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EXPLORING INVESTIGATIVE JOURNALISM PRACTICE IN ZAMBIA: A CASE STUDY OF THE PRIVATE PRINT MEDIA IN LUSAKA

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Author: Muzinge N. Nampito

Dept: Media Studies

School of Business/Humanities

Information and Communications University

Lusaka, Zambia

nampitom@gmail.com

Abstract— This study was conducted with the aim to explore investigative journalism practice in private print media houses in Lusaka. The objectives of the research included to assess if investigative journalism exists in Zambian private media, to determine the extent of which investigative journalism is practiced by the private media, to examine factors that hinder investigative journalism by private media as well as to establish channels that will make private print houses practice investigative journalism in their duties. The study population consisted of 20 respondents from different categories. Self-administered questionnaires were used, the 20 respondents were selected using systematic sampling and the findings of the study were analysed using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). According to the findings, the majority of the respondents in terms of gender accounted for about 40% females and 60% males. In terms of levels of education, the lowest value accounted for 6% which represented those with high school certificates while 39% accounted for those with bachelor degree certificates represented as a level within which most of the respondents fall under. In finding out about the extent to which investigative journalism is practised in private print media in Lusaka, findings indicate that 55% agreed to the fact that private print media does practise investigative journalism while the

Co-Author: Dr. Sycorax. Ndhlovu

Dept: Media Studies

School of Business/Humanities

Information and Communications University

Lusaka, Zambia

lowest which is 15% of the respondents argued that it is practised to a lower extent. In finding out if investigative journalism exists in Zambia, 65% of the respondents agreed while 35% disagreed. However, some recommendations made includes the need for more open discussions and awareness campaigns in the country, to help in educating the public on the importance of freedom of information and how beneficial it could be to Zambia. There is need for positive and speedy action to put in place new progressive media legislation and repeal existing laws that impede freedom of the media and freedom of information. Zambian civil society organizations must consider alternative and more intensive strategies to exert stronger pressure on government to pass the Freedom of Information Bill. There is need to translate the FOIB into local languages so that people who do not understand the English language very well could be able to read in the languages they understand as this would make them comprehend the contents and appreciate the importance of the Bill. The Zambian government should seriously look into the issue of journalist's safety when they are on duty as well as while conducting research.

Keywords—private media, print media, investigative journalism

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I. INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND

The media constitute a powerful and important source of influence as well as is one of the most important tools of communication in society. At present, news channels such as radio, television and newspapers are platforms for exchange of information on governance, economics, social and culture, among other issues. The media in society is a component of governance usually helping in promoting transparency and accountability.

As Denis McQuail suggests: "The questions most insistently asked of social research on mass communication, and perhaps least clearly answered, have to do with the effects and social influence of the different mass media. The reasons for asking are understandable enough, given the amount of time spent attending to the mass media in many countries and the amount of resources invested in mass media production and distribution. Although much has been written by way of answers and a good deal of research carried out, it has to be admitted that the issue remains a disputed one, both in general about the significance of Mass Media and in particular about the likely effect of given instances communication." of mass (McQuail, 1977)

It gives exposure to the mass audience about what is right or wrong and helps to inform people about the realities. Most opinion formation takes place when people listen to news, read newspapers, and watch television. Societies are largely dependent on regular contacts with the mass media for information, entertainment, education, opinions, various ideas from different people in society, and many other vital issues all of which are connected to their capability of making informed decisions.

Whether people want it or like it, the mass media is a part of all their lives. From the time they rise in the morning until the time they switch off the lights at night, they are intermittently and sometimes constantly interacting with the mass media. Adding up the number of hours they spend with the media would be a staggering amount, almost a second lifetime (Daniel, 1982; Thomas, 1972).

This world is overwhelmed with many evils in form of various unethical practices in the different professions and businesses that affects society. Professions such as medicine, law, teaching, accounting and security among others.

In politics, unethical practices are so rampant such that it is sometimes difficult to find a straight being. example. according to the Financial Intelligence Report of 2018, Zambia lost K4.5 billion in 2017 alone through financial crimes such as corruption and tax evasion, among other money laundering activities. But this situation is not peculiar to Zambia alone; globally we see, hear and read articles of how unethical practices have disadvantaged societies. The New York City Police Department has had to pay out over \$400 million in lawsuits involving 12, 000 cases over a period of five years. In South Africa a recent scandal involving former President Zuma and the Gupta family drew attention to the depth of corruption in that country. Back to Zambia, Transparency International lists the country as the 96 most corrupt nation out of 175 countries, (2017 Corruption Perceptions Index) In Zambia, unemployment levels are at 74 percent, poverty at 80 percent in the rural areas and 64 percent in urban areas out of 17 million people.

With high levels of unethical practice in professions and businesses, one cannot be surprised that most countries are experiencing high levels of unemployment and poverty levels. In Zambia, unemployment levels are high standing at 64 percent (ILO, 2015) due to abuse of public resources. Such a situation attracts questions in transparency and accountability since such

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malpractices are against public interest, one can also question where law enforcement and investigative journalists are.

Investigative journalism is a type of journalism that provides truth about people from government and other entities such as corporations who attempt to keep their often-illegal activities secret (Aucoin, 2007). And Chambers (2013) further reckon is that its purpose is to expose such actions so that those involved can be held accountable.

Houston (2010) also points out that investigative Journalism can bring to light the abuse of government resources to promote change and accountability through citizen engagement in public affairs by providing information to the masses. Considering the role of journalism as a Fourth Estate in democracy and development; especially using its branch of investigative journalism, it can contribute to combating various malpractices and unethical conduct in professions and in business.

Investigative journalism is needed all round the world. The global case of abuse of power is prevalent all around the world. For example, in the developed world, we saw how the United States was arbitrarily using its global power to attack countries like Iraq and Afghanistan. On the other side of the world, China is investing in many Third World countries and abusing their resources and natural environment without following laws. Tong and Sparks (2009) state that in African countries, especially in the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) region, African leaders are abusing their power by staying long in office or committing corruption. All these are strong points for Investigative journalism to take its mantle to dig out information for the masses to know what their leaders are doing.

Investigative journalism firstly diverts resources and expertise into unmasking potential abuses of power and/or developments that stand to significantly impact on the life of a proportion of society, or at the very least creates a system of monitoring powerful interests that may check abuses of power with such outcomes.

This is an extension of the liberal democratic/enlightenment ideal of limiting power and influence, as an informal check on the illegal or questionable activities of resourced Secondly, it should also draw attention to passive shortcomings in public policy that affect the public. This is a guardianship role, where laws, regulations, and the operation of significant public and private bodies are scrutinized for effectiveness and for their fulfillment of the public good.

Freedom of information gives people the right to access records held by government departments and certain public bodies. Freedom of information is vital to the proper functioning of a modern representative government. It is an indispensable concomitant of modern democracy and is, therefore, an effective tool for attaining the democratic goals of transparency, accountability and good governance. (Matibini, 2010). According to Evan (2000), freedom of information, and specifically access to information held by public authorities, is a fundamental element to the proper functioning of a democracy. The quote makes clear that democracy cannot be fully enjoyed in a country without freedom of information.

The free flow of information is necessary for people to know about what is happening around them and a lot of more other vital events taking place worldwide. There is no country that can develop successfully without information flow. This is because an informed nation usually makes informed decisions if information is flowing freely from the sources to the media and from the media to the general public.

The role of a free press in the creation of a system of governance in which accountability,

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transparency, rule of law, and public participation in governmental decision making cannot be overemphasized. This is because in any society, the media is expected to play roles such as, to serve as a watchdog to the three organs of government which are the judiciary, the legislature and the executive; to inform the public about issues which are of national interest; to serve as a medium of communication that guarantees free, open debate, and discussions among members of society; to influence public opinion through impartial, balanced and fair analysis of issues that are of national interest; and last but not the least, to serve economic system through the sponsored advertisements designed to bring buyers and sellers into contact with each other.

Zambia does not yet have a Freedom of Information Act. Although media lobby groups initiated a private member's Freedom of Information Bill in Parliament in February 2002, the government speedily invoked Article 81 of the Constitution, which stipulates that bills with financial implications need the consent of the President, or the minister of finance before they can be tabled in parliament.

The Freedom of Information Bill (FOIB) was first presented in parliament on 22nd November 2002, by Information and Broadcasting Minister.

Therefore, journalism seeks to expose unethical, immoral and illegal behavior by government officials, politicians as well as private citizens (Aucoin, 2007). This genre of journalism has the potential to make a worthwhile contribution to society by "drawing attention to failures within society's systems of regulation and to the ways in which those systems can be circumvented by the rich, the powerful and the corrupt' (Chambers, 2013). Given a Zambian situation where reports of abuse of public funds are common, for example, the procurement of fire tenders at an inflated cost by the government under questionable circumstances

(**Lusaka Times**, 2018, Dec 4, 2014), investigative journalism can play a critical role in combating this scourge.

Through this mechanism, investigative journalism seeks to protect the weak and the down-trodden by bringing down the powerful walls created by the rich and powerful in society through means of concealing and attempting to make evil and illegal acts secret for personal and specific group gains.

II. 1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT

Zambia is one of the countries in Africa were professional and business unethical conduct are common (**Lusaka Times**, 2011). For example, a former Ministry of Health official was recently imprisoned for stealing public funds meant for citizens to access quality health. When investigative journalists uncovered a scam in which millions of dollars were stolen, donors demanded a refund from government and froze donor aid for at least two years. Recently, the Financial Intelligence Unit uncovered a repatriation of millions of dollars of funds outside the country, mainly through law.

There are also a lot of issues in Zambia, such as sexual exploitation and abuse of workers that investigative journalism needs to tackle. It should serve as a check and balance against power hungry corporations and government. It should inform the public rather than sensationalism. There appears to be little investigative journalism these days as it is not profitable. Zambia is one of the countries in Africa were unethical conduct is common among professionals and business persons (Auditor General's Report, 2015). So investigative journalism, can contribute to combat the various malpractices and unethical conduct but there is need to ascertain levels of investigations by the Private Newspapers on this matter. Despite the many mushrooming private print media in Lusaka, little is known on their levels of commitment to conduct investigative journalism

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III. 1.3RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

General Objective

The general objective of the study is to explore and enhance opportunism for investigative journalism in private print media houses in Zambia.

IV. 1.4 SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES

- 1. To assess if investigative journalism exists in Zambian private media
- 2. To determine the extent of which investigative journalism is practiced by the private media
- 3. To examine factors that hinder investigative journalism by private media
- 4. To establish channels that will make private print houses practice investigative journalism in their duties

1.5 Research hypothesis

The following **Research hypothesis** will guide this study: It is arguably however necessary that we need to take the case somewhat further and to probe rather more carefully the initial general assumption that ownership and control of the means of mass communication does necessarily affect the level of investigative journalism practice in Zambia. However, there are likely to be more important structural variations giving way to enhanced opportunities for investigative journalism.

V. 1.6 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- 1. Does investigative journalism exist in Zambian private media?
- 2. To what extent is investigative journalism practiced by private media?
- 3. Are there factors that hinder investigative journalism by private media?
- 4. What channels will make private print houses practice investigative journalism in their duties?

Theoretical Framework

Theories of journalism that have been useful and relevant in the pre-digital era are becoming less useful as the former power structures in society

such as governments, businesses and organizations lose their ability to control communication closely. New paradigms are needed to better understand the dynamics of a rapidly changing digital world in which communication networks carry information instantaneously, globally for little or no cost. At the same time, the ability of people to network is changing work practices. Studies of workplace practice are moving from a technical and competency-influenced discourse (Boud, 2009), to reflection and reflexivity. The concept of practice is 'evolving and becoming richer' and practice is being conducted in a wider variety of settings (Boud, 2009) which are 'collective rather than individual', 'multidisciplinary transdisciplinary' with an increasing emphasis on 'practice being co-produced with those with whom it is conducted'.

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VI. 6 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The study will be useful in providing information to researchers, policy makers and various stakeholders on levels of professional and business unethical conduct in Zambia. It will also demonstrate to what extent private newspapers in Lusaka are involved in fighting such scourge. To news media organizations, journalists and government, this research will show to what extent abuse of office is in Zambia. This will encourage and promote relevant authorities, agencies including news media organizations to combat such malpractices. This would further facilitate what should be done to improve on investigative journalism in Zambia.

1.7 Justification of the Research

Information acts as a basis of comparing performance and as a reference of set targets. Freedom of information is important to Zambia because it can help in contributing to government openness, transparency, inducing disclosure, accountability, prevent and combat corruption, thereby enhancing good governance.

A Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection (JCTR) online article observes that promoting the right to freedom of information is one of the ways of preventing corruption. This right facilitates participation and it is significant to all the efforts people enlist in their fight against corruption. Government should then make certain that free flow of information is allowed. This would encourage people to denounce corruption cases (JCTR, 2011).

If the people have a right of access to public information, they can know what is going on in their society and hence be able to freely and actively participate in the fight against corruption. It is for this reason that the Freedom of Information Bill should be enacted into law. Information is also a basis for providing checks and balances and holding people in government offices accountable for their actions. In today's globalizing world, people can

agree that the media plays an important role in providing information to the public.

1.9 Defining key Terms

Investigative Journalism: Investigative Journalism is a form of journalism in which reporters go indepth to investigate a single story that may uncover corruption, review government policies or of corporate houses, or draw attention to social, economic, political or cultural trends.

Private Media:

Private media is any media outlet whose financing is provided by individuals or private groups

Public Media:

Public broadcasting includes radio, television and other electronic media outlets whose primary mission is public service. In much of the world, funding comes from the government.

Factor: circumstance, fact, or influence that contributes to a result.

Hinder: Make it difficult for (someone) to do something or for (something) to happen.

Journalism: The activity or profession of writing for newspapers, magazines, or news websites or preparing news to be broadcast.

Organization: An organized group of people with a particular purpose, such as a business or government department.

Democracy: A system of government by the whole population or all the eligible members of a state, typically through elected representatives.

Malpractice: Improper, illegal, or negligent professional behavior.

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I. CHAPTER TWO

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

III. 2.1 OVERVIEW

This chapter seeks to outline the literature reviewed by the researcher in relations to the study at hand. Doing literature review helps to demonstrate familiarity with the body of knowledge and establish credibility, as well as, showing how the current research project is linked to past research, Neuman (2006). This chapter reviews the literature of the study. The review will relay greatly on data obtained from published reference materials such as books, online magazines, and journals. The review will provide an overview of major past activities that had earlier been studied in relation on the exploring and enhancing opportunism investigative journalism in Zambia: A case study of private newspapers in Lusaka.

2.2 Brief History

The background of the media in Zambia goes back to the early 1900s when the white settlers established newspapers in towns along the line of rail to carter for their communities. These newspapers included the Livingstone Pioneer which started in 1906, and is believed to be the first print media newspaper. However, this newspaper was racially biased. The white settlers enjoyed positive publicity while views of the blacks were ignored. Africans were greatly excluded from the news columns. The newspaper was politically charged, as it usually reflected the views and directives of the colonial masters (GRZ, 1996). The Africans were 'starved', as far as news and information dissemination was concerned. Apart from being denied access to mass media, very few Africans were literate at that time. The Livingstone pioneer was more in advertising than news coverage. It ran no stories for Africans, apart from the stories which concerned the whites. It was purely for white settlers. The other newspapers included The Copperbelt Times, The Northern Rhodesia Advertiser, The Northern News, The African Times, The African Life and The African Mail (Kasoma, 1986).

Zambia, formerly Northern Rhodesia, is a land-locked Central African country that won its independence from Britain in 1964. It was then that its name was changed from Northern Rhodesia to Zambia.

Broadcasting in this country officially started in 1941 with the make-shift government station at the old Lusaka Airport. However, as early as 1939, experimental broadcasts were conducted on the Copperbelt by the Copperbelt Amateur Wireless Club (Banda, 2001; Makungu, 2004). Kasoma 1990 wrote that the Lusaka Station carried out transmissions for an hour, three days in a week to Africans and once a week to Europeans. The purpose of the broadcast was primarily to inform both the Africans and the Europeans of the territory about the progress of World War II.

In those early broadcasting days, radio receivers were very few and the majority of the people were not tuned into radio. According to a report of the Information Department, this problem was partly solved when 100 listening facilities were placed at suitable centers throughout the territory. A report on the development of broadcasting to Africans in Central Africa noted in 1949 that by this time, Africans needed to listen not from community receivers, but from their homes, as was the case of the Europeans. The scheme to equip natives with radios in their homes was initiated by the then Director of Information, Harry Franklin.

Harry Franklin, Director of Information, designed a special sauce-pan radio set which was subsequently manufactured in England (Kasoma, 1990). The first batch of 2000 of "The Sauce-pan Special," as the cheap, green radio set was popularly known arrived in the country in September, 1949. By February, 1950, all the sets had sold out. Sales averaged at 425

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per month. A big step towards providing Africans with radio listening facilities within their homes had been achieved, and the time was ripe for government to begin its propaganda campaigns on radio. They included improved agricultural methods and better hygiene.

In 1949, the colonial government began to transmit radio programmes in English and four of the seven official Zambian local languages which are Bemba, Nyanja, Lozi and Tonga. Services in the three remaining Zambian languages, Lunda, Luvale and Kaonde, were added in 1967. (Open Society Foundation, 2010 & MISA, 2010). According to a report by the Information Department of 1950, the Central African Broadcasting Services (CABS) was established in March, 1950, covering Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

In 1957, the service was extended to include Southern Rhodesia and was renamed Federal Broadcasting Corporation (FBC) of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. In January 1964, with the break-up of the Federation, the name changed to the Northern Rhodesia **Broadcasting** Corporation. The government of newly independent Zambia established two distinct radio stations: Radio one, known as the 'Home Service', for Zambian languages, and Radio two, the English language 'General Service' (OSISA, 2010). Radio three was introduced shortly afterwards, designated 'Radio Freedom' (ibid.). This was also an external service broadcasting on short-wave and used for broadcasting by Zambian based African freedom fighters from neighbouring countries then still under colonial rule. Radio three was eventually when disbanded these countries independent, but the original numbering remains to the present day, with Radio four, an entertainment channel broadcasting in English, added in 1989. A privately owned international company, London-Rhodesia Company (Lonrho), started television services in 1961.

The station was bought and nationalized by the Zambian government in 1964 and became part of the Zambia Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC) (Chirwa, 2010). By 1965, the United National Independence Party (UNIP) government had bought the Zambia Daily Mail (formerly Central African Mail). By the late 70s, the UNIP government had also bought off the **Times of Zambia** and the **Sunday Times** newspaper (Makomani, 2011).

In 1966, ZBC was renamed Zambia Broadcasting Services (ZBS). The name was again changed in 1988 to Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC) (Taylor, 2006:35). The Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation Act of 1987 established a **ZNBC** government-owned corporation (OSISA, 2010). ZNBC is, at least on paper, a public broadcaster (ZNBC Amendment Act, 2002) which has two television stations and three radio stations. ZNBC second TV channel, TV2 was officially launched on 15th January 2010. During the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the federal government-controlled radio and television outlets, which were used to demonize black nationalists and to tout the views of the federal government (Makomani, 2011).

In practice, ZNBC followed in the path trodden by other broadcasting outlets in most African countries. It became a state-run institution that tended to report news only from the government and ruling party's perspective. Opposition views were absent from ZNBC radio and television news. Zambia's first republican president Kenneth Kaunda and the ruling party saw the broadcast media as handmaidens of the government and UNIP to propagate and spread, uncritically, progovernment views and policies. In Kaunda's view, which was shared by many African leaders, opposition parties were enemies whose views should never be published or spread by the media (ibid.).

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Kaunda became a fixture on ZNBC news, regardless of what he was doing. His speeches, even at political rallies, were repeatedly shown on television, often uncut and unedited (Kasoma, 1997). Some of those speeches were repeated a number of times during the broadcast cycle. As president, Kaunda could and did appoint and fire the ZNBC Director-general, the person with the responsibility for the daily programming.

Additionally, at independence in 1964, the mass media were still divided into racial camps, as well as between a well-served urban populace and a very poorly served rural citizenry. They were also divided between those which were privately owned and those which were government owned.

The racial divide of the media in Zambia extended to broadcasting (Kwaleyela, 1965). The small Radio Broadcasting Station that the Northern Rhodesia government established in Lusaka in 1941 was meant to serve Africans only. It did broadcast in six vernacular languages. White settlers tuned to the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), the Southern African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) or a station set up in Salisbury for white listeners.

Another private radio station was established by a private firm, the London Rhodesia Company (Lonrho) in Kitwe in 1961 (GRZ, 2010). However, the 1990s saw the unfolding of the process of liberalization across Southern Africa with its attendant deregulation policies and legislative implications. At the same time, Zambia was caught up in a political reform towards embracing liberal democracy.

This reflected a wider shift from authoritarian regimes to plural politics. Similar changes in media management were expected, from state controlled to a liberalized media industry. For instance, in 1993, the new government elected in office in 1991, passed the Zambia National Broadcasting

Corporation 15 Licensing Regulation Act which saw the liberalization of the broadcasting sector for private investment (GRZ, 2006) Zambian Media has undergone a lot of changes since colonial times. One of the biggest changes is the shift from private owned, to state owned and finally to a liberalized media. Zambian print media came on the scene earlier than the electronic media. Journalistic activities started thriving in colonial times and were privately owned. initially The first radio broadcasting which was started in Lusaka in 1941 by the Northern Rhodesia government was followed 20 years later in 1961 by Television (Makungu, 1993).

The Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) that came into power in October 1991, under the late President Frederick Chiluba liberalised and deregulated the airwaves by enacting the ZNBC (Licensing) Regulations Act (1993), the Telecommunications Act (1994) and the Radio Communications Act (1994) (Chirwa, 2010).

Investigative journalism occupies a prominent place in mass media all over the world and represents an effective form of social control over official power and institutions in a civil society. The investigation method remarkably enriches journalist's research techniques, improves ways of content representation, and has an influence on genres, composition forms, and stylistic characteristics of the text. It can be resulting in specific types of mass media production such as "investigative" newspapers, television programmes, websites, documentary books. marker of "Investigative Journalism" whether it appears in the headline, in announcements, or follows the investigation authors' names, etc. immediately attracts the audience's attention.

This is the sign of research publications with usually high social status. Nevertheless, this marker can be also used for the other purposes; first of all, in manipulation purposes in pre-election

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campaigns, and secondly, in order to give publications some pseudo sensational nature in popular and entertainment journalism. From the theoretical point of view, the phenomenon of journalistic investigation has no clear and conventional interpretation. "Investigation" as such, assumes the use of specific methods, a certain schedule, a sequence of special processes and procedures when working with the sources.

Despite a considerable quantity of practical textbooks about investigative journalism, all these aspects of the creative process have not much sufficient description and evaluation in academic studies. It is not quite clear how the cognitive and representational portions of journalistic work relate to each other in the investigation process. The first stream of books bout investigative journalism appeared in

the second half of 1970s in the USA (D. Anderson, P. Benjaminson, Williams) as a response to the famous Watergate investigation by Washington Post journalists. Researchers consider traditions of American journalism and culture as a whole, "the muckraking era" and the "Watergate case" to be among the defining factors, which have influenced the formation of investigative journalism in the United States of America (USA) (D. Protess). Up until now American studies of this phenomenon occupy the leading positions in investigative journalism. According to the British researcher, Hugo de Burgh, "investigative journalism, although much discussed in Europe, is little researched" (De Burgh, 2000: 4). In the USA as well as in Europe research is mainly conducted in two basic areas: historical (it is hypothesized that the roots of investigative type of reporting can be found in naturalism literature of the second half of the 19th century) and applied, including the techniques description of investigation.

As a result, great attention is given to the analysis of specific cases and the most of works is of

descriptive nature. The Dutch journalist Dick van Eijk has raised this issue in his book "Investigative Journalism in Europe". He insisted on the urgent necessity of "the analytical approach" to defining the phenomenon (Van Eijk, 2005: 13).

Meanwhile, many questions regarding the theoretical aspects of journalistic investigation remain debatable. For example, the very existence of the investigative journalism as an independent phenomenon is under the question. Some researchers insist that the term "journalistic investigation" is a tautology because any journalism is investigative in its nature or at least should be. (J. Pilger, C. MacDougal).

Thereby this is important to define the constituent elements of investigative journalism. What distinguishes it from the common, everyday news journalism and from other types of journalism with similar methodology such as analytical, interpretative and precision journalism? The accurate criteria for defining an object and a subject of journalistic investigation are hard to find in the special literature; existing definitions are often limited to a list of themes that can presumably attract an interest of an investigator.

There is no clarity in the definition of purposes, problems and functions of investigative journalism. This article attempts to fill these gaps. Before formulating the basic concepts of the journalistic investigation, it is necessary to outline a set of problems, which are usually studied by researchers of a specific social phenomenon. In our case, the phenomenon is investigative journalism. Its study is conducted in three directions the history of investigation, the theory of the journalistic investigative method and the analysis of practice with applied recommendations and generalizations.

As journalism studies mostly have applied character, any research in this area has been based on practice and has been aimed at the practical

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application; for this reason, in whatever of three academic directions the journalists move. Initially journalists' attention will be always turned to a specific product of investigative journalism. When the number of texts chosen for the analysis is sufficient, it becomes possible to trace the patterns and formulate definitions. In this study the examples from the Russian journalism of 1990-2000th have been used as a material for analysis.

Commonly, journalistic investigation has been seen as an independent genre in the same sense as a reporting or a review. It has to be noted that herein the term "genre" has been used more for the reasons of convenience in order to avoid repetitions in the text while the talk was about a method or investigating. Method is a way, a movement trajectory towards the goal in mind.

In this sense the method of journalistic investigation covers the whole process of a reporter's work on the particular journalistic product beginning from an idea, a topic, and finishing with a published text. It seems is logical to present this method as a two-side structure. The first side of this structure will be responsible for the technological or operational algorithm of an investigation (data gathering and processing) and reflects the gnoseological part of the method. The second side, which we will call representative, is the product created by a journalist (whether it is a documentary film, a book or a newspaper article).

The gnoseological side of the journalistic investigation method includes all methods and techniques used for gathering the preliminary data, their processing, checking and double checking the hypotheses, and forming the definitive concept of the future product. The representative side contents the text created as a result of investigation. The operational model of the creative process of a journalistic product can be seen as a chain of the interconnected creative and procedural operations:

1) choice of the topic -2) research design -3)

search and accumulation of the data -4) hypothesis formulation -5) data analysis & testing the hypothesis -6) text writing -7) publication.

The results of the content analysis and review of the existing special literature allow us to draw a conclusion based on thematic preferences of investigative journalism. First, they cannot be limited to any one sphere of social life (for example, the criminal sphere); secondly, any subject of the journalistic investigation is somehow connected with a case of a breaking the law. An interesting answer to the question of "What is the journalistic investigation?" was asked by the Russian Reporter J. Shum: "Investigation as a genre cannot be limited to the framework of a certain problem. A talented journalist can produce a brilliant material, a real detective story by just having tried to find out, for example, why the nearest lake was left by beavers" (Shum, 2000: 7).

However, if while gathering the data the journalist does not meet any obstacles, he will only need to study carefully the information received from the open sources and publish the story. Only when the necessary data will be not accessible (refusal of an interview, unsatisfactory response for an official inquiry,) there will be a reason to start journalistic investigation. Thus, there are two basic criteria that allow us to delimit the subject of journalistic investigation – presence of offence (it can be both a legal and a moral transgression) and deliberately hidden data about it. If the first criterion is the key to understanding the topic of investigation, the second one characterizes the operational features of the method.

Hence, only as a whole they form a structure which we name "journalistic investigation". Basically, all authors, writing about a journalistic investigation mention the aforesaid criteria. However, they are not defined as constituting and are usually named among the others. Usually the terms such as "crime", "abuse" and "wrong-doing" with further

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enumeration of their synonyms have been used. Nevertheless, in order to define journalistic investigation as a method of journalistic work it is necessary to select the most general indicators that characterize all phenomena included in the concept. Otherwise any definition will, on the one hand, inevitably suffer from redundancy, and on the other be insufficient.

Let us explain this thought. If the definition will be based on the listing of the different kinds of offences (for example, "negligence", "corruption", "murder", etc.) this "list" will be never final; it will be always possible to add some other (new) crimes and in this sense the definition will be insufficient. From the other hand, as far as any element on the "list" will always fall under the definition of any further explanations will be "offence" redundant. Based on the arguments above, we can formulate the following of the studied phenomenon. Journalistic investigation is the method of journalistic work aimed at finding out and making public the deliberately hidden data about an offence of any kind. Thus, the subject of investigation is the fact(s) of offence of various societal legal and moral standards, laws and rules, which offenders are hiding deliberately from the public. Journalists investigate activities of certain persons, organizations and structures responsible for these offences.

The purpose of investigative reporting "It is often said that journalism is the first rough draft of history; by contrast, investigative journalism provides the first rough draft of legislation" (De Burgh, 2004: 3). This statement by Hugo de Burgh reflects perhaps, the main, primary purpose of journalism of investigation that is not simply to inform the society that something happened somewhere, but it is deeper than that; it tries to uncover the most painful, sometimes bleeding sores, glaring contradictions, that have high societal value.

Such investigation may result in critical decisions taken by authorities or revision of existing laws. among others. This is exactly what the British researcher talks about: "To summarize, investigative journalists attempt to get at the truth where the truth is obscure because it suits others that it be so; they choose their topics from a sense of right and wrong which we can only call a moral sense, but in the manner of their research they attempt to be dispassionately evidential. They are doing more than disagreeing with how society runs; they are pointing out that it is failing by its own standards.

They expose, but this is done in public interest, which they define. Their efforts, if successful, alert us to failures in the system and lead to politicians, lawyers and policemen taking action even as they fulminate, action that may result in legislation or regulation" (De Burgh, 2004). The Russian program "Clean Pens (Quills)" gave a very accurate definition to the purpose of journalistic investigation:

"The investigation purpose is to give publicity to hidden and illegal communications between power and business structures, and the organized crime; to make the political and financial situation in a country, region, industry, authority level, a large production unit or business more transparent" (ibid, 2001)

The key role in the choice of an object of investigation belongs, undoubtedly, to the public interest. However even though this concept is often used it remains uncertain. We can see attempts to outline public interest in various codes of professional journalistic ethics. Perhaps, the fullest interpretation of societal interest has been given in the "Code of Practice" ratified by the Press Complaints Commission in 2007: The public interest includes, but is not confined to: i) Detecting or exposing crime or serious impropriety. ii) Protecting public health and safety. iii) Preventing

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the public from being misled by an action or statement of an individual or organization.

Based on this, a socially significant event is defined as the one that reflects such interests of people, which affect their life directly or indirectly. Such interpretation allows us to distinguish "the information having public importance from the information satisfying public curiosity"; this is rather important for delimitation of the subject of journalistic investigation. In the ordinary view the purpose of investigative journalism can be formulated as follows: detection and publication of the latent facts of offences that have a public interest.

The purpose of the journalistic investigation can be specified more through its goals. The major goal is revealing the persons responsible for the offence. Ullman (2005) states that journalistic investigation makes additional demands on the investigator, such as to uncover abuse, to reveal infringements of laws, establishments, norms of behavior and even moral norms. The reporter needs to pay attention not only to the defects of societal institutes such as, for example, the inefficiency of relations between the state and the farmers, bad preparation of students in comparison with other countries, but also to who are the people responsible for these defects (Ullman, 2005).

However, this reveals that different journalists have different purposes. Some are engaged in investigation to expose the wrong-doing of the mighty and, thereby, to resist unlawful actions while others are trying by all means to discredit a person executing an order paid for by someone.

Researching all possible points of view on the subject is another important goal of the journalistic investigation. "The issue should be investigated and presented in publications from different and preferably from all possible points of view", says the Russian author Rimsky (2011). While solving

this problem, a journalist comes closer to fulfilling the major requirement of journalism in general and investigative journalism in particular: staying objective and unbiased.

Functions of investigative journalism When studying the functions of investigative journalism, we used the research on the main functions of the mass media as well as analysis of numerous examples of journalistic investigations found in the Russian press of two decades (1990-2000th). As a methodological base for this research we followed the "subject approach" to the system of journalism functions by S. Korkonosenko. "At the center of this approach is the recognition of the fact that the structure of journalism functions is versatile and multifaceted. In other words, journalism offers a great wealth of "abilities" and a specific social subject chooses what is most important for it" (Rimsky,2001).

Such subjects in relation to journalism are the social system, social institutes and groups, the person and journalists. Respectively, the functions carried out by journalism in the relation to all these subjects are different. We shall analyze them one after another and focus specifically on what corresponds most to the nature of investigative journalism. In relation to the social system or society, journalism carries out integrative and cognitive functions.

To a certain extent, both of these functions are inherent to investigative journalism. Hence, the integration of social components can be seen in investigative journalists' attempts to unite their efforts within various professional communities (for example in Russia: "The Community of Journalists-investigators", "The Guild of Court Reporters", etc.; similar organizations investigators exist in many countries of the world). Besides purely professional cooperation (legal and information support, experience exchange, protecting the rights of journalists, etc.) such

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organizations promote the creation of a common informational space.

As a result, one of the goals of the Community of Journalists-investigators is to organize a united information database and a "bank" of existing texts from investigative journalists that can help reporters to access materials about the subjects under research. Investigative journalism makes it possible to promote this function of the media; we can say that it is the cognition function that is essential to the research method because this function most fully describes its nature and goals.

From the point of view of specific social institutes and groups the functions of the press are presented by propaganda, agitation and organization. It is obvious that we can speak about the ability of investigative journalism to realize the first two functions only to a certain extent. Propaganda can be the distribution of legal knowledge and moral values. In this sense, investigative journalism is fully capable of influencing attitudes, which is the main purpose of propaganda. Agitation is least applicable to investigative journalism because in this case reporters do not set the example (the main goal of agitation). It would be the right thing to assume the opposite: if the text which seems to be investigative shows the signs of propaganda or agitation, this text has nothing to do with investigative journalism.

The situation with the organization function is quite different. It "is directly aimed at achievement of certain shifts in social practice, in behavior of social groups, the organizations, human masses". This function is organic to the purposes and problems of investigative journalism and is associated directly with the function of cognition carried out by the press in relation to society.

There are not many examples like this in the world practice as well. However, the main example in the history of the Watergate investigation to this day remains brilliant illustration of how journalism can change society. In relation to the person journalism carries out specific functions, which depend on personal characteristics of individuals

promoting socialization of the person; the functions formed on the basis of the concept of connection with society and individual people (ideological, emotional, organizationally-active); the functions of psychological relaxation (entertainment, relaxation, psycho hygiene). Concerning the first group of functions it is possible to say that part of them definitely corresponds to the purpose of investigative journalism which promotes cognition of the environment by people and helps correct their behavior.

The observation of the practice shows that the investigative journalism is expressed by the functions of connection in a quite peculiar form. Korkonosenko (2010) opines that, "a person watches the press to follow the career of former colleagues as well as the life of celebrities—actors, politicians, sportsmen" The people standing on both sides of the law—those who enforce it and those who break it—watch one another when they read the materials of a journalistic investigation; these publications give them enough food for thought that in turn may result in the development of certain strategies and behaviour tactics.

A good example of such publication was the newspaper "Vash Taynij Sovetnik" in Russia which in 1990s was focused on the criminal world and corruption in St.-Petersburg. Once the journalists of this "detective" newspaper publish the article "Why did they kill Vitja Murmanskij?" about the assassination of the important person from the Petersburg's underworld. Next to this article stood the last interview with the just killed criminal authority ("If they kill me, it will be a sniper or a machine gunner"). There is no doubt that these materials had drawn enough of profession attention of the police officers working on this murder for

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Also, criminals could follow the hire case. journalistic publications. Investigation should end injustice but it does not always happen. Cases when investigation results in punishment of the offender are rare. More often we see a boomerang effect or what Korkonosenko (2010) calls dysfunction. What kinds of feelings can the reader experience after reading an article, which describes outrageous cases of corruption and abuse when those responsible are still free and safely ensconced in their cushy positions? What psycho hygiene can we talk about here? On the contrary, it creates a contradiction, the feeling of injustice in the world; which in the language of psychology is called "cognitive dissonance".

"The dissonance condition, or feeling of conflict, arises when the person is simultaneously faced with the two psychologically inconsistent types of "knowledge" (opinions, estimations, etc.) about the same subject. This condition results in feelings of discomfort or an imbalance as well as the desire to get rid of it" (Roshin, 1989).

In the collection of "The Clean Pens" journalistic investigations nearly all the material would cause the reader to experience cognitive dissonance and often at least three articles would lead to frustration.

The extreme display of dissonance is characterized as "the psychological condition arising from a real or imagined obstacle that interferes with the final goal. It is expressed as a feeling of pressure, uneasiness, despair, anger, etc." (Roshin, 1989).

As paradoxical as it may sound, the anger and irritation caused by the articles can turn into a contrasting emotion: the sensation of gloomy satisfaction and even gloating. The reader can argue approximately like this: "Well, I thought so! I always knew that all of those in power are the same. They're thieves and swindlers covering for each another; it has always been like this and it always will be!" It may sound sad but investigative

journalism is gradually turning into a type of entertainment.

The commercial pressures are so great that investigative journalism, generally seen as the most expensive type of journalism but one that does not attract mass consumption, is on the way out unless it can be soaped up into comic. More and more frequently the use of investigative "techniques" is limited to accuse or expose someone. This of course entertains the public but cannot bring about any changes to the society. So, we inevitably come to the conclusion that hedonistic function is one of the leading for investigative journalism even though it has nothing to do with the primary mission of this type of journalism. The hedonistic function also explains the common quality of investigative journalistic products as conflicting as their main premise. Thus, one of the major purposes of journalistic investigation, in our opinion, is the necessity to present all possible points of view at the object of research, which also makes it possible to realize people's natural desire to compete. Roshin (2016) points out, this requirement shows in particular "an aspiration to see people's real "competitive struggle". For intellectuals this requirement has been expressed in the desire to see and evaluate various opinions in live debates or in The same desire explains people's the Press. interest in raising debatable issues in the Press and in discussions.

In other words, controversial statements reflecting the struggle of different positions allow people to satisfy their natural need for competitive spirit, to estimate the strengths and weaknesses of the "opponents" in a debate, to become "participants" in a debate that at the end promotes the development of their own position" (ibid).

Thus, the conflicting nature of journalistic investigation texts makes it possible to realize at least two functions of the mass media directed at an individual: the function of orientation (correcting

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social conceptions) and the function psychological discharge (an opportunity to enjoy an intellectual duel). Among the subjects who are targeted by the Press S. Korkonosenko also names journalists themselves.

For them the Press carries out professional and creative functions. For journalists-investigators the realization of their public mission of social control over the government institutions is, perhaps, the most important motivator in their profession. The communities documents accepted bv of investigators are testifying to that.

For example, the document of the conference of journalists-investigators (St.-Petersburg, 2001), A. 2.3.1 Global Perfective "The Standards of carrying out a Journalistic Investigation" states: "We, the undersigned, unite in the community of journalists-investigators with the goal of providing public access to socially significant information, fighting corruption and arbitrariness of officials, overcoming barriers to receiving and spreading information" (Konstantinov, 2010).

Practice shows that investigations do not happen out of a clear sky. They gradually turn into a journalist's specialization. If the journalistic job as a whole does not tolerate laid-back individuals, in investigative journalism they are simply excluded: professional requirements are too high here. The head of the Agency of Journalistic Investigation (AJUR), and well-known Russian journalist "Journalistic Konstantinov (2010)writes: investigation, undoubtedly, is the most laborintensive genre in journalism. It cannot be done in a day; it is a rare case when quality investigation can be finished in a week". Investigative work makes it possible to realize the skills and "strategies" of several other occupations - the private detective, the historian, the scientist, the actor... It often happens that representatives of these professions become investigative journalists. When contemplating what motivates journalists

specializing in investigative journalism, we can conclude that the sense of justice and aspiration to fulfill public duty seems to be ambiguous. There is one more very important motivator that plays an important role in investigative work. We would define it as "professional passion"; it can be compared to the feeling experiencing by a detective following a criminal or a scientist trying to make a The possibility to realize these discovery. aspirations brings huge creative and moral satisfaction to investigative journalists

2.3 Investigative Journalism and its Existence in Private Media

In the European Union (EU) publication review (RafałMańko, 2013) indicated that in the European Union, investigative journalism exists in the private media and does its duty right in exposing corruption and government's bad deals.

Most investigative journalism has traditionally been conducted by newspapers, wire services, and freelance journalists. With the decline in income through advertising, many private news services have struggled to fund investigative journalism, which is time-consuming and therefore expensive. Journalistic investigations are increasingly carried out by news organizations working together, even internationally, which have not operated previously as news publishers and which rely on the support of the public and benefactors to fund their work. The growth of media conglomerate sin the U.S. since the 1980s has been accompanied by massive cuts in the budgets for investigative journalism. A 2002 study concluded "that investigative journalism has all but disappeared from the nation's commercial airwaves. The empirical evidence for this is consistent with the conflicts of interest between the revenue sources for the media conglomerates and the mythology of an unbiased, dispassionate media: advertisers have reduced their spending with media that reported too

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many unfavorable details. The major media conglomerates have found ways to retain their audience without the risks of offending advertisers inherent in investigative journalism (RafałMańko, 2013).

Ettema (2009) says that investigative journalism is one of the best tools to fight back against organized crime, corruption, and abuse of power. This is especially true in regions like South East Europe where corruption has eroded all aspects of society for decades and other democratic institutions besides an active press remain weak.

In recent years, however, established media outlets have noticeably retreated from quality investigative journalism. Financial pressure and lack of funding are partly to blame, but often a growing timidity to tackle investigations has resulted from the sway of political interests or businessmen close to ruling parties wield over media outlet owners and their editors. Skilled journalists displeased by the conflict of interests and determined to maintain independence have left mainstream outlets to form new investigative reporting centers or to join existing ones.

Chambers (2009) asserts that centers are flourishing and are responsible for much of the important investigations into corruption at top levels of government: collusion between politics and special interests, bribery, public spending, and theft of national resources. Not surprisingly, the powerful and influential are striking back against these self-appointed watchdogs. The idea of being held accountable and answerable to informed citizens apprised of their dishonesty and incompetence holds little appeal. So, they have worked to turn journalists into public enemies.

B. 2.4 African Perspective

Most investigative journalists in Africa work for private media companies. Though there are a few that work for public broadcasters and newspapers being run by the government "African journalists are well aware of the power of their trade. When officials try to pay them off with stuffed brown envelopes, when police officers harass them, when thugs intimidate them all these things happen because the media still has the inherent ability to disrupt the status quo and challenge vested interests." With these words, Anya Schiffrin, the of the technology, media communications program at Columbia University, summarized the crucial role of investigative journalism in modern African societies. After the success of her book "Global Muckracking", which explored 100 years of investigative journalism around the world, Schiffrin recently released the first collection of investigative journalism written by African reporters about Africa (Chambers, 2009).

A pertinent question that has been asked many times is what is the importance of journalism in the society in relation to its existence? A lot has been written about the importance of investigative journalism and many scholars agree on the role and the importance of this genre in a society. According to Rosensteil and Kovach the primary purpose of journalism is to provide citizens with the information they need to be free and self-governing (Aucoin, 2007).

According to the two authors by reporting on government, business and powerful institutions, journalists one way or the other give citizens the information they need to make informed decisions. The purpose of journalism as such is not defined by technology, not by journalists or the techniques they employ but the principles and purpose of journalism are defined by something more basic, the function news plays in the lives of people, Rosensteil and Koyach noted.

With this in mind it is also important to review the importance or the purpose of investigative journalism in a democracy. Because investigative journalism is a genre of journalism, its meaning and purpose are deeply rooted in what Kovach and Rosenstein's calls journalism's primary purpose. Simply put, investigative journalism exists to

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provide the citizens with information by engaging in watchdog activities.

Locating investigative journalisms role in a democratic setup Coronel noted that high impact investigative journalism has made the media an effective and credible watchdog and boosted its credibility and support among the public (Blanchard, 1977). For Coronel and many others, the press as an institution is strengthened when journalists have demonstrated that they serve the public interest by uncovering malfeasance and abuse.

Downie and Kaiser takes this further by arguing that exposure of incompetence and corruption by investigative journalism in government can change misbegotten policies, save taxpayers money and end careers of misbehaving public officials. On the corporate side revelation of unethical business practices can save consumers money or their health. For Coronel, Downie and Kaiser is a clear indication that the purpose of investigative journalism is a tool for the public to hold those in power accountable. Spark stretches this argument even further by contending that investigative reporters "work side with less powerful and forgotten." It is this study's thesis that investigative journalism exists not only to uproot corruption but to be the voice of the voiceless (Ibid).

There have been critical studies that show that whilst journalism is expected to hold power to account, it has failed to do so because of several of reasons. Stringent media laws, ownership and threats of violence are some of the main reasons why investigative journalism has been unable to thrive in some countries.

In this section, however, I will focus on the issue of media ownership as a primary concern for investigative journalism and support Chamber's claim that the fate of investigative journalism is tied both to the dynamics of media ownership and control and to the effectiveness of future protection

of the role of servicing democracy (Altschull, 1995).

Chambers' observation is very much consistent with Altschull's earlier theory of media ownership which argues that media content is directly correlated with the interests of those who finance the media. Bagdikian, writing about the American media, presented an argument that shows that since the 1980s a new private 'ministry of information' has emerged as ownership of news organizations became increasingly concentrated. McChesney and Herman, Chambers and Chomsky support this viewpoint. They say despite an explosion in raw numbers of media channels, the degree of ownership concentration is high (Ibid).

Bagdikian's views are even more interesting and instructive. He decried that few powerful conglomerates have monopolized the media thus impacting on the quality of news produced some outside number of corporations controlling the media. Bagdikian's argument is not only restricted to the US. He argues that some conglomerates are global and that they now own newspapers, magazines, and television studios all over the world. In 2003 Bagdkian noted that the world largest media firms were Time Warner; The Walt Disney Company; Murdoch's News Corporation based in Australia, Viacom; and Bertelsmann based in Germany (Bagdkian, 2007).

Writing about this trend, Chambers supports arguments advanced by Bagdkian, Chomsky and many other by adding that the convergence between telecommunications, press and broadcasting and intensified integration between electronic hardware and software industries have led not only to the concentration of the media in fewer and fewer hands but also to a fast expanding global 'information economy'.

Journalists working for the private media have focused in on collecting data and creating databases they then open to the public. For the first time citizens are getting detailed glimpses into

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everything from politician's assets to spending on special interest subsidies. The painstaking work done by data reporters has become source material for ongoing reporting on governmental and business wrongdoing, putting together information never before collected or put together in one place. Collaborations and data journalism have brought numerous international awards and prizes to the region's journalists (Ettema, 2009).

Zambia is also one of the African countries whose private media emphasise the role of investigative journalism and it has vowed to start embracing some forms of new media technologies that dates as back as 1970s when they were being introduced in America and Europe. However, the country started to achieve notable progress in the late 2000s due to lack of a solid policy and legal framework (URT, 2003). The achievements were a result of various adjustments since the early 1990s in policy, regulatory and commercial facets. both macroeconomic and within ICT's converging sectors in the aftermath of liberal reforms and (SAPs) structural adjustment programmes introduced by the Bretton Woods institutions - the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB).

As acknowledged in the country's ICT policy (*ibid*), the private sector actively contributed to the achievements through serious investments. Materu-Behitsa and Diyamett (2010) point out that a milestone in telecoms liberalisation was achieved by the establishment of the TCRA in 2003 as an independent agency for regulating communication industries, including the media (and new media in particular).

Only nine companies provided public data communication services, including Internet bandwidth, in Zambia (URT, 2003). The data operators had isolated initiatives of connecting to the global Internet backbone. As a result, many Zambians lacked cheaper and high capacity

connections to the global Internet in developed countries such as Norway and the US. As indicated in URT (2003), when the country's national ICT policy was drawn, Zambia had between 10,000 and 15,000 dial-up Internet accounts shared by over 40 million people, suggesting that there was a large unsatisfied demand for Internet access. Five years later, the number increased to 520,000 Internet users, as reported by Materu-Behitsa and Diyamett (2010). Latest TCRA (2012) data show, users have increased to about eight million.

As Boyd-Barrett (2000) points out, new media have opened up paths or channels for sharing news and information through uploading and downloading content in both the developed and developing world. However, the media and journalists in developing countries, as the ITU (2004) report indicates, have been caught up in yet another dilemma: inability to tap the full potential of new media and compete with their counterparts in the developed world in terms of pushing (sharing) content through new media channels.

As a result, most of the media in developing countries over the years have been sourcing their news and other information from the First World's well-established international news agencies, which are dictating news and information flow in the world.

After studying the working conditions of local journalists in Zambia, Ramaprasad (2001) reports 'a woebegone effect,' indicating that the country's journalists and their media organisations are still grappling to cope with investigative media technological forms. Five years ago, Lowrey and Mackay (2008) called for a new model to explain the vulnerabilities of journalism in the face of challenges from new media and the conditions under which journalists are likely to change their practices to address these vulnerabilities. Beckett and Mansell (2008) also suggested a research agenda that is 'critical' and reflective on the spread

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of new media technologies. Furthermore, Atton and Mabweazara (2011) echo a similar call underlining that new media and journalism practice in Africa indeed constitute an agenda for research. They argue that there are many utopian predictions made about new media in Africa that call for empirically grounded research to test them.

2.4.2 Zambian Perspective

Just like many African countries, Investigative journalism in Zambia does exist investigative journalists are in most cases operating under stiff conditions. In Zambia, investigative journalists have made a huge impact on matters of national interest and providing checks and balances on political leaders, civil servants and governance institutions. Investigative journalism has helped Zambia to go a long way in providing the necessary information to stamp out corruption. A prominent example of the existence of investigative journalism in Zambia is a former Ministry of Health official was recently imprisoned for stealing public funds meant for citizens to access quality health. When investigative journalists uncovered a scam in which millions of dollars were stolen, donors demanded a refund from government and froze donor aid for at least two years. Recently, the Financial Intelligence Unit uncovered a repatriation of millions of dollars of funds outside the country, mainly through law (MISA, 2017).

IV. 2.5 EXTENT OF INVESTIGATIVE JOURNALISM PRACTICE BY PRIVATE MEDIA

A. 2.5.1 Global Perspective

Media reporting in general, and especially investigative journalism by affiliated or independent journalists, indeed or governmental organizations (NGOs), are among the most important sources of public awareness-raising on corruption. Media reporting is an essential source of detection in corruption cases, either for enforcement authorities that investigate

allegations contained in the press, or indeed for companies that decide to conduct internal investigations or self-report, or anti-money laundering reporting entities that make suspicious transaction reports, following queries from the media or published articles (Ettema, 2009).

Between the entry into force of the Anti-Bribery Convention in 1999 and 1 June 2017, 2% of foreign bribery schemes resulting in sanctions, amounting to a total of 6 schemes, were initiated following media reports on the alleged corruption. In addition to helping to initiate cases, media reporting may also assist with the evaluation of known matters for potential investigation. The fourth estate should be respected as a free eye investigating misconduct and a free voice reporting it to citizens. While recent technologies such as digital currencies, block chain and data mining are providing criminals with new means commit crimes, encrypted communications provide sources with greater confidence to bring their concerns to the attention of the media, without fear of surveillance or reprisal (Chambers, 2009).

Open data is allowing investigative journalists access to an enormous amount of previously unattainable information and transnational networks and consortiums of news professionals facilitate investigations that were unimaginable ten years ago. The Panama Papers investigation, which was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for Explanatory Reporting in April 2017, grew out of a five-year reporting push by the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists (ICIJ) that dug into financial secrecy havens and published figures for the top ten countries where intermediaries operate: Hong Kong (China), United Kingdom, Switzerland, United States, Panama, Guatemala, Luxembourg, Brazil, Ecuador and Uruguay (Chambers, 2009).

Similarly, in April 2016, after a six-month investigation, two major media outlets reported on the Unaoil scandal, an alleged transnational bribery

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scheme involving bribes paid on behalf of companies in countries across the globe, including those from Parties to the OECD Anti-Bribery Convention.

More recently, the ICIJ's Paradise Papers investigations have resulted in global reporting on the use of offshore financial centers by more than 100 multinational companies to conceal certain transactions. The ICIJ's investigations have involved more than 380 journalists working on six continents in 30 languages highlighting the importance of collaborative networks for investigative journalists working on complex cross-border investigations (Rugh, 2011).

International professional cooperation and whistleblowers are often essential tools for investigative journalists to detect a case or expand research. Whistle-blowers often contact media following inaction from law enforcement or because journalists can better protect their identity. In fact, according to Italian procedural law there is no possibility for witnesses to testify anonymously.

Their protection is crucial to boost their will to inform media and authorities and to prevent them from being punished for speaking out. Recent experience shows that investigating and reporting on international corruption is becoming easier, and sometimes more accessible than working on domestic bribery. This is thanks to the cooperation within networks such as ICIJ, which leads to results that were unthinkable until a short time ago. The Panama Papers case, for instance, required research into millions of documents that could not be carried out by one newspaper alone, while the international teamwork through ICIJ afforded a quicker and more comprehensive outcome which focused on many different countries (Ettema, 2009).

B. 2.5.2 African Perspective

The report "Plunder Route to Panama: How African Oligarchs Steal from Their Countries" drew

international attention in 2017. It was the work of a team of seven African journalists within the African Investigative Publishing Collective(AIPC) and was published worldwide. It showed how African leaders themselves are guilty of robbing the natural resources of their continent. Through such publications, the AIPC, a GIJN member, wants to mobilize international pressure against this type of leader. "When are the journalist starting on our kleptocracy?" an urgent Ethiopian voice from safer Ethiopia London, not from itself telephonically. "The journalist's report was good. But we have been overlooked." The Ethiopian Voice African Hornet, she calls herself on Twitter is referring to our African oligarch's report in which chapters from Mozambique, South Africa,

Botswana, Togo, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Rwanda and Burundi expose wealthy rulers who, for decades, have been plundering the natural resources and state coffers of their countries, all in cooperation with mafias, shady companies and ditto accountants and lawyers (Ettema, 2009).

Ettema (2009) further articulates that when he, as coordinating editor of the team, explained to African Hornet that the search for evidence of theft of billions of dollars is a lot of work and that seven journalists each of whom work under god-awful conditions cannot really tackle more than seven countries at once, she sighs: "It may not be right to expect it all from the journalist. But we do not have any investigative journalists in our country. Asking a question about our governing party's finances will get the journalist arrested. Foreign Western journalists are better protected. They could do it.

But they suffer from the Africa problem." This shows that investigate journalism goes to a larger extent in trying to dig out the truth.

Western media are always almost exclusively talking about development aid. While even that aid regularly ends up in the hands of our rulers. The image of a "mass of hungry little souls" is still a very important stereotype among "us" in "the

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West." Often, African oligarchs who rob their own countries are considered to be unimportant: weak, bribable quantities negligible. A well-known progressive American commentator on Twitter has just stated that the misdeeds of African leaders are "minimal compared to what the multinationals do" same applies to Africa were former presidents are sent to the International Criminal Court (ICC) after journalists publish articles (Ettema, 2009).

Despite all these success stories, investigative journalists in Africa see that differently. "It would be difficult for Shell to operate ethically in Africa," says Idris Akinbajo, editor of the respected Nigerian news website the Premium Times and one of the AIPC's founders. "They are forced to conduct themselves in a certain way." His colleague Emmanuel Mayah reported once how political leaders in the Niger Delta sabotaged a "free energy for the community" project run by Italian oil company Agip. Free electricity in the community was bad news to these politicians, who had interests in a company that sold generators (Rugh, 2011).

Eric Mwamba from the DRC tells the story of how Canadian mining company First Quantum was given a choice by an adviser to President Joseph Kabila in 2010: either pay millions in bribes (and no ordinary tax) or lose the journalist copper mine. The company, which felt attached to its good governance record, refused.

It then saw its mine confiscated and with hundreds of jobs lost transferred to Kabila's good friend, shady mining tycoon Dan Gertler. Gertler's name was found more than 200 times last year in the offshore tax haven revelations of the Panama Papers. In countries like the DRC, only the bravest of journalists try it. AIPC members deal with intimidation and threats by politicians, bureaucrats, shady businessmen, their bodyguards, militias, and hardened criminals on a daily basis (Rugh, 2011).

V. 2.6 FACTORS THAT HINDER INVESTIGATIVE JOURNALISM BY PRIVATE MEDIA

A. 2.6.1 Global Perspective

In the Middle East, the political system has prevented the media from becoming a tool for advancing the interests of the public. Instead, most of the time, news media act as a mouthpiece for the government to the extent that the public has lost hope of the media ever holding government officials accountable for their actions. It is for this reason that the Arab press is called the 'Loyalist Press' (Rugh, 2011). For instance, the king of Saudi Arabia has the legislative and executive power to control the country. This means the king has a stronghold over media, as the government can interfere with media content by restricting it from reporting on various issues of a political nature. Al-Shamiry (1992) argues that the government of Saudi Arabia limits freedom of the press and uses strong censorship to sustain the status quo, and the stability of the country. Rugh (2011) believes that the Saudi press is restricted from reporting crucial foreign-policy issues, among others.

On this basis, the Saudi press remains independent as long as it doesn't interfere in anything that the government considers to be against the general welfare, as this might undermine its authority. Thus, anything the government deems as having the potential to cause turbulence and friction between it and citizens, or anything that might influence people's sense of duty toward their country, religion, or the community at large, can be stifled by the government. Rugh (2011) stated that Saudi newspapers are not likely to publish any material that criticizes the religion of Islam or the royal family. For instance, one of the editors of Al-Madina newspaper in Saudi Arabia was sacked in March 2002 for publishing a report in which he criticised Islamic judges, calling them 'corrupt'. Moreover, the Ministry of Culture and Information also has the power to close newspapers, and this

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makes newspapers fearful of crossing the line. The government is, thus, able to censor the daily content of newspapers, both directly and indirectly: 'A phone call from the Ministry of Information is usually enough to persuade an editor to emphasize one story or downplay another' (Rugh, 2011).

The government certifies the appointment of national newspapers' editors in chief. This power strengthens its influence over editorial policies at these newspapers – influence already buttressed by its allocation of funding to these newspapers. Furthermore, most broadcast media, including TV and radio, are owned and controlled by the government, which is also the main advertiser in broadcast media, although there are other minor advertisers. The government has the power to terminate the employment contracts of editors or members of staff working for broadcast media if they violate government guidelines. The director general of the Al-Ikhbaria TV channel, Mohammed Al-Tonesi, was dismissed for criticizing the government in a live debate with a viewer on the phone. Additionally, the government monitors and censors the content of web pages, and the public is warned against accessing certain websites due to their political content. Therefore, it can be said that since the government controls the media to this extent, it is unlikely that the media will rebel against the government, unless the government loosens its grip on the media (AlFahad, 2015).

This leaves little latitude for the national press to pursue stories and publish work that contains critical or investigative aspects, since doing so would be seen as undermining national unity. Indeed, these societal goals can be interpreted in ways that highly restrict the activities of journalists (Rugh, 2004).

The Saudi Ministry of Culture and Information has jurisdiction over offences and violations of freedom of the press, which has the effect of reducing the objectivity of journalism in this area, exaggerating the roles of the editors in chief at certain Saudi newspapers, and restricting the freedom of journalists, writers, and readers to express their views. Hence, there is a tendency for journalists in Saudi Arabia to be cautious (Al-Askar, 2005).

This caution motivates most journalists to exercise a high degree of self-censorship when criticizing the government and prominent religious figures (AlFahad, 2015). Al-Shamiry (1992) argued that the censorship imposed by the Ministry of Culture and Information on newspapers leads to journalists self-censoring their reports. Nevertheless, the past decade or so has seen moves toward allowing some degree of criticism within the press, particularly from journalists favored by the ruling elite (AlFahad, 2015).

Therefore, the Saudi system exerts pressure on journalists and editors in chief, making them conform by toeing the government line and adhering to the status quo. It is for this reason that Rugh (2004) said the Saudi government doesn't really need to employ censorship a great deal, as the press is already sensitive to any issue that goes against the government's positions. The Saudi press is self-regulated to conform to the political stance of the country. Journalists practice self-censorship out of fear of punishment by the editor in chief, Ministry of Culture and Information, or other political, religious, or social groups (Rugh, 2004). Consequently, the Saudi press has been unable to be a watchdog for the public, instead acting as a 'cheerleader' for the government (Al-Kahtani, 1999). For all these reasons, Saudi Arabia has been viewed from the outside as lacking freedom of the press (Freedom House Report, 2006). This makes the relationship between the government and the media complex and controversial in Saudi Arabia. The media are asked to support policies advanced by the government, but at the same time, media financiers, being close to the ruling family, can flout the laws. They finance Saudi media through advertising and subsidies. Thus, Saudi media cannot risk going against their financiers (Hallin & Mancini, 2011).

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Although it has instituted several political and economic reforms regarding press freedom, the Saudi government has not done enough, as there are no clear-cut laws and regulations protecting freedom of the press.

The perception of a lack of press freedom among journalists makes it easy for influential groups, particularly the government and religious leaders, to interfere with the work that journalists do. In addition, the lack of a democratic political culture in Saudi Arabia makes government interference of the press appear to be legitimate (Awad, 2010).

The effects of political systems are deemed to be more significant in less-democratic countries. However, studies have established that the obstacles and restrictions imposed on journalists by political systems differ among Arab countries. This paper has explored the impact of the political system on investigative journalism in Saudi Arabia by identifying and understanding the political challenges affecting the practice of investigative journalism in that Arab nation (Awad, 2010).

Even if the concepts of investigative journalism and watchdog journalism do not completely overlap (Waisbord, 2000), they are often associated because of a specific objective assigned to both of them, that is to say, monitoring the power holders and exposing the deficiencies of democracy. Therefore, in this study, we will deal with a conceptualization of investigative journalism which is very close to the idea of watchdog journalism. It could be considered the main instrument of watchdog journalism because

it acts as the 'highest expression' of the 'fourth estate' of democracy (Schultz, 1998). This conceptualization of investigative journalism is generally supposed to be associated with a specific model of journalism, namely, the liberal one (Waisbord, 2000), according to the types proposed by Hallin and Mancini (2004).

Indeed, for journalism, to act as the 'watchdog' of democracy, it requires certain socio-economic conditions, which are present mainly in the Anglo-

American context, particularly (1) a low level of political parallelism, that is, a low degree of influence of the political and economic spheres in the representation of the news and (2) a high level of journalistic professionalism, that is, the capacity of journalists to apply shared criteria of news values regardless of their own political orientation.

In this study, we will not focus on investigative journalism in the Anglo-American countries per se; rather, we will take the notion of watchdog journalism as an ideal interpretative lens through which to frame and to compare journalistic practices in the observed countries.

In the selected countries, investigative journalism did not establish itself because it did not find the same fertile ground that it did, for instance, in the United States, having developed in a profoundly different socio-cultural context and in a journalistic culture that differs considerably from Anglo-American model. First of all, it is undeniable that uncovering the 'hidden truth' and, therefore, impressing and outraging the audience requires a certain amount of human resources, time and money.

Indeed, in journalistic contexts such as Italy, or the Eastern European countries, the news market is not particularly remunerative (see Wan-Ifra report, 2016), as the newspaper circulation is not so high and profit margin is low. Second, the economic recession of the late 2000s caused the situation to decline in these countries, causing a drop in investments in advertising spaces and, therefore, lesser resource for newsrooms (Cornia, 2016; Stetka, 2012). The issue of economic sustainability of investigative journalism raises an important question: 'Why should a publisher allocate resources on investigative journalism?' In reality, it is possible to find someone who is willing to invest in this field even in the selected countries. But in these cases, we have to relinquish the idea of watchdog journalism that we have presented in

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previous paragraphs. These publishers, who invest in investigative journalism without an economic earning, are not interested in the worthy intention of uncovering the 'hidden truth' or 'promoting a culture of legality', but they are only interested in pursuing private gains. Hence, they 'feed' what Stetka and Ornebring (2013) define as 'pseudo-investigative journalism', that is, a practice which, behind an apparent investigation, is actually working for publishers' gains and the interests that they 'represent'.

We identified two very specific functions that characterize pseudo-investigative journalism in our selected countries: on one hand, the media serve as a tool in the hands of the owners to attack their (political or economic) adversaries, while, on the other hand, media outlets support those economic and political groups close to the interests of the owners. In this context, corruption can become a perfect breeding ground for setting in motion what is commonly defined as 'the mud machine'.

In these countries, therefore, corruption tends to be a common theme, not only because it is a widespread plague but also because it is a relevant topic for destroying the reputation of political opponents as discussed by Thompson (2000). To this regard, the literature refers to the notion of kompromat (Ledeneva, 2006; Ornebring, 2012) to basically indicate a very widespread practice in former communist countries which consists in spreading, often anonymously, compromising information about a specific individual, with the aim of damaging his or her reputation and his or her political career. In the next paragraphs, we will provide some examples about pseudo-investigative journalism. But, to better understand the reason why this practice is widespread in the examined countries, it is necessary to take a close look at their media systems and examine the connection that exists between media, politics and business.

Jan Zielonka (2015) stressed how the media in the emerging democracies of Eastern Europe are not without political and economic interference, especially because ownership is often in the hands of national powerful business actors (mainly oligarchs) with political ambitions. In this case, this phenomenon is referred to as media colonization. A similar situation can also be observed in Italy, although a different concept is used to illustrate it; it is, in fact, referred to as the 'impure publisher', meaning that the media owners earn their main profits from economic sectors outside of publishing and use the media for their own and political purposes. Furthermore, the Italian model is a media system that has always been considered as having a 'high level of political/ideological parallelism', since its media system has long reflected the major political divisions in society (Hallin and Mancini, 2004).

However, following the secularization process of society, which led to the declining influence of political parties, the links between media outlets and political ideologies gradually gave way to forms of partisanship that are less ideological and more connected to contingent interests (political but also, and increasingly, economic) (Mancini, 2012), making it very similar to the new democracies.

In light of the above considerations, the strongly interconnected relationship between political, economic and media spheres are what characterize the examined countries: Colin Sparks (2000) refers to this as 'political capital'. To reach his or her goals, each player acting in any one of these spheres is extremely dependent on the support and resources of the other two, thereby favouring the spread of those informal practices which subsequently encourage patronage-like behaviour.

Rather than political parallelism, therefore, we believe it is more fitting to refer to it as 'media capture' (Mungiu-Pippidi, 2008) or 'partisan

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polyvalence' (McCargo, 2012) to the extent that the mutual co-penetration between the three systems tends to be strategic and situational, changing according to the prevalent interests in the political battlefield.

This basically means that the media are more inclined to establish connections with single individuals (politicians or businessmen) rather than with political factions, to obtain protection and other advantages.

Similarities and differences between the investigated countries need to be highlighted. Previous studies have shown how Italian and Romanian journalism is primarily characterized by a strong political basis that acts chiefly through connections in terms of ownership and publishing, namely, through the appointment of trusted people within governing groups. Second, there are Italian studies (Gambaro and Puglisi, 2009) and Romanian ones (Greskovits, 2015) illustrating how the newspapers in these two countries are also affected by business actors who invest in advertising (regardless of their political stances) in order to influence the journalistic activity of the newsrooms.

This is a crucial aspect, also in Hungary. In fact, in this country, the political interference on the publishing market is not expressed through forms of actual political parallelism, as the collapse of the communist regime led to a privatization process of the editorial activities. In this case, pressure on journalistic newsrooms is applied by state investments in the advertising market. Accordingly, the government is able to interfere heavily on journalism by economically supporting the communication agencies that prove to be more accommodating and denying resources to the more hostile ones (Stetka, 2012). The same pattern applies to the Latvian context where, especially during pre-election periods, some politicians, even on a local level, attempt to achieve favourable

coverage by encouraging public companies under their control to invest in advertising spaces.

However, due to its strong cultural ties with Scandinavian countries, Latvia has also tried to build a media system that immediately made a clear attempt 'to turn over a new leaf', even if one of the main subsisting issues is a certain secrecy behind the ownership controlling the media which makes it difficult to map out the interests that are able to affect coverage (Balcytiene, 2015). It is also necessary to point out that in every country examined by our study, especially those in Eastern Europe, the journalist, as we will demonstrate through the selected case studies, can be affected by heavy pressure, either directly from the owner or through the interference of political or economic actors, often in the form of physical threats or other similar abuse (risk of losing their job, of demotion, among others. Koltsova, 2006).

2.6.2 African Perspective

There are many cases where investigative reporters in the region are openly harassed by officials who regard them as enemies of the state. Government-controlled media outlets are utilized to scrutinize the private lives of journalists and to denounce or ridicule them. The powerful also harass investigators through the courts with frivolous lawsuits that are nonetheless expensive and time-consuming to fight. And finally, regional reporters have been verbally threatened and physically attacked. These efforts may be having an effect opposite to what the powerful intend.

Journalism except in war has seldom been difficult or dangerous in South East Europe. Instead of compliant silence, the result is that there has never been more investigative journalism. Journalists have discovered the power of collaboration.

Many have joined a growing community of investigative journalists through membership in global networks such as the Global Investigative Journalism Network(GIJN), the International

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Consortium of Investigative Journalists(ICIJ,) and the Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project(OCCRP). A number of regional networks, notably the Balkan Investigative Reporting Network(BIRN) and European Investigative Collaborations(EIC), have formed to share risks, resources, and information.

The new unity among colleagues is in large part due to technologies that have enabled secure and efficient communication and exchange. ICIJ and OCCRP have developed collaboration platforms on which journalists compare notes, share findings, and report together in secret and in real time, Ettema (2009).

Global investigative journalism conferences and numerous European and regional events have given journalists wider opportunities to meet face-to-face, learn to trust each other, and to discover stories together. Criminals long ago figured out how to transcend borders, and journalists in different jurisdictions have found out that they are targeting the same criminal rings if not the same types of schemes. Such cross-border exchanges were not possible before and have led to more sophisticated reporting on subjects like money laundering, smuggling, and arms dealing, Ettema (2009).

Importantly, journalists in most African regions have gotten better at their jobs. Training and cross-border exchanges of skills are largely to thank. The BIRN Summer School, as one prominent example, brings some of the best international trainers into the area to teach journalists advanced reporting and new technology skills. There is increased demand for trainers to visit newsrooms and for fellowships that allow journalists to spend time in foreign newsrooms or in the field with experts on particular topics (AlFahad, 2015).

South East European journalists are also teaming up with NGOs to gain more attention and clout. The two camps feed each other with information, assist each other in gathering and verifying evidence and then in distributing reports. The collaboration increases the clout of each. These kinds of joint

campaigns have been especially well done by investigative reporting center in Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina working on abuse and exploitation of tenders and public spending (Awad, 2010).

B. 2.7 Zambian Perspective

Freedoms of expression and of the press are constitutionally guaranteed in Zambia, but the government frequently restricts these rights in practice. Although the ruling Patriotic Front has pledged to free state-owned media consisting of the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC) and the widely circulated The **Zambia Daily** Mail and The **Times of Zambia** from government editorial control, these outlets have generally continued to report along pro-government lines.

Many journalists reportedly practice self-censorship since most government newspapers do have prepublication review. The ZNBC dominates the broadcast media, though several private stations have the capacity to reach large portions of the population. The rights group Freedom

House, which publishes annual country reports on press freedom status, has ranked Zambia's press as "Not Free" even in 2016 (MISA, 2018).

MISA (2018) furthermore says that the government and ruling party, "Patriotic Front" regularly take punitive steps against critical news outlets. In 2016, government authorities ordered the closure of the publishing company, Post Newspapers Limited, on 21 June, demanding \$6.1 million tax in arrears.

This closure occurred after The Post accused Zambian authorities of selectively applying the law to target the publication for its news coverage. There were some accusations on the part of the PF party by "Reporters Without Borders" that condemn attacks on media pluralism during the campaign for 2016 presidential election in Zambia due to the ruling Patriotic Front's harassment and threats against several news outlets.

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In 2014, journalists and outlets faced harassment and physical attacks both in the course of their work and in retaliation for their reporting, and media practitioners reported a general climate of increased intimidation. Community and privately owned radio stations encountered intensified harassment and threats by local government officials and PF party cadres, especially after hosting opposition figures on call-in shows or criticizing local officials on the air. In April 2014, PF cadres raided Sun FM in Copperbelt Province during an interview with Hakainde Hichilema (president of the Zambia 's biggest opposition party, United Party for National Development in 2006, 2008,

2011, 2015 and 2016) forcing the candidate to flee. In September, Patriotic Front cadres went to the offices of Independent Breeze FM, a radio station in the eastern town of Chipata. They threatened to assault the news editor in retribution for statements made during a live programme about the party's poor showing in a recent by-election (MISA, 2018).

VI. 2.8 CHANNELS THAT MAKE PRIVATE PRINT HOUSES PRACTICE INVESTIGATIVE JOURNALISM B. 2.8.2 African Perspective IN THEIR DUTIES

A. 2.8.1 Global Perspective

Investigative journalism is a form of journalism in which reporters deeply investigate a single topic of interest, such as serious crimes, political corruption, corporate wrongdoing. An investigative journalist may spend months or years researching and preparing a report. Practitioners sometimes use the terms "watchdog reporting" or "accountability reporting" (Ettema, 2009).

Most investigative journalism has traditionally been conducted by newspapers, wire services, and freelance journalists. With the decline in income through advertising, many traditional news services have struggled to fund investigative journalism, which is time-consuming and therefore expensive. Journalistic investigations are increasingly carried out by news organizations working together, even internationally (as in the case of the Panama Papers and Paradise Papers), or by organizations such as ProPublica, which have not operated previously as news publishers and which rely on the support of the public and benefactors to fund their work (Ettema, 2009).

The growth of conglomerates in the U.S. since the 1980s has been accompanied by massive cuts in the budgets for investigative journalism. A 2002 study concluded "that investigative journalism has all but disappeared from the nation's commercial airwaves".

The empirical evidence for this is consistent with the conflicts of interest between the revenue sources for the media conglomerates and the mythology of an unbiased, dispassionate media: advertisers have reduced their spending with media that reported too many unfavorable details. The major media conglomerates have found ways to retain their audience without the risks of offending advertisers inherent in investigative journalism (AlFahad, 2015).

Press freedom varies widely across sub-Saharan Africa. While muckrakers in Ghana were able to speak out against the judiciary and in South Africa, investigative reporters played a big role in the downfall of a corrupt presidency ,in Eritrea and Djibouti press freedom is non-existent. Overall, the situation improved slightly on the continent in 2018, according to Reporters without Borders. But there was no shortage of troubling trends (AlFahad, 2015).

Attempting to control the narrative of the separatist rebellion **English-speaking** in its regions, Cameroon's government often brands reports it doesn't like as "fake news" and detains journalists. In Zambia, the government has tightened the free media space with the arrests of reporters and closures of media platforms. An independent investigative platform in Botswana, which reported on a leaked intelligence report, had its offices

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broken into and its managing editor questioned by the police. And just this week, the offices of the Daily Trust in Nigeria were raided by the army and a bureau chief and reporter were detained (Kasoma, 2010).

environments Such difficult reporting notwithstanding, journalists in sub-Saharan Africa produced some seriously impressive investigations in 2018. As part of GIJN's Editor's Pick series for 2018,GIJN Africa editor Raymond Mpubani compiled a list of some of the top stories produced this year, published by outlets based in the region. The two-year undercover investigation featured jaw-dropping scenes, including recordings of a Kenyan World Cup-bound referee accepting \$600 from a reporter acting as a football association representative, and the top Ghanaian football official accepting \$65,000 from a reporter posing as a businessman. The team also showed how a referee who had accepted \$700 from a Ghanaian team "official" awarded a disputed penalty during an African Champions League game in that team's favor (AlFahad, 2015).

The president of the Ghana Football Association, Kwesi Nyantakyi, resigned following the exposé, even as he denied any wrongdoing. The international football governing body FIFA also temporarily suspended him for 135 days and launched an investigation into allegations in the documentary. The Confederation of African Football also suspended a number of referees and Ghana's referee association issued eight lifetime bans and 53 10-year bans (Kasoma, 2017).

This is another success story that came about as a result of the investigative journalism.

The Botswana-based Ink Centre for Investigative Journalism obtained a new cache of documents and, in collaboration with the Zimbabwe Independent, published supporting evidence of Mugabe's failure to stop the killings.

The dossier was a collection of reports on the military campaign, compiled by NGOs working in Zimbabwe at the time, which provided a copy of

their findings to Mugabe. It also listed, for the first time, the names of those killed. The story started with a disturbing tip-off. Officials working with the Ugandan police, the government ministry in charge of refugees, and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees were pimping refugee girls in hotels around Kampala, the source said (Kasoma, 2010).

C. 2.8.2 Zambian Perspective

The challenges facing investigative journalism in print media range from; Capacity-this type of work requires a lot of funding because it is resource intensive but the journalist find that in Zambia, few media houses are willing to finance a journalist to carry out the simplest of stories where as in the developed world, journalists can even make up to three air trips in a week or more in a week while following a story and it's all on the media house (Pitts, 2009).

There is also the case of ethics, media ethics in Zambia. It is sad to report that the levels of ethics are very low and the journalist will find a journalist forfeiting a good investigative story if the culprit promises to pay more than the employer.

Some even use it to blackmail the culprit. Beating deadlines is another stiff challenge facing investigative journalists because sometimes the employer feels that the story is taking too long and due to these pressures, sometimes they are forced to abandon it sometimes while so close to seeing the light of day (MISA, 2018).

Due to a poor economy, media houses don't employ enough personnel so there is little or no specialization at all this means that a journalist carrying out an investigative story is supposed to carry out some other duties in the newsroom. Still under the economic strains, private media houses can't acquire tools that can help a journalist operate smoothly and efficiently (Pitts, 2009).

Lack of witness protection policy in the country makes it harder for journalists to access

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information. They are forced to hide the faces of the witnesses which make the story incredible. Nature and importance of the story is another challenge. A story might seem important to the journalist but might turn out to be irrelevant to the greater population.

Credibility of the newspaper and the reporter can also affect how the masses take up an investigative story. If it's biased in its ordinary stories, even if it carries a fair story, it will be seen as witch hunting. Lastly on the challenges, known investigative journalists lose their private life. They are viewed differently and people don't act normally around them and start looking for hidden cameras (MISA, 2018).

2.9 The Role of Media in Society

The media plays a very significant role in society. The media is all around people, from the shows they watch on television (TV), the music they listen to on radio, to the books, magazines, and newspapers they read each day. Without the media, people in societies would be isolated, not only from the rest of the world, but from governments, lawmakers, and neighbouring towns and cities.

The flow of information is important for the development of communities and the media facilitates this. Without a wide array of information, people's opinions and views would be limited and their impressions and conclusions of the world around them stunted. Early in history, the most common form of the distribution of information was word of mouth, with the news often beginning with the words, "Did the journalist know?" Indeed, word of mouth is still one of the most powerful tools in the sharing of information even now, particularly in tourism.

However, over the years, technology has allowed for this exchange to take place in an instant, forging the way for improved media houses with the instant access to information and gratification factor. Media workers are in essence interpreters of information. They do not just provide pages of facts and statistics that the average person might not

understand. Journalists help in providing the six basic areas of information which answers the Who, what, where, when, why, and how questions

most of the time which people need to know about. They bring out important issues and points, putting them in a context that the average reader, viewer and listener can make sense of in order to form their own opinions. In this way, the media keeps people focused on the issues that matter in a surveillance-type way. Some aspects of media surveillance include the latest stock report, sports scores, entertainment news, progress and results of an election, and so forth.

The media acts as a watchdog in society for the benefit of the people. While the media has historically been viewed as being overly aggressive and insatiable in their plight for the latest and hottest news, their watchdog-type function is essential in a democratic society where people must know what their governments are doing (Butler, 2005; Devrani, 2008).

Olutokun and Seteolu (2001), add that the media has a role of a watchdog that intently observes the proceedings and gives prominence to allegations and irregularities. These scholars observe that the media has the capacity to hold governments accountable, forcing them to explain their actions and decisions, all of which affect the people they represent. In a democratic society, people should know all their options if they are to govern themselves and the media are a vehicle for the dissemination of such information. One of the most powerful strengths the media has in any democratic society is the ability to effect change, both on government and non-government levels.

The role of a public service broadcaster as a vehicle through which objective information and diverse perspectives are transmitted into the public domain cannot be overstated. African countries which have made significant gains in building democratic systems of governance that are based on popular control of decision-making and in which citizens are treated as equals owe it partly to the media.

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-Availability and access to information by a greater number of citizens is a critical part of a functioning democracy and a country's development. Development and democracy cannot thrive without open and free public space where all issues concerning people's lives can be aired and debated and which gives them room and opportunity to participate in decision-making.

Media has always played a huge role in our society. For a long-time media was one of the methods of controlling people and leisure. In ancient times when there was no newspapers and television, people used literature as source of information, some books like "the Iliad", and different stories about great kings, shows those people the information about them.

Nowadays media is one of the main parts of our lives and our society, because we use word media, to combine all sources of information. Average man is spending 4 hours a day on watching TV and reading newspapers.

Media and society are closely related to each other. The extensive impact of media on society can easily be seen these days. Media reflects our society, how it works and what it constitutes. With the advancement in technological area, our society has also observed the expansion in the thoughts and ideas of people. Every single invention starting from the printing press to the latest smart phones our society has accepted it. Earlier people used to communicate things with the help of sketch and print forms but as time passes the medium became more advanced. Today people are just a click away from any and every information that is available on the internet. There are various forms of media that help to inform, educate and entertain our society. Media can be in print form that is through newspapers, books, magazines etc. Media includes an electronic form for spreading information which is one of the most used media of mass communication.

With the help of radio and TV, listeners and viewers not only get updated but it also creates an understanding of current happenings. Radio being an audio medium helps in disseminating information to every nook and corner of our country. Radio has also played a vital role in creating a platform for imagination.

The reach of this audio medium is not only limited to urban areas but it has covered a wide range even to the remote areas of our country. The people living in rural parts of the country are getting more benefits from the audio medium of mass communication. The programs on radio cater the interest of rural section which constitutes small-scale industries, farming, forestry, fisheries, among others, which has helped the rural people in their day to day life matters. On the other hand, television is the second most used medium in terms of reach.

Visuals and audio when combined together help in better understanding and provides up to-date information. News from all parts of the country is investigated and presented through this medium of mass communication. Initially, Television in our country was introduced for education purpose. But later as time passes the objective of educating people turned into imparting information and entertaining masses. Today Television has become an important part of our daily life. It covers a vast section of programs like daily soaps, news, movies, reality shows, sports, weather forecast, religious programs, music, among others.

Social media is becoming one of the most popular and most accessed media of communication these days. Social media has brought different people from the different geographical area on one platform on which they can share their feeling, ideas, emotions, information and much more. The Manifold social networking sites like Facebook, WhatsApp, Instagram, Twitter, LinkedIn, Google, and others open the door to share ideas, views, and

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thoughts on the same platform. With the advancement of science and technology, the world has come close to each other. Today people don't have to wait for the dissemination process but the condition is such that every social media user has become a source of information on their own. The daily news and views to which the social media user comes across cover a wide range of topics. These topics or subjects are related to the happenings of our surrounding.

People can like, show emotions through the list of emoticons or even comment accordingly. The social media act as an umbrella that constitutes a variety of interesting features that have our life very easier. Features of tagging friends, location sharing, photo and video uploads, message chatting, video calling, searching friends, among others, have made our life more engaging.

2.9.1 The need for FOIA in Zambia

Many African countries have made deliberate efforts to implement Freedom of Information laws (Ojo, 2010). According to the Promotion of Access to Information Act, No.2. of 2000, some of the countries that have adopted various forms of the FOI law include: Ghana (Right to Information Bill, 2003); Kenya (Freedom of Information Bill, 2005); Liberia (Freedom of Information Bill, 2004); Malawi (Access to information Bill, 2004); Morocco and Mozambique respectively (Right to Information Bill, 2005); Nigeria (Freedom of Information Bill, 1999);

Sierra Leone (Freedom of Information Bill, 2006); Zambia (Right to Information Bill, 2006); and Zambia (Freedom of Information Bill). Among the countries that have not passed the FOI law are Malawi, Botswana, Zambia, Ghana and Sierra Leone.

Some of the reasons for this are; lack of commitment from the governments to strike a

balance between national security and the right to have access to information; lack of devotion amongst government officials to enact the Bill; lack of time frame within which the enabling act would be passed; old policies and laws with severe penalties for disclosure of state secrets and low levels of formal education amongst the people which hinder meaningful demand for the right and access to information by the citizens (OSISA, 2013). Other reasons are poor records management and the absence of FOIA in those countries (Ojo, 2010):

Some of the African countries that have passed the Freedom of Information Legislation are Nigeria, Liberia, South Africa, Zimbabwe and Uganda. There are a number of lessons Zambia can obtain from these countries. For instance, in South Africa, every person has the right of accessing all information held by the state or any of its organs in any sphere of government (Dimba and Calland, 2002). However, when accessing information, no person should be unfairly discriminated against, directly or indirectly, on one or more of the following grounds in particular: race, gender, sex, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture or language.

Nigeria's Freedom of Information Act was passed into law on May 28, 2011, and in the Act "information" includes all records, documents and information stored in whatever form, including written, electronic, visual images, sound and audio recording (Ngozi, 2012). The Act applies to all public bodies and private bodies performing public functions.

The public has a right to receive information in the possession of any institution funded by the public and private bodies performing public functions, such as water and electricity providers. A Freedom of Information Act provides for an open yet responsible information sharing regime, guaranteed

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by law, and is an essential characteristic of a peoplecantered democracy and development (Wignaraja and Gebrehiwot, 2011).

The responsible two-way flow of information helps citizens to articulate and exercise their rights and to make informed political and economic choices, and for a state to dialogue, receive feedback and provide a response.

A Freedom of Information Act makes it easier to hold politicians accountable for their actions and allow people to exercise their individual and collective rights more effectively. It also gives ordinary people the true ownership of information (Lane, 2011). The Act provides better and timely access to reliable information, facilitates fact checks and encourages investigative reporting. This enables the media and civil society organizations to perform their roles as vigilant watchdogs, with credibility and professionalism. Since the adoption of the United States of America (USA) Freedom of Information Act, millions of Americans including scholars, journalists, and private citizens have made use of the law to monitor the government's activities and hold it accountable for its actions. By giving the public an enforceable right of access to government information, a FOIA has enabled American citizens to be informed of the government's actions and to participate more effectively in the public debate that is vital to a strong and vibrant democracy (Sikes, 1997).

With a FOIA, Zambians can be free to access vital information such as serious adverse effects of drugs, Agriculture Department inspection reports of meat packing facilities and the chemicals that are present at hazardous waste sites. People can be able to access information on health matters and safety issues. They can also serve as government watchdogs depending upon their ability to obtain government information.

Greater openness permits public more understanding of the government's actions. It also makes it more possible for the government to respond to criticism and justify those actions. It makes free exchanges of scientific information possible and encourages discoveries that foster economic growth. In addition, by allowing for a fuller understanding of the past, it provides opportunities to learn lessons from what has gone before making it easier to resolve issues concerning the Government's past actions and helping prepare for the future. Freedom of information legislation has historically been perceived in Zambia as a law for the media, despite its application and relevance to other sectors of society. The right to information is a right that is capable of benefitting citizens across all sectors of society. Examples of its implementation in South Africa and India demonstrated that the major users of freedom of information legislation are not the media, but individual citizens.

In Zambia for example, the Right to Information (RTI) could be used by individuals to gain access to their own personal information held by public bodies. It could also be used to ensure that public service bodies are proactively providing information to individuals on what sort of services they can receive (JCTR, 2011). RTI legislation is a crucial step on the road to improved development in Zambia. At the local as well as the national level. RTI could enable the exposure of corruption and wrongdoing by ensuring transparency across issues of public interest.

In addition, by ensuring the provision of information on major decision-making processes, RTI laws can play a significant part in enabling Zambian citizens to engage in important discussions affecting the development of the nation.

According to a 2002 report compiled by Zambia Independent Media Association (ZIMA), now Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA), the

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purpose of the FOI legislation is to encourage a more open and transparent government where members of the public, including media, can have access to some information about government operations upon request. With this legislation, members of the public would have access to reports of commissions of enquiry, audits of various government offices and reports held in government offices.

In 2001, the government published the Freedom of Information Bill for stakeholder input but did not proceed to enact it into law. However, in March, 2011, the latest draft failed to win a two thirds approval in Parliament and thus the process has stalled (African Media Barometer, 2011). Due to lack of commitment by the Zambian government to media legal reform in the ten years up to the writing of this report, ZIMA (which later became MISA), in conjunction with Press Association of Zambia (PAZA), Zambia Union of Journalists (ZUJ), Zambia Association of Media Women (ZAMWA) and Society of Senior Zambian Journalists (SSZJ) joined hands to advocate for the enactment of a FOIA.

CHAPTER THREE METHODOLOGY

3.1 OVERVIEW

This chapter generally outlines the selected methods and technical aspects of the study. It covers the research design, target population, sample design, data collection instruments, data analysis, and data presentation.

3.2 Research Design

The research was both qualitative and quantitative in nature. It involved news media organizations in general; governance and development stakeholders and Lusaka private newspapers in particular. It has a sample size of twenty (20) respondents in different categories.

It used random and systematic sampling methods. Journalism can hold individuals and institutions accountable in the way that elections every five years or AGMs do not. Its purpose should be to uncover that which others might wish to remain hidden. Investigative journalism should be able to uncover the truth and not be selective in its revelations. It should not be tainted by people and/or organizations that do not want the truth revealed.

VII. 3.2 TARGET POPULATION/STUDY POPULATION

A study population is a well-defined set of people or group of things, household, community, firms, or services that or which are being investigated. This researcher targeted privately owned newspapers.

VIII. 3.3 SAMPLE SIZE AND SAMPLING TECHNIQUE

Sampling refers to the process of selecting a sample such as participants from the population of interests so that the results gained by these participants can be fairly generalized to the population from which they were chosen (Noholas, 2003). A sample size of 20 journalists from private newspapers was selected and the sampling units were Individual journalists and Media Heads working for the media in the private sector. In some cases, purposive random sampling was used for this research.

As the name suggests, purpose sampling was used to select a sample for a particular purpose. Furthermore, since the precise quantitative figures of the target population in the two institutions may not be known, non-probability purposive sampling was more ideal as it did not require rigorous rules and rigidity in terms of the figurative target population as strictly required in probability sampling techniques. Probability sampling aims at to achieve a homogenous sample,

i.e. a sample whose units share the same or very similar traits, therefore making it a very appropriate sampling technique for this **research**.

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IX. 3.4 DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENTS

Data was collected using a structured interview schedule and questionnaire specifically designed for this study. The other Data about the respondents will obtained from the selected college and university.

X. 3.5 DATA COLLECTION

Data was collected using both primary and secondary data collection techniques. Primary data will gather basically through structured questionnaires and interviews. The researcher will also use a combination of structured questionnaires and interviews. The main instrument of data collection to be used will be the questionnaires. Secondary data on the other hand will gather through review of available relevant materials such as print and electronic media; other dissertations; books; articles on NGP; and related reports

XI. 3.6 DATA ANALYSIS

Thematic analysis and descriptive statistical analysis will be used to analyze data. Thematic analysis involves the classification of words and phrases that emerge from interviews and related to the same content into major themes (Bryman, 2008). The idea behind this is to allow the actual prevailing pattern, themes and phrases of the research findings to emerge from the data. Additionally, data to be obtained from questionnaires will be manually coded, synthesized and quantified into percentages, using SPSS and presented in form of tables of frequency and percentages as descriptive statistics in Microsoft word.

XII. 3.7 DATA VALIDATION

The data was validated through cross checking facts and figures from personal interviews from various respondents in different categories. Primary data collected was compared and contrasted with secondary data collected. Similarities and differences from such research data collection methods were analyzed, classified and interpreted to check on their validity and reliability.

3.6 Limitations of the Study

A large-scale survey would have been better, but due to limited financial resources and inadequate time to execute the research, the researcher will thus endeavor to undertake a small-scale survey consisting of a minimal number of respondents.

XIII.3.6 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Ethics are important in research in order to protect people who participate in the research from psychological and physical harm. Therefore, a researcher has to take into account various ethical considerations in order to protect participants and respect their personal integrity. An introductory letter will be used; consent forms will be supplied to the respondents; anonymity will be applied and data collected will be kept confidential and purely used for academic purposes.

In view of the above, the researcher will take into account ethical considerations when conducting the research and the following issues will be taken into account to adhere to ethics. Confidentiality-All respondents will be assured that the information collected from them would be used strictly for academic purposes and held in the strictest confidentiality.

Anonymity-The respondent's name will not be collected and their private and personal details will not be disclosed to the readers of the research report.

Informed Consent-A letter of introduction will be provided to the target respondents explaining why the research is important and why it is important for them to participate in it and respondents will be given an option to either participate in the research or to opt out.

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CHAPTER FOUR XIV.DATA PRESENTATION

4.1 Overview

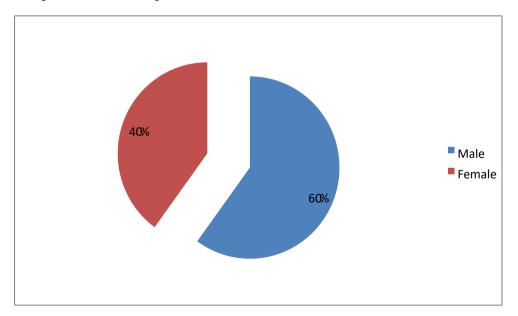
This chapter is on data analysis, presentation and interpretation. The first part of this chapter is on the response rate of the respondents. Section two of this chapter shows the profiles of respondents. Section three of this chapter gives the analysis, presentation and interpretation of the relationships under investigation. The presentation and interpretation were in line with the study's objective. The findings are presented in the form of tables showing frequencies and percentages as well as descriptive statistics and regression analysis results. For each research objective, descriptive analysis was first done presented in form of means and standard deviations.

4.2 Profiles of the Respondents

This section profiles the respondents in respect to gender, age, level of education, business duration of operation, number of employees, and type of business. Profiling of the respondents was informed by the items in the research instruments used in the study.

4.3 Distribution of Respondents by Gender.

Data was sought on whether respondents were males or females. The study found it important to analyze gender distribution of the respondent so as to compare the level of participation in business enterprises among the entrepreneurs in Zambia. The study gave no preferential consideration to any of the gender in the selection of respondents. The responses were as shown in Table 4.1

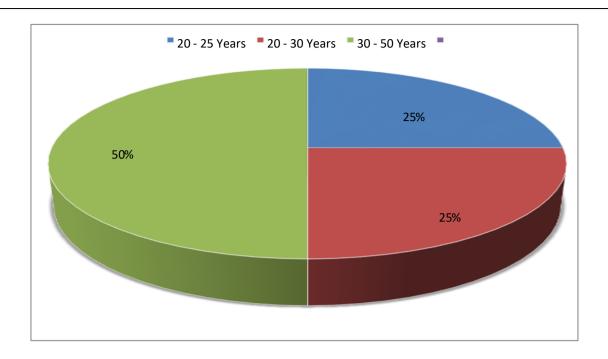


4.3.1 Distribution of Respondents by Age.

Respondents indicated their age group in years. This was done to comprehend the age distribution of the respondents. Age groups were put into three categories: 20 - 25 years, 25 - 30 years, and 30 - 50 years. The results were as shown in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Distribution of Respondents by Age

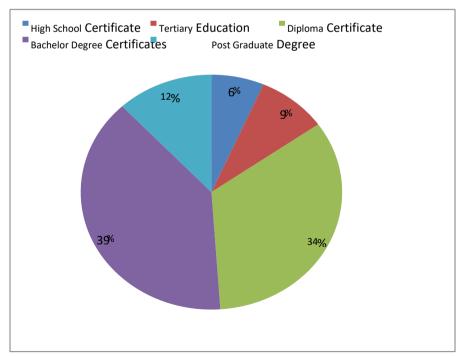
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4.3.2 Distribution of Respondents by Level of Education

Each respondent was asked to indicate their highest education level. This was considered important in this study in respect to responding to the questions as well as understanding if investigate journalism exists in Zambia. The options that were provided in this item were: high school; certificate; diploma; bachelor's degree; post graduate degree; and others. The responses were as shown in Table 4.3.

Chart 4.3: Distribution of Respondents by Level of Education

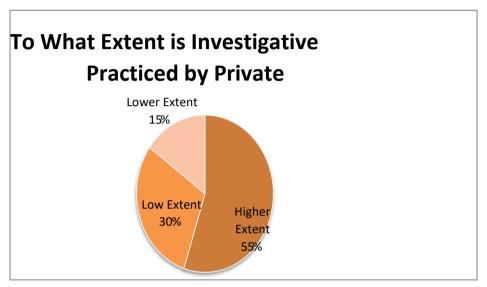


Source, Author, 2019

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4.4 Results by Objectives

Various aspects were assessed in regard to how they relate to investigative journalism in Zambia. Chart 4.4 shows to what extent investigative journalism is being practiced by the private media.

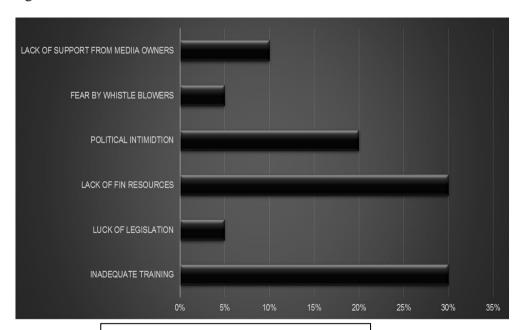


Source, Author, 2019

Chart4.4

Shows to which extent investigative journalism is being practiced by private print media. 55 percent of the respondents believe that it is being practiced to a higher extent, 30 percent believe it is to a low extent whilst 15 percent of the respondents claimed it is being practiced to a lower extent.

Fig. 6: COMMON FACTORS THAT HINDER INVESTIGATIVE JOURNALISM



Source, Author, 2019

Figure 6 shows that lack adequate financial resources and inadequate training are the leading hindrances at 30 percent political intimidation 20 percent, lack of support from media owners at 10percent, fear by whistle blowers and lack legislation 5 are at percent.

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CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Overview

This chapter is on data analysis, presentation and interpretation. The first part of this chapter is on the response rate of the respondents. Section two of this chapter shows the profiles of respondents. Section three of this chapter gives the analysis, presentation and interpretation of the relationships under investigation. The presentation and interpretation were in line with the study's objective.

5.1 Investigative Journalism in Zambia

From the total number of twenty (20) respondents, thirteen (13) respondents accepted that ves investigative journalism does exists in Zambia whilst seven rejected this. Despite the majority of the respondents having given the positive response, many were also quick to point out that most investigative journalists in Zambia don't cover a lot of story for the fear of being inclined to a certain political party especially the opposition especially from the ruling party hopefuls. According to MISA Zambia, freedom of expression and of the media in Zambia remained highly elusive and a contentious matter in the period under review, largely unchanged if not worse from what was obtaining throughout much of 2016 as evidence shows as well as going by the media reports.

Several of the respondents interviewed were unanimous in agreeing that the levels of freedom of expression continue to deteriorate in the nation. However, pundits note that, "the media has come under intense pressure especially from the ruling party. It has been forced into submission and alternative voices are not being given a platform. Only government and those aligned to it have the platform. This is a worrying observation as it does not sit well in a democratic state such as ours.

Zambia can do better than this. In an era, such as this, this kind of environment does not fit with the democratic credentials that Zambia is building for itself.

5.2 There are Few Investigative Journalists in Zambia

Despite most respondents agreeing to the fact that investigative journalism does exist in Zambia, most respondents were also quick to note that the number of investigative journalists in Zambia is very minimal based on a lot of factors ranging from harassments from politicians and a bad working environment.

The constitution guarantees freedom of expression, but the relevant language can be interpreted to allow legal restrictions on various grounds. Journalists and media outlets face such restrictions under criminal and civil defamation laws, sedition and obscenity laws, and provisions of the penal code including the State Security Act. A new draft constitution was awaiting the president's signature at the end of 2015, and a referendum on a related bill of rights was planned for August 2016, potentially introducing improved safeguards for media freedom this has led to having fewer investigative journalists in the country (MISA, 2018).

5.3 Investigative Journalism is not Fully Practiced by Private Media Houses.

Fred M'membe, editor and owner of the Post newspaper, was arrested along with reporter Mukosha Funga in July 2015 and accused of publishing classified information. The paper had printed a letter from the anticorruption commission indicating that an aide to President Edgar Lungu was under investigation for seeking a bribe from a Chinese contractor.

The case was pending at year's end. Separately, M'membe was charged with defamation and

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contempt of court in March for publishing critical comments by Rainbow Party leader, Wynter Kabimba, about former president Rupiah Banda (MISA, 2018). All these have cases have contributed to the small number of investigative journalists in the private print media.

Journalists and outlets have experienced greater violence in the course of their work and in retaliation for their reporting in recent years, particularly from partisan supporters of the PF. In July 2015, armed PF cadres entered the studios of Radio Icengelo in Kitwe and blocked UPND leader Hakainde Hichilema from participating in a scheduled program. PF supporters similarly forced their way into a community radio station in Lundazi and disrupted a broadcast featuring the leader of a new political party in December. Later that month, the ruling party's cadres violently broke up a live appearance by Kabimba at Breeze FM in Chipata. The station subsequently suspended all coverage of politics to avoid further violence. A week after the Breeze FM incident, Post journalist Peter Sukwa and Feel Free Radio journalist Kelvin Phiri were attacked by PF members while investigating allegations that non-Zambians were registered as voters in Vubwi, on the border with Malawi. One of the journalists said the assailants, who included local party officials, had urinated into his mouth and poured fuel on him, threatening to set him alight (MISA, 2018).

5.3 There are a lot of Factors that Hinder Investigative Journalism by Private Print Media Houses

Eighteen out of the 20 respondents representing 80% did admit that there are a lot of factors in Zambia currently that which are hindering the practice of investigative journalism in the country. VOA (2018) reported that practicing journalism has become one of the more dangerous things to do in Africa's largest copper producer, Zambia. The country once seen as a model of democracy in

southern Africa has seen a sharp rise in threats and physical attacks on journalists.

Harassment and intimidation of people working in the media especially those identified as critical of the ruling party is on the upswing. In less than two weeks, three journalists were arrested and charged by the Zambian police with various offenses ranging from sedition and defamation to unlawful possession of restricted military material. Some opposition lawmakers, like Charles Kakoma, are expressing serious concern that these arrests are in violation of the law and basic human rights in the country.

"We have seen in the recent past journalists being harassed, being beaten and media organizations being threatened with closure like UNZA Radio. And now they have turned on to the online publications and they have been trying to close down online publications. Fortunately, they have failed to do so because some of them are not registered in Zambia and therefore beyond their jurisdiction," he said.

The plight of two journalists associated with the online publication Zambian Watchdog have come to the attention of the international media. Clayson Hamasaka and Thomas Zyambo had their homes raided earlier this month, were arrested and Zyambo has been charged with sedition and is scheduled to appear in court July 26. These are some recent happenings.

5.4 Lack of Good Political Will on the Media

In Zambia, the current political and legislative arena also poses its own challenges. MISA Zambia (2017) reports that Zambian President Edgar Lungu has given police the power to ban material deemed threatening to public safety. President Lungu granted the threatened state of emergency to deal with a string of arson attacks but the authority gives police the ability to ban public meetings, impose curfews and restrict movements, and prohibit the

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publication and dissemination of matters regarded as prejudicial to public safety.

The actions effectively nullify citizen protections provided by Article 20(1) of the Zambian Constitution. A further consequence of this legislation, according to Bariyo (2017), is that it allows President Lungu to impose broad restrictions on the media. Invocation of laws restrictive of press freedom is not new (MISA)

Zambia, 2013), as the press tends to be perceived as an enemy of government (Kasoma, 1995).

What is new is the heightened nature of such invocations under the current government (Kasoma & Pitts, 2017), all while stagnating the passage of progressive legislation such as the Freedom of Information Bill (MISA Zambia, 2016).

When local reporters are depended on to report to a national audience, the first challenge they face is the ability to practice their craft within a country with a chilled press environment and few, if any protections for journalists. Bunce (2015) noted the results of his 2011 research where he concluded "that local journalists may be more vulnerable to persecution of repressive governments". Thus, a healthy, supportive and sustaining relationship between press systems/ journalists and government is needed to ensure at least reasonable, if not robust reporting as the responsibility for international reporting of news from across Africa shifts to local journalists. Thus, a slippery-slope exists for Zambia and other countries seeking democracy: without a free press and individual liberties there can be no democracy yet without democracy there cannot be a free press and individual liberties.

Confounding the problems of a free press in many African countries is the absence of democratic governance to promote investigative reporting. Raphael (2005) identifies the importance of officials and jurists as reporters' best sources,

collaborators and defenders of investigative reporting.

Without the parallel tracks of good governance, civil society and a press system with independence from political and economic power, there can be little hope of relationships between reporters and government officials to support investigative journalism. Raphael (2005) is blunt when noting that, "Investigative journalism will not survive without sustaining the web of relationships with government that ensures that this more important kind of news for democracy is funded, distributed, and protected from extinction..." (2015).

5.6 Lack of Access to Information

A number of respondents pointed to access to information as a crucial challenge. Since the democratization process that took place in the early 1990s that saw Zambia transition from a one-party to a multi-party state, subsequent governments have flirted with the idea of passing a Freedom of Information Bill (FOIB), yet none has. A male journalist at a privately-owned newspaper vividly describes the dilemma journalists' face: Access to information is the greatest challenge. Zambian sources, especially government sources, are hard to find (i.e. for hard copy documents) and hard to speak to (i.e. human sources). For example, recently I wanted to unearth corruption in the Zambia-Malawi maize deal saga, but I couldn't due to lack of access to information.

Lately, harsh laws hinder investigative journalism in Zambia. Draconian laws in the Penal Code, such as publication of false news, scare most of us from becoming too investigative. Moreover, for fear of arrest and jail, most of us just decide to write stories from press events and statements.

The respondents further noted that the recent invocation of Article 31, which gives the President Powers to declare a threatened state of emergency, has further compounded the access to information problem. As reported by the Wall Street Journal:

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"State-of-emergency legislation would let President Edgar Lungu impose broad restrictions on the media and freedom of assembly and movement." A female journalist at a privately-owned newspaper provided the following insight about the impact currently being felt as a result of the invocation of Article 31:

Currently, there is an element of fear as journalists are not entirely free to report on pertinent issues. This is because of the state of Threatened Public Emergency Status which was declared by the President in accordance with Article 31 of the republican constitution.

According to this Article, the President has power to make such a proclamation when he sees a situation, which if left unchecked, has the potential to result into a declaration of a State of Emergency. Even though the enactment of Statutory Instrument Number 55 of 2017 [Article 31] does not make any reference to media, the declaration has created a lot of caution and self-regulation in the media circles as people are scared of being detained for extended periods of time as the law permits.

The fear of detention became one editor's reality at a privately-owned newspaper as she pursued an investigative story highlighting the discrepancy in the administration of the BCG vaccination in newborns and what impact this had. Babies born at Zambia's biggest referral hospital the University Teaching Hospital received the vaccination upon birth while in other health centers and clinics around the country there was a one-week time lapse. Here's how the editor narrated her ordeal in pursuing this story:

"I was covering a story that required me to package my news item as a report on Bacille Calmette-Guerin (BCG) vaccine that is administered in Zambia to newborn babies as a prevention of tuberculosis. Babies born at the University Teaching Hospital (UTH) are vaccinated immediately after birth while babies born in clinics are administered the vaccine after a week. Before embarking on my investigation, I got permission from a doctor in high authority from the Ministry of Gender and Child Development and made an appointment to see a doctor at UTH. After a successful interview with the doctor I went ahead to interview breastfeeding mothers who had given birth from clinics [and were at UTH for referrals] when a security guard told me that it was unlawful for me to carry out an interview with the women at the hospital because I was not in the company of a UTH Public Relations Assistant Officer.

I was detained and threatened that I was going to be charged with impersonation. They attempted to confiscate my recorder which I resisted. I later asked for permission from the security supervisor to contact my superiors which I was allowed. After conversing with my superiors, they released me'.

5.7 Inadequate Funding and Institutional Bureaucracy

Delving into institutional bureaucracy, a male journalist at a private newspaper media said: "It is very difficult to engage in investigative reporting at my place of work due to lack of a recognized support structure to support the beat." He adds that this is also evident in resource allocation: "A car and camera is shared among no less than four reporters.

This makes it difficult and almost impossible to conclusively follow up an investigative lead story. That's why most stories that are done are scheduled and event based." Where inadequate funding is concerned, a female journalist at a privately-owned radio station aptly explains its negative impact on doing investigative journalism thus:

Financial constraints remain one of the biggest challenges in my quest to engage in investigative reporting in that it is difficult to travel to far-flung areas to cover a story because the journalist will need transport, accommodation and sometimes people that have the information request that the journalist pay them something for them to help the journalist. For example, I wanted to do a story about

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street kids that have been raping women in the night. The street kids requested that I give them some money for them to disclose the name of their friend who raped an identified lady.

5.8 Political Violence

More 12 respondents also pointed out that now more than ever before, political violence targeted at journalists has become commonplace. A female journalist explains how she and a colleague almost fell prey to political violence: Political interference is also a challenge especially from party supporters. Sometime last year, my colleague from another radio station and I were almost beaten by party cadres because they felt we had written false stories about their president.

According to a male editor with ten years of experience at a privately-owned media house, utterances by the police whom journalists should seek solace from have had their own negative impact:

The Inspector General of Police recently warned during a media briefing that media houses that publish or broadcast content that is deemed to alarm the nation risk being closed. That statement has caused a lot of fear amongst the journalism fraternity. There is a lot of self-censorship by journalists for fear of offending the powers that be. Journalism in Zambia, like in most African countries, is still dominated by men. 60 per cent of the respondents were male while the rest were female. The few women journalists have not received specialized training to effectively cater for investigative journalism in the country. Almost all iournalists female who responded the questionnaires wished they had received specialized training in 'investigative journalism.

Women are the majority in Zambia and are said to be the main working force, especially in rural areas. Therefore, an enlightened female population will go a long way in speeding 90 up development in the country. Male journalists can only reinforce the efforts of their female colleagues. It is pleasing to note that the majority of the journalists in the country are the journalizing.

This means that in the near future the old generation of journalists will no longer be active in the profession. However, the level of optimism is reduced when one analyses their training. That 75 per cent of the respondents had either diplomas or post-graduate diplomas tells much about the progress that has been made in journalism training in this country after independence. This paper does not analyse the quality of journalism training received by the respondents.

Suffice it to say that the quality of journalism training, especially in investigative journalism, in sub-Saharan Africa, and even in European countries where some of the journalists trained, leaves much to be desired. Our journalists are required to investigate and critically analyse the many social problems in our society. Yet, almost all of them are not adequately equipped to deal with such subjects. That most of them want to study social welfare and community development is a realization on their part that although these subjects are very useful for them in performing their duties, they do not know them. Most journalists have basic journalistic skills and knowledge but they lack the 'investigative instinct.'

Conclusion

From this research, it is evident that investigative journalism is practiced by journalists at privately owned newspapers even in cases where they face hindrances from the powers that be. This research has also exposed the many sufferings of the privately owned newspapers and what they go through. From this research we can conclude that media freedoms in Zambia are being heavily stepped upon and so there is need for the government to take up responsibility and remove the bad picture that has been painted on them. Investigative journalism is finding, reporting and presenting news which other people try to hide. It is very similar to standard news reporting, except that

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the people at the center of the story will usually not help the journalist and may even try to stop the journalist doing the job.

The job of journalists is to let people know what is going on in the community, the society and the world around them. Journalists do this by finding facts and telling them to their readers or listeners. In much of their work, the facts are easy to find in such places as the courts and parliaments, disasters, public meetings, churches and sporting events.

People are usually happy to provide journalists with news. Indeed, in many countries, thousands of people work full time in public relations, giving statements, comments, press releases and other forms of information to journalists. Throughout the world, though, there are still a lot of things happening which people want to keep secret.

In most cases these are private things which have no impact on other people - such as relations within a family or a bad report from school. These personal things can remain secret. In many other cases, governments, companies, organizations individuals try to hide decisions or events which affect other people. When a journalist tries to report on matters which somebody wants to keep secret, this is investigative journalism. The great British newspaper publisher Lord Northcliffe once said: "News is what somebody, somewhere wants to suppress; all the rest is advertising." There are several reasons why societies need investigative journalism. They include:

People have a right to know about the society in which they live. They have a right to know about decisions which may affect them, even if people in power want to keep them secret. People in power - whether in government, the world of commerce, or any other group in society - can abuse that power. They can be corrupt, steal money, break laws and do all sorts of things which harm other people. They might just be incompetent and unable to do their job properly. They will usually try to keep this knowledge secret.

Journalists try to expose such abuse. Journalists also have a duty to watch how well people in power perform their jobs, especially those who have been elected to public office. Journalists should constantly ask whether such people are keeping their election promises. Politicians and others who are not keeping their promises may try to hide the fact; journalists should try to expose it. Of course, journalists are not the only people in society who should expose incompetence, corruption, lies and broken promises.

We also have parliaments, councils, courts, commissions, the police and other authorities. The police often take people to court for breaking laws. But sometimes they do not have the time, staff or skills to catch and correct every case of abuse. Also, they cannot do anything against people who behave badly without actually breaking any laws. So, journalists have a role as well. The difference is that when journalists expose wrongdoing, they cannot punish people. Journalists can only bring wrongdoing into the light of public attention and hope that society will do the rest, to punish wrongdoers or to change a system which is at fault. Journalists should be able to expose abuse. corruption and criminal activities in all fields of public life, but the main areas include the following: Governments – transparency and accountability These range from local councils to national parliaments and foreign governments. Sometimes

parliaments and foreign governments. Sometimes politicians and public servants are actually corrupt and should be exposed and removed from office. But often they hide a decision because they know the public may not like it. They might keep a deal they have made with a foreign timber company secret because it will harm the environment or destroy people's homes. Often politicians and public servants spend so long in office that they forget that the public has the right to know what is happening. If the public elect's people to office and gives them taxes and other forms of wealth to administer, the public has the right to know what

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they are doing. The electors should also know so that they can decide how to vote at the next election. Companies

Some companies break the law and should be exposed. But companies usually like to keep activities secret for other reasons. Perhaps they have made a mistake or lost money. Perhaps they do not want competitors to steal their secrets or they do not want people to oppose a development they are planning. However, even private companies have some responsibility towards the public. Companies are part of each society. They usually make some use of natural resources, take money from customers and shareholders, provide jobs for people and use services provided by all taxpayers. Where their activities affect the rest of the community, the community has a right to know what they are doing. Criminals

Although governments and companies can be corrupt, criminals make their living at it. They act like leeches on the community, so the journalists, readers and listeners have the right to know about them. Fighting crime is, of course, mainly the job of the police and legal system. But sometimes they do not have enough resources to do their jobs properly. Sometimes the law itself limits their powers. Also, the police and judiciary can sometimes be corrupt themselves. So, journalists - like every law-abiding citizen - have the duty to expose wrongdoing. There are, of course, all sorts of other individuals and organizations who like to hide things which affect the public. A charity may try to hide the fact that it is not doing a good job with money it has been given. A football club might be secretly negotiating to move its ground against the wishes of its fans. A man might be selling coloured water as a cure for every illness. All these things need to be exposed so that the public can make up its mind whether to support them or not.

Most newspapers, radio and television stations get a lot of requests from people to "investigate" some alleged wrongdoing. In many cases these are silly matters, lies or hoaxes. But the journalist should spend some time on each tip-off, to decide whether or not it will make a story. One should judge all topics for investigative reporting on the criteria for what makes news. Is it new, unusual, interesting, significant and about people? Sometimes, the story might only affect one person and be so trivial that it is not worth following up. Remember the journalist have limited time and resources, so the journalist cannot follow every story idea. Always one must be on the lookout for possible stories. Good investigative reporters do not let any possible story clues escape. They write them down because they might come in useful later.

As the journalist gather the facts, fit them together to make sure that they make sense. Investigative reporting is often like doing a jigsaw. At the beginning, journalists have a jumble of pieces. Only slowly will they emerge as a picture. Unlike a jigsaw puzzle, the journalist will not have all the pieces at the beginning. The journalists have to recognize which pieces are missing then go and find them. When investigating corruption or abuse, the journalist will meet people who will only give the journalist information if the journalists promise never to reveal their identity.

This is very common in criminal matters, where people are scared of pay-back. The journalist can agree to these conditions but remember, sometime in the future a judge examining the same matter in court may order the journalist to reveal the name of such a confidential source of information. The journalist will be breaking the law if the journalist refuses to name the journalists source, and could go to jail for contempt.

If the journalists promise to protect a confidential source, the journalist must do so until the source himself or herself releases the journalist from that promise. So, if the journalist is not prepared to go to jail to protect a source, do not promise in the first place. Journalists have no special rights in law, even when investigating corruption. Unlike the police, journalists cannot listen in to other people's telephone calls or open their letters. Journalists

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cannot enter premises against a person's wish. The journalist must work within the law, but more than that, the journalist should not use any unethical methods of getting information. For example, the journalist should not pretend to be someone to whom people feel obliged to give information, such as a police officer or a government official.

Recommendations

The general case which has been made out along this line of my research is sufficiently strong for many recommendations. It is arguably however necessary that we need to take the case somewhat further and to probe rather more carefully the initial general assumption that ownership and control of the means of mass communication does necessarily affect the level of investigative journalism practice in Zambia.

However, there are likely to be more important structural variations in transparency and accountability giving way to enhanced opportunities for investigative journalism based on the following recommendations:

- O The liberty of the Press is indeed essential to the nature of a free state; but this consists in laying no previous restraints on publication, and not in freedom from censure of a story when published. Every person in the country has the right to lay what sentiments he pleases before the public and to forbid this, is to destroy the freedom of the Press. Therefore, there is truly need for more open discussions and awareness campaigns in Zambia to educate the public on the importance of freedom of information and how beneficial it could be to the process of democracy and development of Zambia.
- The whole development process in a democracy rests on the maintenance of a delicate fabric of communication within society which reveals the common interests that exist, and painfully builds

the consent which leads people to accept the policies that emerge especially on transparency and accountability, there is, therefore, urgent need for positive and speedy action to put in place new progressive media legislation and repeal existing laws that impede freedom of the media and freedom of information and in due process, enhance the opportunities for the practice of investigative journalism in Zambia.

- O In order to enhance opportunities for investigative journalism in Zambia, the civil society organizations must consider lobbying for alternative and more intensive strategies to exert stronger pressure on government to pass the Freedom of Information Bill. (FOIB)
- O There is need to translate the FOIB into local languages so that people who do not understand the English language very well could be able to read in the languages they understand. This would make them understand the contents and appreciate the importance of the Bill.
- The Zambian government should seriously look into the issue of journalist's safety when they are on duty.
- Media organizations should conduct research from time to time on the subject matter as this could help in identifying the factors that would affect the implementation of a FOIA in Zambia.
- Government should give more freedom to the media and not interfere with their operations. This would enable the journalists fully inform the public on a wide range of issues objectively.
- O The media are so much engaged in the process and are effective in disseminating information to large groups of people in the country that they not only supplement the political and education systems but in some respects supplant them, because of their influence therefore it is imperative that media organizations come up with more conferences and workshops and invite civil society organizations, members of parliament, journalists and members of the

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public to attend and discuss the importance of the enactment of the FOIB. These efforts could help in putting tremendous pressure on the government to respond to queries and serious agitation for reform.

• There is also need for more research on the subject matter as this would help in identifying the issues that affect investigative journalists who work for private newspaper companies' or media houses.

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