixture on the news, regardless of what he was doing. His speeches, even at political rallies, were repeatedly shown on television, often uncut and unedited. Some of those speeches were repeated a number of times during the broadcast cycle. The president, could and did appoint and fire the national broadcaster director-general, the person with the responsibility for the daily programming (Press Reference, 2016).

Furthermore, it was in this period that some 'discontent Zambians' set up political parties to challenge the one party system of governance which was ruling by then. In addition this period also saw the birth of private media organizations such as the Post Newspapers then called the Weekly Post; and the Sun Newspaper (Banda, 2007).

2.5.3 The Multi-Party Era (1991-to-date)

Zambia's political landscape from 1991 to date experienced the change from One Party State to the introduction of Multi-party democracy. For the purposes of this study, the phases are arranged according to ruling Party regimes beginning from (1991-2011) for the Movement for Multiparty Democracy and the period from (2011- 2016) – the post Movement for Multi-Party Democracy era.

Generally, both phases have a number of similarities in terms of media proliferation. During the period 1991- to-date, the media have run under a multi-party system of government. In this type of government system media has some degree of freedom of expression to report “*freely*” (Stiftung, 2011). In comparison to the post-independence era under the One Party State, the media is to some extent having freedom of expression to report on varied views including divergence views. On the other hand, this period also saw the liberalization of the economy. This implied that the major economic players in the country including the media were liberalised. It is during this period that the media increased in number (Chirwa, 1997). The country witnessed the birth of a number of private radio and television stations and newspapers that, to present are still important players in the further democratization and peace building in Zambia.

Significantly, media have contributed to the Zambia's peace and democracy (Banda, 2007). For example, The Post newspaper was significant in advocating for a change of government in 1991, 2001, and in 2011. This is as a result of their editorials and columns that were usually critical of then current Governments. For instance an editorial of The Post Newspaper published on the 17 September, 2011 that read: “*Removing leaders without bloodshed.*” This editorial gave information on how people could change Government through voting out an unwanted government regime peacefully. The Editorial further spelled out other alternative methods that could be used to ensure the ruling Party was changed. On the other hand, Radio Phoenix through its live calling-in programme “*Let the people talk*” was very instrumental sensitizing the members of the public concerning the Presidential Third Term saga in the Movement for Multiparty Democracy regime which were issues to do with constitutional reforms among others.

Similarly, Muvi Television has played an important role in the democracy of Zambia. Since its inception in 2002, the Television Station has offered checks and balances to the

Government through informing the general citizenry on various development programs in Zambia. The Muvi Television has offered a platform for various political views from diverse political parties and stakeholders to be heard issues concerning/ and affecting the country. Furthermore, Muvi Television Station concentrates on varied local issues offering wider coverage on various national issues as established from their web page. However, in spite of its influence, the literature on the contribution of television in building peace in Zambia is still quiet thin. The following sections intend to highlight the differences in Party governance regimes as to the role and participation of media in peace building in Zambia. The differences will be explained according to the regimes as explained above.

2.5.4 Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) Era (1991-2011)

During this era the media was primarily concerned with the promotion of multi-party politics that emerged after 1991. This period witnessed the liberalization of media that had been the preserve of the government. The new government of the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) had replaced the United National Independence Party (UNIP) regime. In embracing a cautious deregulation of the broadcasting market, the MMD wanted to be seen to be reformist, while at the same time remaining firmly in command of broadcasting. According to Chirwa (1997), the Telecommunications Act of 1994 was introduced in this period. This Act of 1994 established the Communications Authority of Zambia (CAZ). This body (now called The Zambia Information and Communication Technology Authority (ZICTA) became responsible for the supervision and control of radio communications, the approval of broadcasting sites, and the allocation of broadcasting licenses to private broadcast operators (Ndawana, 2009).

This period also witnessed the development of private media operators which was as a result of combination of financial pressure on state broadcaster, and pressure from local and international lobby groups to liberalize the media and allow for divergence views and voices to be heard in national unity and development. It is therefore, true that the period (1991-2001) saw a proliferation in the media houses resulting into a change in the media landscape in Zambia. It should also be mentioned that during this period, the media played a leading role in preserving peace in the country. The notable political circumstance was the vigorous media campaign against the Presidential Third term political manoeuvre that issued towards the end of Movement for Multi-Party Democracy Second rule with attempts to change the

Constitution in order to enable then current president to run for a third term in office (Freedom House, 2005).

This resulted in the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy regime changing the presidential candidate following the pressure from the general citizenry through the media, especially private media in 2001. The political and economic developments recorded continued more or less the same. Contradictions however, have been recorded of the media landscape during this period. For instance, the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) in Zambia, in the Organisation's press release on their website, explains that The Third Term rule of Movement for Multi-Party Democracy under a different president "would be missed because of developing many media friendly policies". Contrary to this assertion, the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) reported on their website that the Second President of the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy "took a hard line against the press". Generally however, during that era many journalists were harassed, imprisoned and/or censored. It is worth noting that the media during this period were not entirely free to write, broadcast or cover/televise whatever they wished. Furthermore, in spite of the ruling Party's firm control and media censure the private media's contribution particularly during the Constitution Review Processes may not go unnoticed.

After the demise of Second president of the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy in 2008 the MMD regime continued governing under a different party president thus, the media status quo remained unchanged (2008-2011). Similar tact of grip on the media continued as from the previous government because this third president was the Vice President during term of the Second President of the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy. This period therefore did not bring anything new as regards to media reforms/freedom especially towards peace building in the country.

2.5.5 Post Movement for Multi-Party Democracy Era (2011- to date)

After of the rule Movement for Multi-Party Democracy the Patriotic Front (PF) took the governance of the country in 2011. During the PF election campaign and their first few days in power, they employed a rhetoric that set a tone that favoured media freedom. This was further evident in the calls for the implementation of the Freedom of Information Bill, which the Government was unwilling to conclude and pass in Parliament. This bill if enacted would promote freedom among media. The Patriotic Front Government now in power, the

discourse of a 'better media fraternity' has since stalled, and it may be assumed that the rigor then for better media freedom was mere election campaign strategy. Meanwhile, the Patriotic Front Government also has resorted to censoring and harassing media organizations that report what is not going on well in government. For instance, according to an online tabloid, the Lusaka Times, the University of Zambia (UNZA) Radio (run by the University) had its broadcast radius shortened because of airing debate programs that were critical of the ruling Party Government. In addition, The Post Newspaper, and The Zambian Watchdog (an online media) were threatened of closure on several occasions. Meanwhile, the Radio stations such as Radio Phoenix and Q FM are denied nationwide broadcasting licences because of the private media houses' stance of reporting against the political interests of the ruling Party.

The role of media (especially the private media) in influencing government accountability has been rendered weak. On the other hand, the public media, particularly the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation, the Daily Mail and the Times of Zambia newspapers have lost majority of public trust as they are seen to be compromised and lacked credibility to correctly inform the citizenry on various issues of national importance. Similar to the post-independence era, the public media is accused of being engaged in a pro-government agenda at the expense of majority public as they are viewed to be only ruling government mouth-pieces (Press Freedom, 2016). This kind of polarisation often creates tension in the public and, might somewhat jeopardise peace building efforts as people may start feeling misinformed and taken for granted.

It is worth noting that after the rule of the first PF president, the status quo of the media has not improved. One may actually argue that the media freedom has now been stifled and threatened not to reveal or cover divergence views while the public media is highly compromised to cover the ruling Party's good works only and nothing else. This locks out the divergence views or anything which the government is not doing well. Public media being pro-government, while the private media on the side of the opposition (Phiri, 2015). This relationship however, is not a healthy one as it is a recipe for disunity and conflict.

2.6 Broadcast Media in Zambia

Broadcasting in Zambia began as an experiment using low power transmitters in Kabwe. According to Kasoma (1990) the plan initially was to restrict the ability of Africans to access a variety of stations through limiting Africans' radio receiver sets to only be able to tune in to

one or two stations. Frankel, quoted in Kasoma (1986:47) states that it was “not only to save batteries but that it would stop the natives from listening to other radio stations that were broadcasting anti-British propaganda”. After lengthy experimentation and government procrastination, the first government broadcasting station opened in Lusaka in 1940. The station was expected to bring the colonial government closer to the people. Its main purposes at the time were to refute rumours that were spreading during the Second World War and to transmit positive messages about the Allies’ progress in the War. The station broadcast mostly to urban areas, particularly Copperbelt towns (Kasoma, 1986).

Conversely, the history of television in Zambia is different from radio. The first television station in the country that was set up in Kitwe in 1961 and used to operate for two hours only, from 18:00 hours to 20:00 hours from Monday to Friday. While on Saturday and Sunday, it operated from 18:00 hours to 21:00 hours. The television station was owned by the Rhodesia Television Limited (RTL), a private company based in Salisbury (Harare), Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and was set up to purely entertain the Europeans who were in large numbers on the Copperbelt working on the mines. All the programmes shown on the station were also foreign. According to Kapeya (2011), at independence in 1964, the Rhodesia Television became Zambia Television Limited and the government nominated a member to sit on the board of the company and an experimental service was launched in Lusaka in 1965. However, the period of operation was the same as in Rhodesia Television and foreign programmes continued to be aired with a few local productions mostly studio-based such as discussions and musical programmes. It was only in 1970 that the period of transmission was increased, opening at 17:00 hours and closing at 21:00 hours on a daily basis.

Kapeya (2011), further notes that the integration of the television services into the Zambia Broadcasting Services in June 1967, resulted in better co-ordination between two media of sound and television. This also resulted in the greater being of television as an agency of government information. Another major change for television occurred when colour transmission was launched in Zambia in 1977. Also, by 1982, television transmitting stations had been established in all major centres of the country. And at the advent of the corporation in 1988, the station came to be known as the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation Television. Nevertheless, the station continued to open at 17:00 hours during weekdays and had no fixed closing time, but took place any time after 23:00 hours. On Saturday and Sunday, the station opened at 07:00 hours and closed at 24:00 hours.

The programmes, mainly from the United States of America and United Kingdom, ranged from information to entertainment, education, culture and religion. Daily news included the half-hour main news at 19:00 hours, news brief at 21:30 hours and news headlines at close down. Furthermore, the seven local languages were introduced on television in October 1990, and were allocated an hour from 18:00 hours to 19:00 hours once a week from Sunday to Saturday. The local language programmes on television lasted for one year until 1996 when five-minute news per language was re-introduced on television on a daily basis running from 16: 25 hours during weekdays only.

Throughout this period, broadcasting remained under tight government control. According to Kasoma (1990), no private radio or television operator was allowed until the liberalisation of the airwaves in 1991. Still, within the context of government control over broadcast media, stations established to deepen state control could produce contradictory political outcomes (Mosia et al., 1994). In spite of the restrictions, broadcast media played a vital role in the liberation struggle. For instance, Central African Broadcasting Service (CABS) was driven by the colonial administration's need for information control, but it developed into a source of information and education for colonial subjects as well as a mediator of social change and, finally, an intellectual forum of Zambia's decolonisation (Heinze, 2012:1).

For a long time, ZNBC dominated television services in the country until 1998 when the first private television station in the name of Trinity Broadcasting Network (TBN) opened. Alongside growth in radio broadcasting, Zambia has seen growth in the number of television stations in the past five years. Television stations in operation at the time of writing include the state-owned ZNBC television 1 and 2, Copperbelt television (CB-TV), Central Broadcasting Company (CBC), Mobi television, Muvi television, North-West television, Chipata television and pay-television Multichoice (DSTV), GO television, MY teelevision among others. Muvi television has been broadcasting nationally since December 2009. Notably, ZNBC has also gone digital although not yet fully. It is hoped that this will increase the number of channels to be accessed and also the production quality.

Simutanyi (2015) observes that while ZNBC television has the most extensive coverage across the country, however, Zambians have shown some interest in private broadcasters. In Lusaka, for example, according to Centre for Policy Dialogue (CPD) (2010), a 2008 audience survey found that Muvi TV to be more popular than the national broadcaster, ZNBC,

especially among the lower income groups. In addition, pay-television Multichoice (DSTV) was also found to have a substantial subscription base among middle and high-income groups. Some proponents have viewed the growth of private media in Zambia to constitute a key component of an emerging Zambian 'civil society'. Private media have been argued to have played a major role in the successful campaign to defeat of the First President of MMD in his bid for a third Presidential term in 2001. The stance taken by the private broadcasters contributes to a tense relationship with government/ruling Party authorities. In such situation the ruling party has been seen reacting through withdrawing operation licenses (Simutanyi, 2015).

Evidently, there is still a number of obstacles to media freedom in general and the participation of citizens in broadcast media in Zambia. The main obstacle to media freedom has been the policy environment, which continues to be characterised by some laws that restrict media freedom (Limpitlaw, 2012). According to Simutanyi (2015), the Constitution of Zambia provides for freedom of expression, including the right to receive, impart and communicate information. On the other hand, the Penal Code, the Official Secrets Act and the Printed Publications Act have all been used to limit access to information, freedom of expression and even media freedom. Laws of defamation and libel have been deployed as means to harass media organisations that make critical reports of those in power.

The Press Reference (2016), cites that there is political interference in the operations of the ZNBC which contributes to the skewing of its broadcasting to favour the ruling Party. Such control affects citizens' ability to access credible news and engage in critical debates through the state broadcaster. Critics have observed that discussion programmes on critical governance issues aired on public media discourage audience participation through live phone-in and only take text messages from members of the public. Similarly, private broadcasting organisations perceived to be critical of government have also suffered from legal and extra-legal harassment (Freedom House, 2013).

However, one must be quick to note that Zambian media standards in these new sources are relatively low and the daily news agenda appears to be marked by factionalism, rumours and partisan scandal-mongering. This has resulted in most media houses particularly private media failing to contribute positively to peace building and consequently building peace.

Instead of offering checks and balances and information to citizens for them to make informed decisions, the prominent feature in today's Zambian media is "hate speech."

2.7 Muvi Television

2.7.1 Background Information

Muvi television is the largest commercial television station with the widest coverage reaching all the ten provinces of Zambia. It can be accessed anywhere in the country through purchasing of a digital decoder which can be obtained from outlets spread in all the provincial centres of the country. Muvi television is an indigenous television station which was founded 2002. The television station is the most successful private television station in Zambia and offers a variety of programmes such as soap operas, news, talk shows, music and discussions.

The television station was mainly founded to serve the local community particularly in the Kalingalinga township of Lusaka. However, it suffices to mention that Muvi television has carved out a niche for itself and managed to achieve a contemporary western feel in a country that previously had only limited television options. This in itself has seemingly provided constructive competition especially for the national broadcaster, ZNBC. Muvi television was one of the first commercial analogue television stations to operate in Lusaka and later upgraded to digital broadcasting before going countrywide with over 30 channels at a subscription fee of K125=00. This has made the television station popular especially among the low and middle income community because it is not only affordable compared to the other pay television such as GO TV and Multi-choice but also has variety for a minimal amount.

The television station operates on a 24 hour shift in the official language of English. However, local language programmes are allowed for the sake of expression, provided a translated summary is provided in English for all to understand with clarity. The major products of the television station are sponsored programmes and commercials such as:

- news bulletins, twice a day (prime time news and main news)
- community news
- business news

- sports news
- talk show (interviews, discussions)
- musical shows
- soap operas (local and international)
- movies (Nigerian, western)
- gospel shows

Some of the flag bearers for the television station include: “The Assignment,” a discussion and live phone-in programme which provides a platform for those in governance to interact with callers on various issues of governance. Others include a Zambian soap “*Banja*” in the local language, which means “*A Family*” suggesting that the general norm of Zambia is to live as a family regardless of tribal affiliation. In addition, the television station has continued to play an informative role by covering the 2016 general election race through programmes such as “*Zambia Decides*”- a Two (02) hour programme where candidates aspiring for various political offices including that of president, sell their manifestos through debate. The public are usually allowed to attend and also participate through short message service (sms).

2.7.2 Corporate Image

The station operates under the slogans of “*Muvi tv, your channel of choice.*” Professionalism and on time quality programme delivery is key as the corporate image of the station is staked very high. The station’s news policy is based on balanced facts, covering both parties in a responsible and fair manner without fear or favour. The station also has an open door policy which makes it accessible to the public 24 hours a day with minimum protocol or red tape.

Since inception, the station has won several trophies and certificates including an award from Transparency International on best coverage for 2011 elections. For its efforts, the television station has been awarded and recommended by such reputable regional media associations like MISA. The station also receives support in form of programme sponsorship from the private sector, politicians, government agencies, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), health institutions, foreign and local advertising agencies. Regional, international and multinational clients are covered adequately with prime time infomercials of different durations.

2.7.3 Mission Statement

- Your channel of choice.

2.7.4 Editorial Policy

The Muvi television newsroom is manned by editors, reporters and newscasters. The most senior news editor presides over reporters and newscasters. There are also correspondents in Kitwe and Livingstone. News headlines are televised five times in a day, at 06:30 hours, 10:30hours, 12:00 hours, 16:30 hours and 00:00 hours. The Prime Time news bulletin is read at 18:30 hours and runs for 1 hour while the Main news bulletins are read in the evenings at 21:15 hours. The news is primarily composed of local content however; international items are also an important part of the Muvi television news. For a story to be considered newsworthy, it must be well balanced and topical. The news stories also must be current and relevant to the viewership. The station news policy also entails that security consciousness and responsibilities are upheld at all times and this entails that stories must be presented in a non-biased, non-partisan manner and to present only the truth with facts and figures.

2.7.5 News Selection

Muvi television news selection is done by the news editor. The news bulletin is segmented in three; the Local news, International news and Sports news. The station main sources of news are personal contact of its reporters. Reporters are expected to report for work with workable ideas. It's from these ideas that the main news bulletins are picked from. Because the reporters are so few as compared to their major competitor, ZNBC, the reporters are challenged to work double hard to compete on the same level.

2.8 Current Media Landscape in Zambia

The current media environment in Zambia leaves much to be desired. Both private and public media houses seem to have neglected media ethics which emphasise truthful and sensitive reporting. Banda (2009) postulates that caught up in this cocoon of mercantilist exploitation, the media, unwittingly or wittingly, tend to define their role in terms of the profit motive. As such, even their definition of 'self-regulation' entails accountability to themselves and the market imperative. Although notions of 'social responsibility' and 'public interest' are invoked, there is evidence to suggest that the media are, for the most part, keen on playing the

‘watchdog’ role, rather than being ‘watched’. Agreeing with the above statement, Kashore (2006) writing on Indian commercial media observes:

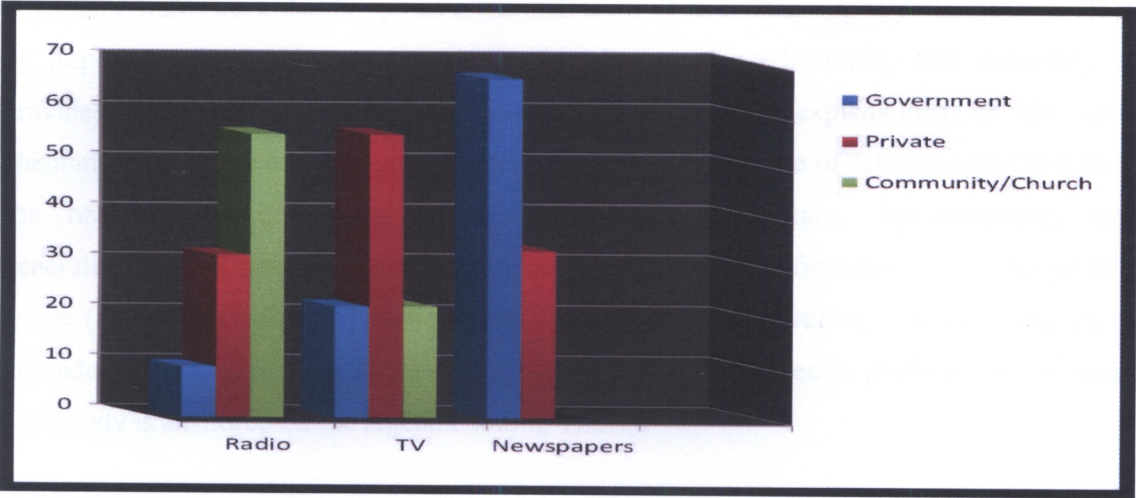
Today media are making fast money by cashing on the news in a wrong sense and wrong way. In a race to become more popular, and make more money, they have broken all limits media must follow while serving to build a healthy and progressive society. They have no respect for the sentiments and ethics of the people and land that they serve with their immense power to influence (Kashore, 2006:3).

Notably, since it is a liberalised economy, each one is interested in profit making therefore, they are not moved by the negative effect that the media poses on society. This brings in the aspect of ownership of the media. The media fraternity in Zambia is owned and controlled in three ways; first by the government, secondly by the private sector and/or thirdly by the community or the church. The Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC) (both radio and TV), Daily Mail newspaper and the Times of Zambia are fully owned and controlled by the government. The government run and controlled media are influenced largely by the state’s direct control. According to Banda (2007) this control includes finance, human resource and administrative matters. Apart from the media being in government hands, some media in the country are owned by the churches. These include Radio Christian Voice, the National Mirror, Radio Ichengelo, Radio Yatsani and many others. Other than these media owned by the church and the government some media are owned by the community or learning Institutions. These include UNZA Radio (University of Zambia Radio) and Hone FM (Evelyn Hone College). In addition, there are commercial media run by private individuals for commercial purposes. Examples include The Post Newspapers, Radio Phoenix, and Muvi TV among others.

The primary issue when one talks of media ownership in Zambia is that ownership largely has a bearing on the editorial independence and the way media cover stories. For instance, the government owned and run media are more inclined to reporting in favour of the government in power. While the private media are more inclined to reporting in line with what the owner of the station wants (Press Reference, 2016). Therefore, ownership is more or less something that determines the independence of the media in Zambia. The table below shows a percentage breakdown of media ownership in Zambia as of 2012. The table shows that Government is leading in numbers when it comes to owners of newspapers. The private media is leading when it comes to ownership of TV stations and the Community media is

leading when it comes to ownership of radio stations. However, when it comes to circulation in figures, listenership and viewership the government media is the largest owner of the media in Zambia. This is because they reach more people in urban and rural areas of Zambia. Today, the situation is not any different.

Figure 1: *Media Ownership in Zambia*



Source: Bukowa (2012:14).

As regards to building peace, media have become the mirrors of the political parties. Through the use of polemical language, media have contributed to creating the existing polarized environment. This has led people to gravitate even more strongly toward and support their preferred party (Creative Associates International, 2011). For instance, the state-controlled media have seemingly put forth a pro-ruling party agenda particularly as the country goes to the polls on August 11, and created the expectation that the ruling party may win. In the same vein private media have countered this and created some expectations that the elections may go in favour of the opposition. Together, these factors may lead the ruling party to feel more vulnerable and thus use increased conflict before elections to intimidate not only the opposition but the voters too. In addition, an online tabloid, the *Zambian Watchdog* quoted some youth saying they will not be intimidated. A deeper meaning could be that they would be willing to engage in pre-election phase violence or take to the streets to denounce the ruling party win in post-election phase conflict.

2.9 Theory

Theories are used in every discipline and by every person, regardless of the level of the theory. Theories are used to explain and predict phenomena. According to Nieswiadomy (1998) the word theory is derived from "theoria," a Greek word. Theoria means a beholding or speculation. Theories are speculations hence, are never proved. They are used to describe, predict, explain, and control phenomena. In this context, theory can be defined as an organizing framework that brings an additional layer of understanding to concrete experience by implying relationship, consistency and a degree of predictability and testability. It provides a way to move between concrete and abstract explanations of the same phenomenon. On the contrary a theoretical framework is a frame of reference that is a basis for observations, definitions of concepts, research designs, interpretations, and generalizations, much as the frame that rests on a foundation defines the overall design of a house (LoBiondo-Wood and Haber, 1998). It is important therefore, for any study to be grounded in theory so as to assist the researcher explain and predict particular phenomena. This study is anchored on the Agenda Setting Theory.

2.9.1 Agenda-Setting Theory

The agenda setting theory associated with Shaw and McCombs (1972) explains the strong media effects, closely linked to the ability of the media to reproduce social and cultural aspects of society, through the publication of information. The theory was derived from the work of Walter Lippman in 1922, who argued that "the public responds not to actual events in the environment but to the pictures in our heads" (LittleJohn & Foss, 2008: 293) and that the "news media construct our view of the world" (Coleman et al, 2009: 147).

The agenda in this context refers to the salience or importance of issues and not a pre-determined goal of the media to influence audiences. The model suggests that the media affects the scope of the public thinking. If applied to conflict, for instance, post-election violence, one can find that through daily reporting over time, issues (agenda) covered in the media were transformed into public agendas. By generating discussions on peace-building, journalists and policy makers can collectively shape the public agenda to more constructive dialogues. Contrary, to a general assumption that the media has power to directly inject behaviours and attitudes in the minds of people, the model suggests that the media affects the scope of their thinking. This argument is also reflected in Cohen (1963)'s statement cited in

Dearing and Rogers (2001:1) that “the press may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling readers what to think about.”

In essence, through daily reporting over time, the media agenda becomes the public agenda. The theory tends to imply that in an environment of conflict, the media mirrors the disorder in society and does not necessarily brew conflicts. This assumption then challenges the idea otherwise that the media can directly foment conflicts, but provides a good scope in the analysis of inherent socio-economic and political set up of the media in Zambia. According to Lule (2016), agenda setting operates under two assumptions. Firstly, the media does not reflect reality they filter and shape it. Secondly, the media concentration on a few issues and subjects leads the public to perceive those issues as more important than other issues.

However, the agenda setting theory has been challenged for portraying the public as a passive receiver (Hall, 1998 cited from Street, 2001:243). In view of this, one may argue that the media does not passively relay information from sources; they select or reject it according to the reality of the day, or the particular slant of the media house. In the absence of effective guidelines on conflict sensitive journalism, practitioners are likely to infuse their own biases in news commentaries.

More often the media is successful in setting the agenda and getting people to talk about issues such as politics or human rights. In other cases, the audience may reject the issues the media considers important. Audiences then “co-construct” what they see, hear or read from the media drawing from their personal experiences. However, Dearing and Rogers (1996) posit that audiences are actively engaged in dominant societal discourses at any particular moment. They argue that the media helps to reinforce ideas and contexts in which information is perceived. In their view, the agenda setting process is not static, but a continuous motion of different issues in the public domain competing to gain the attention of the media, the public and policy elites.

Similarly, Protess and McCombs (1991) acknowledge that the audience learns what issues are salient from the news selection of the media and incorporate a similar set of significance in their own personal agendas. Recent studies have shown that when individuals are highly interested in national issues such as politics, they are more likely to show a strong agenda setting effect (Kalyango, 2010:8). Therefore, one may strongly agree with this view, but

demonstrate that unlike radio and newspapers which serve both urban and rural areas, television attracts large audiences in urban Zambia. This group is likely to follow opinions or repeat discussions shared in daily experiences. Television presenters can use messages that affect audience sense of insecurity and ethnic discontent to create animosities for opposing groups. An example is the surge of tribalism that clouded the Zambian airwaves recently.

Although the media are said to set the agenda for the public, it is believed that the reverse could be the case, in the sense that sometimes, the public's agenda occasionally influences the media's issue agenda (Uscinki, 2009:797). Uscinki (2009) argues that as a result of this, two frameworks within the agenda setting theory compete among researchers: the agenda-setting framework, in which the news agenda influence the public agenda, and, the audience driven framework, in which the audience agenda influences the news media (Uscinki, 2009). In reporting news stories, journalists will consider the relevance of the news story and how appealing the news is to the audience who often prefer exciting spectacular events such as violence, conflict, scandal or disaster (Graber, 1980). If news stories are reported based on their relevance to the audience, it then means that the audience will exert influence on the media agenda.

Uscinki (2009) further argues that the interest of the public to issues such as election campaigns as the case may be in Zambia at the moment will make reporters to report politics and election campaign oriented stories. For Straubhaar *et al* (2010), media agenda could also be influenced by the actions of prominent people such as the president of a country. Whose comment on national agenda could be picked by the media and used as news stories or some interest groups capable of setting the agenda through their stand on an issue. LittleJohn and Foss (2008) concur and argue that when the media have relationships with the elite, the influence of the elite will affect the media agenda.

All in all, McQuail (2010) argues that the agenda setting model follows a linear mass communication process. In this model, information travels from the source (politicians, policies), through a conveyor (media) to the receiver (audience). However, this process occurs in the midst of distortions from both physical and psychosocial factors, which affects the nature of the intended message. At the point of reception the audience state of mind and cultural backgrounds determine how the message is perceived. Therefore, one's pictures of

the world are sometimes shaped through the media intent to reflect what it considers as the most important on its agenda.

For the purposes of this study leading to a discussion of building peace, the inter-relation between the media, public and policy agendas is analysed in the role of the media as a public sphere (gatekeeper), agent of public order and mobiliser. Public opinion is therefore, shaped and influenced as the media choose and sift certain elements of news, which makes the audience of the media think along a certain pattern. Hence the media's choice of topics and how the topics are presented are elements of the theory (Fourie, 2001). The news gatekeepers such as reporters, news writers and editors (Sanchez, 2002) are responsible for determining what counts as news (Dainton & Zelly, 2011).

2.10 Summary

This chapter discussed the role and influence of the media in building peace. It has enlightened on how media like any other social phenomena are affected by various social occurrences such as politics. The chapter gave the historical perspective of the media in Zambia beginning with the pre-independence era through the first and second republic and finally the multiparty era. It provided an overview of the current media landscape in Zambia with regards to building peace. Finally, it gave the background of broadcasting in Zambia focusing on Muvi television. The next chapter will address the methodological approaches used in the study.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO THE STUDY

3.0 Overview

This Chapter presents the research methodologies which were employed in the study. It begins by providing the research design. The Chapter also covers the research site, sample size and the sampling procedures that were followed in the research. In addition, the Chapter discusses the criteria and techniques that were used in data collection and analysis. Furthermore it covers ethical issues and the study limitations.

3.1 Research Design

Research design describes the approaches and strategies employed in the research. A research design encompasses the processes and procedures used in the research with the purpose of finding appropriate answers to the research problem and questions (McLeod, Best & Barton, 2002; Robson, 1993; Mouton, 1996; Maree and Van der Westhuizen, 2007). According to Babbie & Mouton (2001) the research design also describes the mode of inquiry that could be either qualitative, quantitative or a combination of the two. The methodology employed in this study was a mixed method and takes the form of the case study. The mixed methods entail a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods.

The qualitative methods on one hand, has the advantage of being flexible as contended by Silverman, (2005); Priest, (2010) and Patton (2002). Qualitative methods also allow for an in-depth focus on the study. The collected data is usually in form of words/ statements rather than numbers containing some verbatim quotes from respondents (McNeil and Chapman, 2005: 20). Frey *et al.* (1990) also asserted that qualitative methods also use descriptive techniques to interpret observations during data collection. This research therefore employed some of the qualitative methods to gather information and analyse.

The research used quantitative method in form of self-administered questionnaires to collect information from the interviewees. The questionnaires were standardized to collect individual demographics, psychographics and situational characteristics. This mode of data collection also made it possible to make comparisons of responses from respondents of different ages and gender. The use of open ended questions in the questionnaires also allowed respondents

to freely express themselves and raised issues which were further investigated in the in-depth interviews with research informants.

The selection of mixed methods is grounded in the idea that “the research methods you choose say something about your views on what qualifies as valuable knowledge and your perspective on the nature of reality” (Glesne, 1992:4). In examining the media’s role in building peace, employing a research paradigm that adequately addresses multiple, socially constructed qualities, is important. In this type of study, the researcher becomes the main research instrument – in the case of this research, that occurs vis-à-vis a comprehensive literature review as found above and through a case study analysis. Furthermore, according to Yin (1989:17), the case study approach allows for the “how” and “why” questions to be sufficiently addressed.

In addition, the justification for selecting mixed method is based on the recognition that any methods used in isolation has limitations and biases which could be reduced by applying multiple approaches (Creswell, 2003). In this study, quantitative method involved a comparison of responses in the questionnaires as answered by respondents. Whereas the qualitative method provided narrative accounts by offering the respondents personal reflections on the subject matter. This study also relied on the lessons learned from the case study of Muvi television. In examining media’s contribution to building peace, the positive and negative aspects/results were addressed, as both offer insight into future media roles.

3.2 Research Site

The study was conducted in Lusaka, with recurrent perpetrated violence as documented by the Electoral Commission of Zambia (2016). Lusaka district was purposefully selected as a case study site for its high political activity which is one of the triggers of violence. In addition, cases of violence in the district were often reported in the media.

3.3 Sample Size

This research had a sample size of 90 respondents who were randomly selected from the three residential areas in Lusaka, namely Chawama, Makeni and Chelston. Thirty questionnaires were administered in each of the three residential areas. In addition to the 90 respondents the researcher had in-depth interviews with five key informants from Muvi television.

3.4 Sampling Procedures

This research used non probability sampling technique commonly used in qualitative research such as the purposive/ judgemental sampling (Babbie & Mouton, 2001) to select the key informants from MUVI Television. The key informants were selected based on their defining characteristics that made them holders of the data/information needed for the study (Nieuwenhuis, 2007). These key informants were therefore assumed to have the richest source of information to be able to answer the research questions.

On the other hand, the researcher used cluster sampling as suggested by Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2003) to obtain the residential areas where the interviews were undertaken. Cluster sampling is a probability sampling procedure in which a population is divided into clusters of geographical boundaries. In this Study, the researcher obtained the total designated residential areas in Lusaka categorized according to their population densities (Low, medium and high) as sampling frame. Afterwards, the researcher used random systematic sampling to choose the three residential areas where interviews were conducted. These were: Chawama (high density), Makeni (low density), and Chelston (medium density). The selection of respondents was done using the simple random sampling to remove biases. Thirty (30) respondents were selected from each residential area culminating into a total of Ninety (90) respondents.

3.5 Data Collection Tools

The main sources of data for this study consisted of primary and secondary sources. According to Merriam (2009:152), secondary sources refer to “reports of a phenomenon by those who have not directly experienced the phenomenon of interest.” Data from these sources were derived from relevant literature to the study, including books, journals, and internet sources. Primary sources of data are those in which the originator of the document is recounting first-hand experience with the phenomenon of interest (Merriam, 2009). These data were collected from structured interviews and self-administered questionnaires.

3.5.1 Interviews

The use of interviews involves the act of speaking to respondents who are selected to provide answers to research questions based on a particular topic under study (Hart, 2005). Keats (2000:72) defines an interview as “a controlled situation in which one person, the interviewer

asks a series of questions of another person, the respondent”. Some instances in which the use of interview could be efficient include the need to know a person’s thinking concerning a particular phenomenon. The other is the need to explore the reasons and motivations for the attitudes and opinions of people. There is an element of specificity in the use of interview. For example, it is meant for a specific purpose, specific individual and specific group of respondents. It is a means through which the rationale for the interviewee’s responses could be ascertained. Interview also enhances the verification of the reliability of the responses when the interviewer asks probing or follow-up questions (Keats, 2000).

Semi-structured interviews were used to collect data. They consisted of open-ended and flexible questions, which, according to Byrne (2004:182) “...are likely to get a more considered response...and therefore, provide better access to interviewees’ views, interpretations of events, understandings, experiences and opinions”.

3.6 Ethical Considerations

During the course of the study, research ethics were given due consideration. According to Walliman (2006:148), “ethics are the rules of conduct in research.” The following ethical norms served as guide in data collection and analysis:

3.6.1 Informed Consent

Israel and Hay (2006:61) state that informed consent means that “participants need first to comprehend and second to agree voluntarily to the nature of the research and their role within it.” The participants were informed about the research through physical visits in order to request for interview. They were informed that the research was being conducted solely for academic purposes. The participants whose responses were audio-recorded were also informed prior to the commencement of the research.

3.6.2 Confidentiality

All the participants were assured of confidentiality. This was done to protect them (Parker, 2005 cited in Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). Hence, to ensure that the principles of anonymity and confidentiality were guaranteed, there was no collection of the details of the personal information on the participants (McMurray et al, 2004); their names were not revealed in this study.

3.7 Data Analysis and Presentation

The analysis of data collected through the interviews was based on the model proposed by Miles and Huberman (1994). The model consists of three concurrent flows of activity, namely: data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification. The authors argue that data reduction refines, sorts, focuses, discards, and organises data in such a way that the final conclusions can be drawn and verified. The volume of the data collected was first abridged and refined in a way which enhanced the conclusion to be drawn from the analysis. This was done by noting the main ideas from the interviewees while seemingly irrelevant information or expressions from them will were left out.

After the reduction, the data was organised and displayed so that they could be accessible, meaningful, understood and used by others in evaluating the analysis and conclusions that emerged from the research. The conclusion and verification as the final part of the analysis were the last to be done. It involved drawing definitive conclusions from the data (Miles & Huberman, 1994:11). The quantitative data that were collected were analysed using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) software to produce descriptive analysis and frequencies. Cross tabulation was also used to make comparisons between females and males. Data on continuous variables such as age and educational levels were also categorised.

3.8 Limitations

The study was confined to Muvi Television. Although this study was carefully prepared to reach its purpose and objectives, some limitations were unavoidable. Owing to the time factor, the study was not extended to all media houses in Lusaka and all the ten provinces of Zambia. Therefore, the findings of the study may not be easily generalised to all provinces.

Furthermore, the study involved a relatively small sample of respondents. It is for this reason that the findings from this study cannot be generalised to the broader population based on this study alone. This calls for a future nation-wide study.

3.9 Summary

This Chapter focused on the research design and methodological approaches used in the study. It discussed research approaches, the research sites, sample size and sampling

procedures. It also covered the data collection and analysis, ethical considerations and study limitations. The following Chapter focuses on the presentation of the research findings.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION OF RESEACH FINDINGS

4.0 Overview

This chapter presents and interprets the findings of this study. A total of ninety (90) questionnaires were administered and were evenly distributed to all the study areas of Chawama, (High density), Chelston (Medium density) and Rhodes Park (Low density). From these questionnaires, eighty-six (86) were returned while four (04) were not returned. These were four from the low density area. A total of nine (05) Muvi television staff were also interviewed.

4.1 Quantitative Findings

4.1.1 Classification of peace situation in Zambia

Figure 2 below shows the perception that the respondents had on the situation of peace in Zambia. A total of 50.6 percent of the respondents were of the view that Zambia was slightly peaceful while 35.8 percent indicated that the country was peaceful. 12.3 percent were recorded to be of the view that was not peaceful and only 1.2 percent of the respondents indicated that Zambia was very peaceful.

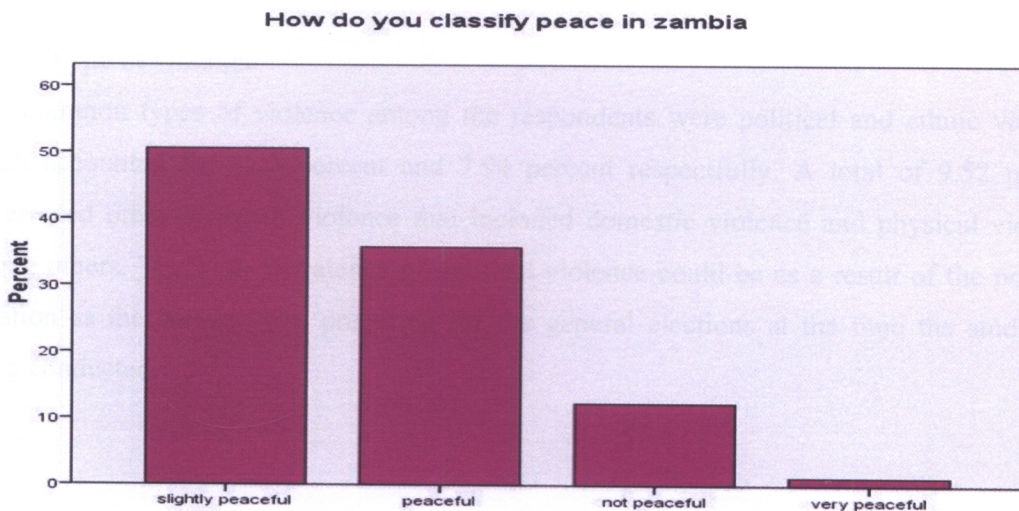


Figure 2: Classification of the peace situation in Zambia

4.1.2 Violence

A total of 77.78 percent were recorded to have experienced some form of violence of which the highest (29.63 percent) was recorded in Chawama. Makeni had 24.69 percent while Chelston had the lowest percentage (23.69 percent). The high density area (Chawama) had the highest percentage of respondents to have experienced some form of violence as summarised in the figure 3 below.

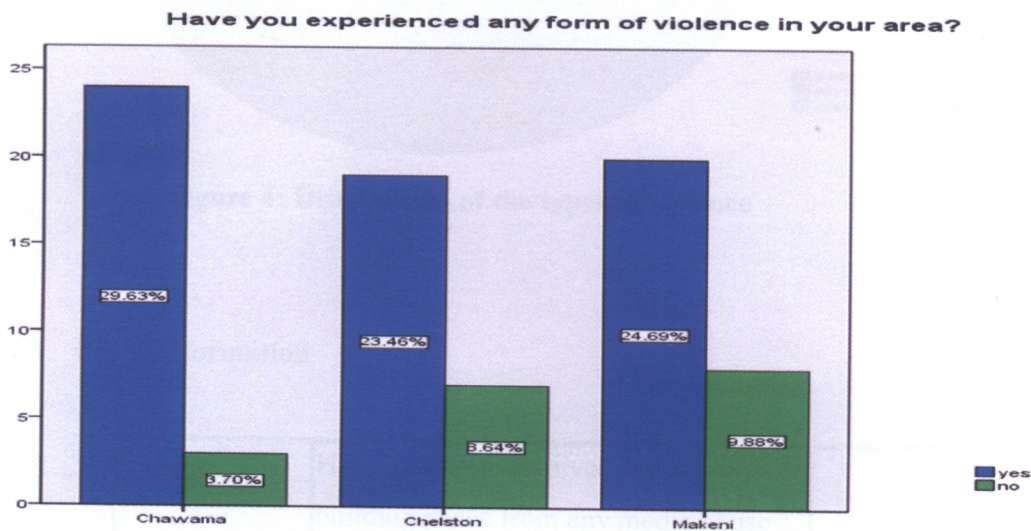


Figure 3: Distribution of incidences of violence according to residential area

4.1.3 Type of violence

The common types of violence among the respondents were political and ethnic violence which accounted for 82.54percent and 7.94 percent respectfully. A total of 9.52 percent represented other forms of violence that included domestic violence and physical violence among others. The high prevalence of political violence could be as a result of the political situation as the country was preparing for the general elections at the time the study was being conducted.

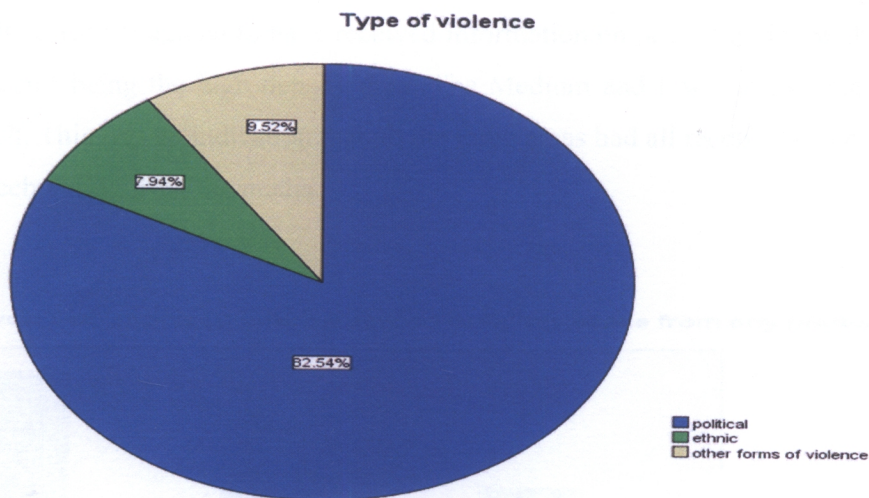


Figure 4: Distribution of the types of violence

4.1.4 Peace information

		Have you ever received information on building peace from any media house		Total
		Yes	No	
Sex	Male	37	10	47
	Female	26	5	31
Total		63	15	78

Table 1: distribution of respondents who have received information on peace building

Table 1 above shows the cross tabulation of the sex of the respondents on whether they have received information on peace building from any media house. The table shows that more males received information on peace building than females. The proportions, however, suggest that 83 percent of the females had received information on peacebuilding as

compared to 78 percent of their male counterparts. In addition, the figure below indicates that a total of 80.8 percent agreed to have received information on peacebuilding with the highest (32.05 percent) being the high density area. The Medium and low density areas had 24.36 percent each. This was an indication that all the three areas had all received some information on the peacebuilding from the media.

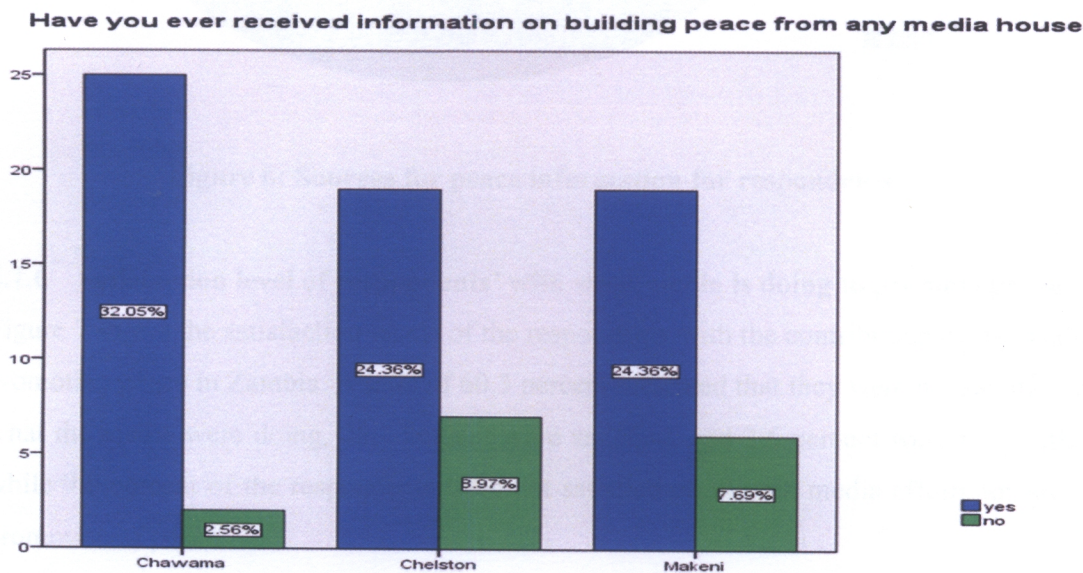


Figure 5: Distribution of peacebuilding information according to residential areas

4.1.5 Media house which transmits more peace building messages

Figure 6 shows the sources of peace information for the respondents. Muvi television provided information to more respondents who were 38 representing 59.4percent while 26 respondents representing 40.6 percent got information from other media.

This suggested that MUVI television had the power to drive the agenda for peace building based on the large share of being a source of peace information that it commands among other media. The station could therefore, be useful in efforts of disseminating pro peace information in the country.

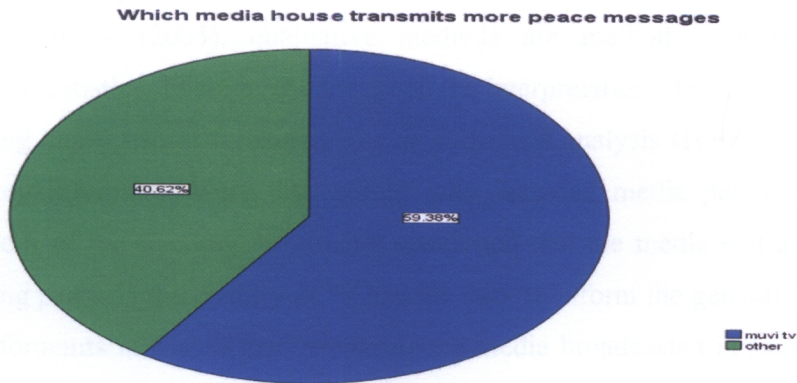


Figure 6: Sources for peace information for respondents

4.1.6 Satisfaction level of respondents' with what media is doing to promote peace

Figure 7 shows the satisfaction levels of the respondents with the contribution of the media in promoting peace in Zambia. A total of 60.3 percent indicated that they were not satisfied with what the media were doing, 28.2 percent were satisfied, and 2.6 percent were very satisfied while 9.0 percent of the respondents were not satisfied at all with media efforts towards the promotion of peace.

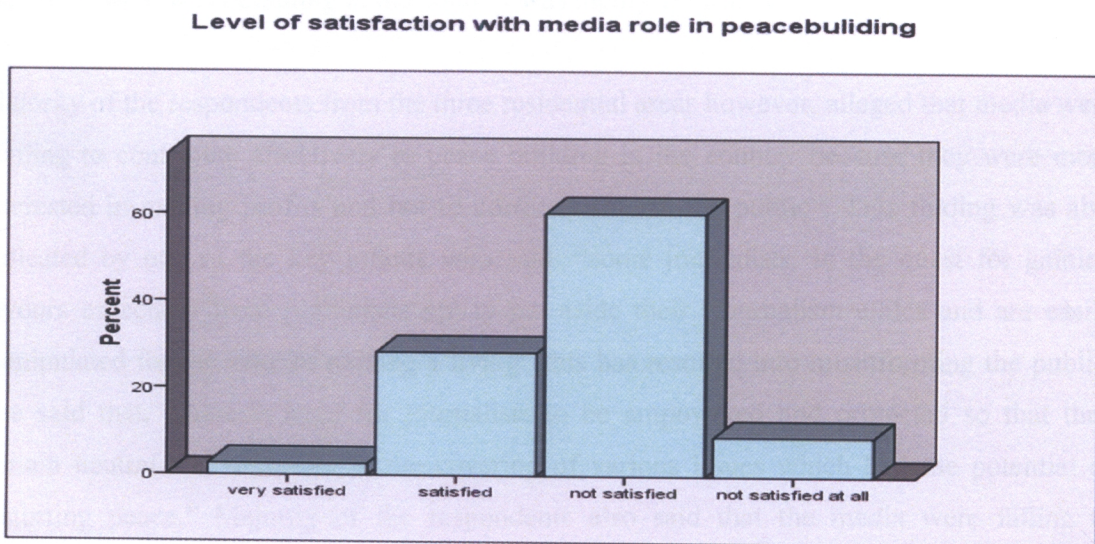


Figure 7: respondents' level of satisfaction with media role in promoting peace in Zambia

4.2 Qualitative Findings

According to Boeree (2005), qualitative methods are methods that do not involve measurement or statistics. These methods rely on the interpretation of what people do and say without making heavy use of measurements or numerical analysis (Horning, 1965). For this study, five key informants were interviewed who included media personnel from Muvi Television. Four of the five key informants mentioned that the media had a crucial role to play in building peace in the country as “it had the duty to inform the general citizenry”. One of the key informants indicated that “whatever the media broadcasted in form of news was taken by the citizens as gospel truth”. He further elaborated that the media has capacity to put “put the country on fire or peace if journalists do not scrutinize the information they intend to disseminate to the nation. The media need to expose violence and all forms injustices at the same time the media have to provide an alternative view by preaching peace.” Three of the key informants said that the media needed to censor information they obtain from the public before broadcasting it. Furthermore, they said the information should be presented in a manner that did not ignite conflict but that which brought unity in society. The all of the key informants emphatically indicated the importance of presenting the truth in whatever information dissemination they do. In addition, two of the key informants said that the media had difficulties in presenting truths due to the media regulatory authority which enforce unfavourable media regulations. Therefore, freedom of the media to express the true picture of what was obtaining in the country was highly controlled.

Majority of the respondents from the three residential areas however, alleged that media were “failing to contribute effectively to peace building in the country because they were more interested in making profits and not to correctly inform the public”. This finding was also indicated by one of the key infants who said: “some journalists, in the quest for gaining favours especially from politicians opt to put aside their journalism ethics and are easily manipulated for the sake of earning a living” this has resulted into misinforming the public. She said that, “there is need for journalists to be empowered and protected so that they remain neutral and objective in the covering of various issues which had the potential of distorting peace.” Majority of the respondents also said that the media were failing to contribute significantly to building peace in Zambia because they lacked the necessary skills to effectively report on issues of peace and conflict. They indicated that most journalist/reporters lacked professionalism and were not conflict sensitive in their reporting hence they ended up causing more harm than good.

On the situation of peace in the country, three of the key informants said that: “the culture of violence in the country was increasing tremendously especially during election periods.” One of the key informants said that “the violence had increased from the third republic to date.” He further mentioned that the viewership has seemingly increased on programmes that have to do with violence and less on programmes that propagate peace. He said that “most viewers would prefer to watch programmes that show for instance, political violence than watching a programme that has to do with maybe someone preaching the word of God. This has a psychological impact as people begin to view violence as a normal thing or a part of society.” One key informant also attributed the rise in violence to increased levels of poverty as people including journalists were easily manipulated for the sake of earning a living.

On the part of the contribution of Muvi television to peace in Zambia, all the key informants were of the view that Muvi television has contributed greatly to the peace that the country is enjoying to date. They indicated that the television station had gone closer to the community therefore; the station was capable of acquiring first-hand information on the various challenges that were being faced in the community. They said that the television station informs the country of the things that were happening in the community which could not be seen or heard on other television stations especially the national broadcaster. As a result, communities have benefited in some ways as government has rectified some things after being exposed on the television station. The key informants added that, during election periods which have recorded more violence in the country than any other period, Muvi television had endeavoured to cover the elections fairly. This has provided the citizens information on which to base their decisions. One key informant further said that the television station was more interested in bringing the indigenous life style of the Zambian people who are known world over to be peace loving. Therefore, through its local content, especially local produced soaps, the television station programmes its content in a manner that will encourage unity.

4.3 Summary

This chapter presented the research findings using tables and figures for quantitative findings. It has presented the qualitative findings in form of statements as they were given by the key informants and also respondents. The next chapter will discuss the research findings.

CHAPTER FIVE

PRESENTATION OF RESEARCH DISCUSSION

5.0 Overview

The previous Chapter covered an analytical presentation of the research findings from both the perspective of research interviewees and from key research informants. In this Chapter the researcher discusses the key study findings in relation to other authors as elaborated in the Chapter Two on literature review, and deduces lessons that will provide insight for effective peace building media interventions.

5.1 Discussion

The study showed that only about 36 percent of research respondents indicated that Zambia was peaceful while 64 percent indicated that Zambia was slightly peaceful or not peace at all. Out of all the respondents however, about 78 percent experienced some form of violence of which the most common forms were politically and ethnically initiated. About 83 percent of the respondents recalled that the violence occurred during elections. Three of the key informants on the other hand, also noticed this when they said that: “the culture of violence in the country was increasing tremendously especially during the election period.” One of the key informants added that “violence had increased from the third republic to date.” This scenario agrees with Snow and Taylor (2015) who argued that politics and violence were interlinked. For instance, Ruteere, et al. (2013) established that elections in Kenya were marked with political and ethnic violence. It is essential to acknowledge the power of media in influencing the public policy makers in making decisions within limited time (Shea 2002). Additionally, it is important to understand also that peace building is directly impacted by the state of the political environment in a country. This idea was equally held by Wolfsfeld (2001) who argued that “leaders who are unable to mobilize a broad political consensus for their policies will have little success in promoting these policies to the media”. According to LaBalme, (2001), many researchers have examined media’s portrayal of given issue and established that media has strong influence to sway the public opinion on certain issue of national importance. It is also evident from the study findings that the key informants felt there was equivocal government control over commercial television stations in the country. The government’s continued grip on the issuance of broadcast licensing and control of what to broadcast is a clear testimony that it wanted to have over ridding power and control over

this important medium of information in the country. Additionally, government's insurances to control the media through statutes such as the constitution are viewed by some media stakeholders as interference with the freedom of the press. In this regard, Wolfsfeld (2001) argued that it was essential for public policy makers to develop a long-range strategy that not only served specific political needs, but also the needs of the citizenry and the media. In the long run this would offer some preventative measure of promoting peace building in the nation.

This study revealed that media had a crucial role in promoting peace in Zambia. Four of the five key informants stated that the media had a duty to inform the general populace and "whatever the media broadcasted in form of news was taken by the citizens as gospel truth". The key informants further recognised the capacity of media to uphold peace or instigate violence in society. This finding is in line with Kuusik (2010)'s argument that information was power and the acumen can impact on public discourse. The effective and unbiased media were essential in fostering peace in any society. This research found out that commercialisation of the media however, compromised the quality of the information disseminated to the public. Many media houses were in business thus, it did not matter to them how the information they broadcast impacted on society as long as they made their money.

The study also revealed that 59 percent of interviewees obtained their peace building information from viewing Muvi television. This was an indication that there was objectivity in the programmes of Muvi Television that had allegedly augmented peace building in Zambia as people could be informed on the various issues that were happening in the community without being over censored or exaggerated. However, 60 percent of the respondents were still not satisfied with the quality of peace building information they obtained from Muvi television, and were of the view that media needed to do more in propagating peace in Zambia.

There was need for professionalism in the media industry to ensure that facts were not distorted or exaggerated. Phiri of the Zambia daily mail (5 April, 2015) also agreed with this point by observing that if the media resorted to deliberately distort or ignore facts based on self rather than public interest; the general public suffers a double tragedy. In this situation the public perception and participation are made on the basis of wrong information which

might result in social disintegration and disruption of peace. According to, Howard, (2003) professionalism is essential in the dissemination of peace building information through the media. He argued that good journalism “should not be corrupt, malicious, derivative or defamatory”. In employing this type of conflict sensitive journalism, the media should present both sides of the story and avoid words that would spark hate speech or negative reaction.

Most of the research respondents (58.4%) felt that the unbiased dissemination of information has earned Muvi Television a noteworthy recognition in the Zambia. As such, the majority of them expressed the need of the country to establish more private television stations. The majority of the interviewees also felt to be a part of the television station as it provided them more balanced information through exposure of violent acts and offering checks and balances hence, enhancing peace. The respondents indicated that the programming of the television station reflected their way of life - social and cultural values and beliefs. The Muvi Television was rated highly (58.4%) by the research respondents on providing informative and meaningful peace information. Media should adopt a holistic approach in regard to peace building initiatives. Peace building should be approached in its broadest sense to identify accurately and responsively various contentious issues. Media should provide a platform where solutions could be found.

Inadequate competences in peace building and conflict management among journalists at Muvi Television were a challenge this research identified. This impacted on the dissemination of peace information. Similarly, Howard (2003) observed that few journalists had training in the theory of conflict and peace issues. He further argued that having the skills to analyse conflict would enable reporters to be more effective professional journalists. Therefore, if journalists were trained in conflict management and peace building journalism, many would look at peace building with a different lens. Golfsfeld (2001) also suggested that structural changes should occur in the news media itself. The changes might include creating special sections in newspapers and programs in the broadcast media dedicated to peace building. In such programs reporters might be compelled to effectively investigate and search for the truth and materials that were consistent with the values of peace journalism.

This study has further showed that the most popular discussion programmes on Muvi Television station were the “live phone-in programmes” where the general public could

participate and share their view points. These were regarded as programmes that promoted freedom of expression in an emerging democracy such as Zambia. These phone-in programmes positioned the commercial television station at a higher level than the state owned television which never aired such programmes. In spite of this positive achievement however, a number of respondents in this study still felt that Muvi Television featured highly opinionated politicians or civic leaders who often took strong positions on any peace building issue being discussed. This normally alienated the listeners who wished to have fair and balanced arguments from the panellists.

Furthermore, the study showed that Muvi television was easily accessible by the community making it more effective in disseminating peace building information. The majority of respondents (59.4%) in this study indicated that it was easy to access Muvi Television and air their views /opinions. The key informants also stated that the Television station had phone lines in all its centres which were accessible to member of the public at any time. These telephone lines were announced intermittently and members of the public were encouraged to use them to make suggestions to the station. The key informants further mentioned that Muvi television station had a website, facebook page and twitter account which made it easier to access.

5.2 Summary

This Chapter covered the discussion on the key findings of the study in relation to what other authors have asserted on the subject of media and peace building. The chapter established the importance of media in peace building in Zambia as well as the need for journalist/reporters to acquire competences in peace and conflict issues if the media is to be effective in this regard. The next chapter will conclude the study and provide recommendations.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0 Overview

This Chapter summarises the study and also provides recommendations that might require consideration for the media to contribute positively to peace building in Zambia.

6.1 Conclusion

This study showed that Muvi Television contributes significantly to the discourse of building peace in Zambia. However, the quality of information offered in most programmes is affected by journalists' inadequate capacities in reporting processes on peace building issues. The study revealed that media needed to impartially disseminate peace information in order to contribute positively to building peace in the country. The research also confirmed that the polarisation of the media affects their role in contributing to peace in Zambia.

The findings of this research have illustrated the critical role and contribution of media to upholding peace in a country. However, this study has also shown the gaps that still exist in media achieving its optimal contribution to peace building in Zambia. The exact effect of media on peace building in Zambia has not yet been extensively studied. It still requires further research to establish better understanding of the matter. The researcher envisages through this research, the role of media in the political landscape of Zambia will be that of promoting peace.

6.2 Recommendations

Through the findings of this research the following recommendation are made:

- a. Media should provide a platform that disseminates accurate information when reporting on various issues of national importance which promotes peace building in the country.
- b. Media can be an advocate of peace building when it occupies its right position and acts impartially.

- c. Media should employ unbiased interactive methods of disseminating information that relates to peace building such as live phone-in programmes, online internet messages and mobile phone short message service streaming to get feedback from various audiences.
- d. The media should translate sensitive political/ or technical information into Zambian local languages to address/ reach-out to wider audiences.
- e. Journalists reporting on conflict matters must be trained in peace building and conflict management to increase their competencies.
- f. In-depth and rigorous research should be conducted to further establish and ascertain the impact of media commercialization and how it influences media contribution to building peace in Zambia.

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APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE No.....

ZIMBABWE OPEN UNIVERSITY

IN COLLABORATION WITH

THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA

PUBLIC QUESTIONNAIRE

RESEARCH TOPIC:

REFLECTIONS ON THE QUESTION OF MEDIA IN ZAMBIA: IMPLICATIONS ON BUILDING PEACE. A CASE STUDY OF MUVI TELEVISION.

Dear Respondent,

I am a student at the Zimbabwe Open University in collaboration with the University of Zambia in Lusaka, carrying out a research on a topic: 'The media in Zambia and their implications on building peace particularly MUVI television'.

This research is being conducted for academic purposes only but its results may invoke the desire to carry a bigger research whose results may contribute to the peace building in Zambia. The answers and information you will provide through this questionnaire will be used for academic purposes and your particulars will remain confidential. You have been randomly selected to contribute to the cause of peace building through your responses in this questionnaire. Kindly answer all the questions below. I will come back to you to collect the completed form.

Thanking you in advance.

Date of Interview: _____
Name of Interviewer: _____
Name of Residential Area: _____

INSTRUCTIONS

Please read all questions carefully and provide answers accordingly. Indicate your answer by circling the number of the appropriate answer(s). In cases where an explanation is required, please use the provided space for short and clear answers.

SECTION A: DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS			
S/No.	QUESTIONS AND FILTERS	RESPONSES	CODE
1	Gender	Male..... 1 Female..... 2	
2	Age at last birth day	18 – 24 years1 25 – 29 years2 30 – 34 years3 35 – 39 years4 Over 40 years5	
3	Marital Status	Single1 Married2 Divorced3 Widowed4 Separated5	
4	Religious Denomination	Catholic1	

		Protestant2 Pentecostal3 Muslim4 Other (specify)	
5	Highest educational qualification	Primary1 Secondary2 Tertiary3 Non4	
6	What is your employment classification?	Formal employment.....1 Informal employment.....2 Business3 Self-employed4 Un-employed5	
7	How long have you been living in this area?	0 – 4 years1 5 – 9 years2 10 – 14 years3 15 – 19 years4 Over 20 years5	
SECTION B: MEDIA AND BUILDING PEACE IN ZAMBIA			
8	What do you understand by the word 'peace'?		
9	How would you classify peace situation in Zambia?	Very peaceful1 Peaceful2 Slightly peaceful3 Not peaceful4	

10	Have you experienced any form of violence in your area?	Yes1 No2	
11	If yes, what kind of violence? (<i>you can circle more than one</i>)	Political violence1 Domestic violence2 Ethnic violence3 Cultural violence4 Physical violence.....5 Other (specify)	
12	Have you ever received information on building peace from any media house in Zambia?	Yes1 No2	
13	If the answer to question 10 is 'yes,' which media house was the source of the information? (<i>you can circle more than one</i>)	ZNBC1 MUVI TV2 TBN3 MOBI TV4 CBC TV5 Other (specify)	
14	Among the television stations you have identified above, which one do you think carries more peace programs in Zambia? Give reasons.	 a. b. c.	
15	What was the content of the peace building programmes that you watched/ listened to? (<i>you can circle more than one</i>)	Exposure of violent acts.....1 Effects of violence2 Promotion of dialogue3 Advocacy for peace4 Voice for minority groups5	

		Democratic values6 Unbiased political information.7 Election coverage8 Breaking ethnic divides9 Other (specify).....	
16	Are you satisfied with what media is doing in building peace in Zambia?	Very satisfied1 Satisfied2 Not satisfied3 Not satisfied at all4	
17	How has the information that you received helped you to promote peace in Zambia?		
18	In your opinion what more can the media do to promote peace in Zambia?		

END OF INTERVIEW

Thank you for your time.

APPENDIX B

Interview Guide for MUVI Television staff on 'Reflections on the Question of Media in Zambia: Implications on Building Peace. A Case of Muvi Television.'

My name is Maurice Sililo Sepiso. I am a Peace, Leadership and Conflict Resolution student at Zimbabwe Open University in collaboration with the University of Zambia. I am conducting a study on the "media in Zambia and their implications on building peace". The information I will obtain through this interview will be kept in confidence. It will purely be used for my academic purposes only. I will ask some questions and kindly request for your responses. I will not capture or relate your responses to you. Your responses will be captured unanimously. As you respond to these questions I will be writing your answers. To help me not to forget your important points you are raising I will use a tape recorder which is in front of me. Kindly feel free to provide information to the following questions. I wish therefore kindly allow me to use it and at the same time write your responses.

1. What do you think constitutes peace?
2. How would you define peace building?
3. In your own opinion what is the role of the media in building peace? Please explain
4. Which MUVI TV programs focus on peace building? Kindly provide examples of information the MV TV covers.
5. How much time would you say is devoted to reporting on issues to do with peace building as a proportion of the news on a typical day?
6. What experience or feedback do you usually get from MUVI TV reporters when covering peace building stories?
7. In your own opinion what impact/contribution has MUVI TV made to achieve peace in Zambia? Please explain.
8. From the coverage/contribution of MUVI TV, how would you describe the state of peace in Zambia so far?

9. In your own opinion what are the key peace building topics that you wish to be covering as peace building stories?
10. According to your experience what lessons can you share with me on the involvement of media in peace building in Zambia?
11. What do you recommend on the role of media in promoting peace building in Zambia?

Thank you for your time.