

# PiMA

Politics and interactive Media in Africa

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### Background Paper: Politics and Interactive Media in Zambia

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## **PiMA Working Papers**

The PiMA Working Papers are a series of peer-reviewed working papers that present findings and insights from Centre of Governance and Human Rights' (CGHR) Politics and Interactive Media in Africa (PiMA) research project (2012-14).

The project, jointly funded by the ESRC and DFID (ES/J018945/1), focuses on expressions of 'public opinion' in broadcast media via new information and communication technologies (ICT) such as mobile phones in Kenya and Zambia. PiMA examines the political implications of such interactions in the two African countries, with a view to drawing conclusions of wider significance to practitioners and policymakers.

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## Introduction

This background paper provides an overview of the history and context of interactive media and public opinion in Zambia. It is prepared as part of Politics and Interactive Media in Africa (PiMA) - a collaborative study involving the University of Cambridge, University of Nairobi and University of Zambia. The main objectives of the PiMA project are: (a) to explore the extent to which media interactivity is widening (and deepening) political participation in Africa; (b) to investigate how public opinion is collected and represented by African media and for what (and whose) purposes; and (c) to establish the extent to which public opinion expressed via interactive media affects accountability mechanisms and policy-makers' behaviour. The primary purpose of this background paper is to provide a political and policy context to the Zambian case study, and introduce the history and context of interactive media in Zambia. The paper is organised into four sections. The first section provides a brief history to the evolution of broadcast media in Zambia. The second section outlines the legal and policy context of broadcasting in Zambia. The third section discusses the state of interactive media in Zambia and its attendant challenges. The fourth section examines the state of public opinion formation through media platforms.

## Broadcasting in Zambia

Broadcast media in Zambia can be traced back to the period just before the Second World War. According to Mytton (1983), before the Second World War, radio broadcasting was exclusively accessed by Europeans from stations in Johannesburg, Salisbury and Nairobi, initially intended for the benefit of European settlers in urban areas. It was then used during the Second World War for wider educational and administrative purposes.

Broadcasting began in Northern Rhodesia through an experiment using low power transmitters at Broken Hill (now Kabwe). The plan initially was to restrict the ability of Africans to access a variety of stations and to limit Africans' radio receiver sets to only be able to tune in to one or two stations. This was "not only to save batteries but that it would stop the Africans from listening to other radio stations that were broadcasting anti-British propoganda and this was clearly not in the interest of the Empire" (Frankel, quoted in Kasoma, 1986, p.47). After lengthy experimentation and government procrastination, the first government broadcasting station opened in Lusaka on 18 September 1940. The station was expected to bring the colonial government closer to the people. Its main purposes at the time were to refute rumours that were spreading during the Second World War and to transmit positive messages about the Allies' progress in the War. The station broadcast mostly to urban areas, particularly Copperbelt towns. In 1945 a new radio station was opened in Lusaka, to be focused on 'African' broadcasting, with a counterpart in Salisbury (now Harare) focusing on 'European' broadcasting.

In 1950 the government established the Central African Broadcasting Station (CABS), renamed the Central African Broadcasting Service in 1958, and later the Federal Broadcasting Corporation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (FBCRN). CABS continued to operate as an 'African' station, despite a transfer in control to Salisbury (present-day Harare). In 1963, upon dissolution of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia established the Northern Rhodesia Broadcasting Corporation (NRBC), which was reconstituted as Zambia Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC) in 1964 upon Zambia's independence. In 1966 ZBC was changed to Zambia Broadcasting Services (ZBS). At the time of independence, ZBS had three channels: Home Service (local/vernacular languages), General Service (English) and an External Service (which was used by liberation movements<sup>1</sup>). In 1988, ZBS was turned into a state corporation, or statutory body, Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC), to enable it to generate its own revenue rather than depend on government subsidies (Kasoma, 1990). Television broadcasting began in 1961 in Kitwe by a UK-based privately owned international company, Lonhro. The Zambian government bought the station in 1964, incorporating it into the Zambia Broadcasting Corporation, later renamed ZBS and then ZNBC. Television services tended to cover mainly urban areas of Lusaka and line of rail, including the industrialised Copperbelt towns.

Throughout this period, broadcasting (both radio and television) remained under tight government control. No private radio or television operator was allowed until the liberalisation of the airwaves in 1991. Freedom of the print press was generally stifled (Moore, 1991). Still, within the context of government control over broadcast media, stations established to deepen state control could produce contradictory political outcomes. For example, in relation to Northern Rhodesia, Robert Heinze has argued that the

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1 Tanzania was at the fore in helping to promote nationalist movements through external services to southern Africa. In 1968 Radio Tanzania created its External Service, with broadcasts by various liberation movements, including the ANC, SWAPO, ZANU and ZAPU (Mosia et al., 1994).

CABS “was driven by the colonial administration's need for information control, but it developed into a source of information and education for colonial subjects as well as a mediator of social change and, finally, an intellectual forum of Zambia's decolonisation” (Heinze, 2012, p.1). Harri Englund has suggested that this is the case with state broadcasting in contemporary Malawi (Englund, 2011). In Zambia in 1991, the opposition Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) successfully sued ZNBC in the Zambian High Court for lack of impartiality and failing to broadcast paid-for MMD election material. It won the case and subsequently the election.

### **Legal and policy framework**

In 1991 the new MMD Government, within a wider agenda of dismantling the one party state, liberalised the airwaves. The liberalisation of the airwaves came about with the enactment of the new Constitution of Zambia, which provided protection for the rights and freedoms of the individual and for the freedom of expression (see Part III, Constitution of Zambia, as amended in 1996), as well as the enactment of the ZNBC (Licensing and Regulations) Act of 1991, the Telecommunications Act of 1994 and the Radio Communications Act of 1994. Radio Phoenix, operating in the capital Lusaka, was registered in 1994 as the first private commercial radio station in Zambia (Muzyamba, 2009). Several other stations followed, sponsored by religious organisations, private companies and community groups or non-governmental organisations (NGOs). By the end of 2012 there were more than 60 registered radio stations and nine television stations in Zambia, including the national broadcaster, ZNBC.

Radio is by far the most widespread broadcast medium in the country. According to a 2009 survey by the Africa Governance Monitoring and Advocacy Project (Africamap), 87 per cent of households own at least one radio set (94 per cent in urban, 84 per cent in rural areas) and 45 per cent own a television set (83 per cent urban, 24 per cent rural). Radio broadcasting has also grown substantially since 2008 (OSISA, 2010). For example, the number of radio stations grew from 37 in 2008 to approximately 60 at the beginning of 2013. The country's radio stations now include the three state-owned stations, ZNBC1, 2 and 4; 22 commercial stations; 18 community stations; 15 religious stations, most of which are Catholic owned or sponsored; and three educational stations, including UNZA Radio from the University of Zambia, Parliament Radio and Hone FM from the Evelyn Hone College.

The majority of radio stations are located in urban areas, particularly in Lusaka (OSISA, 2010). While radio broadcasting is widespread, most people outside the cities are only able to receive ZNBC and one local or community radio stations. There is at least one local or community radio station in each of Zambia's ten provinces, but many have only limited coverage, usually broadcasting within a particular district. Additionally, coverage of community radio stations remains limited by license conditions, which restrict them to an 80 - 150km radius. Some new regional commercial stations have wider coverage such as Sky FM in Southern Province, Breeze FM in Eastern Province and Radio Phoenix in Lusaka. However, still, few radio stations are well-resourced, and most are beset with technical problems that interfere with transmission and reception. Often transmitters are too weak to cover the whole country, transmissions are poor and face constant interruptions due to erratic power supply, and there is a lack of qualified staff. Even ZNBC struggles to ensure strong signal reception across all rural areas. While the national broadcaster had regional repeater transmitter stations in each province, reaching 80 per cent of territory, and installed additional antennae in October 2008, signal reception has continued to be poor in the evenings in some areas. The ownership of the microwave link infrastructure linking transmitter stations to the capital was also transferred from a parastatal Zambia Telecommunications Company Ltd (ZAMTEL) to Lap Green Networks (OSISA, 2010).

Alongside growth in radio broadcasting, Zambia has seen growth in the number of television stations in the past five years from seven to nine. Television stations in operation at the time of writing include the state-owned ZNBC TV, Copperbelt Television (CB-TV), Central Broadcasting Company (CBC), Mobi TV, Muvi TV, North-West TV, Chipata TV, Trinity Broadcast Network (TBN) and pay-television Multichoice (DSTV). Muvi TV, broadcasting nationally since December 2009, provides material from CNN. It has also provided material from the German international service Deutsche Welle, as well as popular Zambian, Philippino and Latin American dramas. Mobi TV is owned by Mobitel Zambia Ltd. Unlike Muvi TV, it is restricted to a radius of 150km around Lusaka, operating through a direct-to-home satellite service and free to-air digital terrestrial broadcasts. Its programming includes a mix of news bulletins, dramas, local talk shows and political analysis. Among the other stations, Trinity Broadcasting Network (TBN) features American tele-evangelists, and CB-TV, owned by an advertising firm, offers mainly Zambian dramas. CBC TV includes programming in seven Zambian languages in addition to its main broadcasts in English, but with content predominantly related to business. Its coverage reaches Mazabuka, Mumbwa, Chisamba and Chongwe districts around Lusaka. Those in Lusaka also have access to My TV, a satellite service offering 19 channels including Nigerian films and BBC programmes for approximately US\$16 per month (OSISA 2010, p.45).

While ZNBC radio and television have the most extensive coverage across the country, Zambians have shown some interest in private broadcasters. In Lusaka, for example, a 2008 audience survey found that Muvi TV to be more popular than the national broadcaster, ZNBC, especially among the lower income groups. Pay-television Multichoice (DSTV) was also found to have a substantial subscription base among middle- and high-income groups (CPD, 2010).

The growth of private media in Zambia has been seen by some to constitute a key component of an emerging Zambian 'civil society'. Private media, including The Post newspaper and Radio Phoenix, have been argued to play a major role in the successful campaign to defeat President Chiluba's bid for a third Presidential term in 2001, and in critiquing the corruption of all administrations. With such claims, private broadcasters have found themselves in a tense relationship with the authorities, facing pressure on licenses to operate and their commercial interests.

There are still a number of obstacles to media freedom in general and the participation of citizens in broadcast media in particular in Zambia. The main obstacle to media freedom has been the policy environment, which continues to be characterised by some laws that restrict media freedom. While the Constitution of Zambia provides for freedom of expression, including the right to receive, impart and communicate information, the Penal Code, the Official Secrets Act and the Printed Publications Act have all been used to limit access to information, freedom of expression and even media freedom. Laws of defamation and libel have been deployed as means to harass media organisations that make critical reports of those in power. Citizens are prohibited from accessing state information that has been classified as confidential, secret or top secret. These restrictions to media freedom are notwithstanding the fact that Zambia is a signatory to international agreements that guarantee access to information, media freedom and freedom of expression. For example, Zambia is signatory to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (1981), the Windhoek Declaration (1991), and the SADC Protocol on Culture, Information and Sport (2000).

Generally the media in Zambia operates without specific laws to promote media freedom, although the Constitution, Independent Broadcasting Authority Act (2002), and Information and Communications Technology Act (2009) provide a general framework for broadcasters (Limpitlaw, 2012). A Freedom of Information Bill, tabled in Parliament in 2002, was withdrawn by the government in November of that year without media consultation. Further, the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC) Amendment Acts of 2002 and 2010, while passed, are yet to be implemented as the board is yet to be appointed. Recently, the government appointed a Director-General for the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) in the absence of a board of directors. Such developments could suggest that freedom from political interference is a challenge facing broadcasting to be free of political interference by the government. The potential for greater government involvement in the media sector appears further strengthened through powers accorded to the Minister of Information and Broadcasting Services. The ZNBC Act and the IBA Act enable the Minister of Information and Broadcasting Services to appoint the boards of these organisations, and also allocate the Minister with the power to issue broadcasting licenses. Such powers have been challenged in court, based on the argument that they undermine the independence of ZNBC as a public broadcaster and IBA as an independent regulatory board of radio and television stations in the country.

Critics have drawn attention to political interference in the operations of the ZNBC specifically, skewing its broadcasting to favour ruling party sources. Such control affects citizens' ability to access credible news and engage in critical debates through the state broadcaster. For example, during the 2011 elections campaigns, the ZNBC ran a defamatory programme personally critiquing the opposition candidate after the evening news. Discussion programmes on ZNBC discouraged audience participation through live phone-in and only took text messages from members of the public.

Private radio and television organisations perceived to be critical of government have also suffered from legal and extra-legal harassment. In 2000 the government withdrew Radio Phoenix's broadcast license, arguing that the license had expired. There have been some suspicions about an ulterior motive for this action. One interpretation was that this was done as a reaction to the airing of the talk show, Let the People Talk. This programme featured individuals who were critical of the government. The station was re-opened following the renewal of the license, as well as public protests by civil society organisations and external donors.

In another instance, in 2011 Radio Lyambai, a local station in western Zambia, was closed and equipment confiscated by security forces after broadcasting an advertisement for a banned secessionist meeting. When the station re-opened, one month prior to the 2011 presidential and general elections, it lacked proper equipment, was restricted to only text-in messages as opposed to phone-in, and was banned from transmitting live news bulletins. Radio Lyambai's transmission coverage was also reduced to a 20km radius

around Mongu town; previously it reached Kalabo and Senanga districts. After it began rebroadcasting, the government issued a warning in April 2012 that coverage of secessionist activities was treasonous (Freedom House, 2013).

Other radio stations have also received threats of closure from government officials in relation to what listeners have said on air. For example, in 2009 the Minister of Information and Broadcasting threatened closure of the station due to a listener's comments criticizing President Banda and King Mswati III of Swaziland (SACCORD, 2010). Government oversight, as well as intimidation by supporters of the ruling party, towards critical journalists has continued to occur. In July 2011, journalists from Muvi TV were attacked and beaten while on an assignment (Lusaka Times, 2011a). In other instances, guests of particular shows have been beaten up following a show or threatened with violence at the studio. United Party for National Development (UPND) president Hakainde Hichilema once survived a potential lynching, while current President Michael Sata was attacked while appearing on a live talk-show on Icengelo in 2001 (Panapress, 2001; Adamu, 2014; Saluseki & Chaponda, 2014).

When the MMD lost power in 2011, the new Patriotic Front (PF) government promised further liberalisation of the media. ZNBC was promised greater editorial freedom and there was discussion of privatising state-owned newspapers. Several private radio and television operators were provided with expanded licenses, with perceptions these were 'rewards' for providing space for opposition voices during the election campaign. At this time, both Radio Phoenix and Muvi TV expanded their operations with the aim to become the first national private broadcasters.

In the early years of PF rule, liberalisation of the media appears to have been challenged, for example, illustrated by the decision to revoke Q-FM's and Radio Phoenix's nationwide coverage licenses (Adamu, 2013). In 2011 President Michael Sata ordered Attorney General Mumbaa Malila to investigate how online publications (e.g. *Zambian Watchdog*, *Tumfweko*, *Zambia Online* and *Zambia Reports*) could be regulated (Lusaka Times, 2011b). In June 2013, three journalists linked to *Zambian Watchdog* were arrested and detained for possessing articles critical of the government. They were later freed on bail. In July 2013, the government blocked *Zambian readers'* access to *Zambian Watchdog* and *Zambia Reports*. A number of arrests and detentions of opposition politicians (particularly party leaders) have been made following interactive radio shows on which they have been accused of 'insulting the President' (Lusaka Times, 2013; Freedom House, 2014).

Still, despite these incidents of repression and harassment, the overall atmosphere in Zambia cannot be described as 'unfree'. Callers to interactive shows are largely free to say what they want, and news media, private radio and TV stations continue to be critical of the government. Still, particularly since the 2008 elections, Zambian politics and society appear to have become more nakedly partisan. The high stakes of competitive electoral politics have been reflected in the practices and regulation of the media. *The Post*, a major private newspaper in Zambia, campaigned strongly against corruption by the MMD government and for the PF Government. Also, since the PF government was elected, equally partisan 'news' websites and new opposition-sponsored tabloid newspapers have emerged. Journalistic standards in these new sources are relatively low and the daily news agenda appears to be marked by factionalism, rumours and partisan scandal-mongering.

### **State of new media in Zambia**

Information technologies, such as mobile phones and the Internet, can be used with radio and television broadcasts to enable audience members to contribute ideas and opinions on the public broadcast. In contrast to Kenya and other African countries, such as South Africa and Nigeria, Zambia has a relatively low level of mobile phone access. However, the uptake of mobile phones has still been considerable. For example, the number of mobile phone subscribers in Zambia increased from 98,853 in 2000 to 10,395,801 in 2013 (ITU, 2014). The number of fixed line subscribers has fluctuated; for example, there were 83,326 fixed line subscribers in 2000, dropping to 82,542 in 2012, and then rising to 115,762 in 2013 (ITU, 2014). Mobile phone technology has revolutionised audience engagement with the media, as people can use their mobile phones to access broadcast media through phone-in and text-in, as well as access radio. Increasingly, access to 'smart' phone handsets and 3G signals, including phones with some free Internet access, for example through Facebook applications, provides new opportunities for participation.

While access to mobile phones has been increasing, Zambia continues to have one of the lowest levels of Internet connectivity on the African continent at 0.79 internet users per 100 inhabitants in 2013 (ZICTA, 2015). Table 1 below compares the number of Internet subscribers with mobile phone and fixed line subscribers in Zambia between 2000 and 2013. When taking into account mobile Internet, there were 2,196,117 mobile Internet users in Zambia as of December 2012. This subscriber base of mobile Internet

is a result of the widespread use of mobile phone. However, while reliable information is still scarce, survey results seem to suggest that there are more urban users of mobile phones and Internet than rural users. Further, men as opposed to women are more likely to own a mobile phone (MISA, 2012).

High uptake of mobile phones is not without challenges. Some survey results suggest mobile phones users face difficulties tied to lack of phone credit, poor reception or connectivity, and lack of power to charge mobile phone batteries. The use of the Internet on the phone is rare, partly because few mobile subscribers can afford the more expensive phones with this feature (MISA, 2012).

**Table 1: Number of mobile, fixed phone and Internet subscribers in Zambia, 2000-2013**

Year	No. of mobile telephone subscriptions	No. of fixed telephone subscriptions	No. of fixed (wired)-broadband subscriptions	Percentage of individuals using the Internet
2000	98,853	83,326	21	0.19
2001	121,200	85,662	31	0.23
2002	139,092	87,674	48	0.48
2003	241,000	88,426	91	0.98
2004	464,354	91,719	250	2.01
2005	949,559	94,665	250	2.85
2006	1,663,328	93,427	2,339	4.16
2007	2,639,026	91,789	4,000	4.87
2008	3,539,003	90,600	5,703	5.55
2009	4,406,682	90,341	10,702	6.31
2010	5,446,991	118,388	10,267	10.00
2011	8,164,553	85,727	15,902	11.50
2012	10,524,676	82,542	14,794	13.47
2013	10,395,801	115,762	10,850	15.40

Source: ITU, 2014

### Broadcast media, interactivity and public opinion

Broadcast media can play an important role in shaping and representing public opinion. For example, through the selection of topics and guests for talk shows, the media (both radio and television) contributes to public opinion formation. It is this role in influencing and shaping public opinion that some argue enables the media to play an important role in deepening democracy, by providing public exposure to a breadth of actors and perspectives, opportunities for citizens to express themselves on topical issues, and a platform to opinion-makers to articulate different viewpoints (Bratton et al., 2005).

In addition to growth in the number of radio and television stations in the last decade and half, Zambia has also seen an increase in audience members' participation in radio content through calling and texting in to discussion programmes (Willems, 2013, p.225). Most Zambian radio and television stations, whether state-owned, private or community-based, provide platforms for public debate, typically between an invited studio guest and members of the audience. The most well known of these programmes is Radio Phoenix's Let the People Talk. The programme hosts prominent personalities who take questions and comments from members of the public who call in. Apart from Radio Phoenix's Let the People Talk, several other stations host interactive, discussion-based programmes. These programmes often have a similar format: the first half of the show is dedicated to an interview with a prominent guest, and the second half involving calls and texts from the audience. Interactive shows in Zambia include Hot Seat (Hot FM), The Assignment (Muvi-TV), Face the Media (Phoenix), Face to Face (Radio Icengelo), Monday Night Live (Q-FM), Public's Last Say (Sky FM) and Government Forum (ZNBC Radio 2), among others. However, the extent to which people in Zambia are



embracing new technologies, such as mobile phones, to interact with the broadcast media remains largely unexplored. Additionally, little is known of the wider political impact of these interaction between a studio host, a studio guest and audience members who phone-in or text-in to the radio or TV station. Discussion programmes on topical issues frequently have provided news content for other radio stations and newspapers, and are seen as set piece 'political moments' in the weekly news cycle.

In some instances, radio and TV stations have solicited 'public opinion' by conducting opinion polls, formulating a question for the audience and inviting call, text or email/Facebook responses. This occurred, for example, during the 2011 elections in which a Radio Phoenix show posed a question of the day and then requested audience members' text-in responses. Later, a studio host would announce the results. Hot FM has continued to pose a topical question to the public and asks for responses through binary yes/no text messages.

More generally, there are few public opinion polls in Zambia. There have been some allegations of poor polling practices by the media (e.g. Lusaka Times, 2015). Public opinion polls are held usually during elections and are often discredited by political parties as lacking credibility if they indicate another party or candidate is favourable to voters. Journalists also lack the training to properly report results of opinion polls in a manner that educate the public.

## **Discussion**

Interactive media has emerged as a site of struggle over the nature and limits of political debate in Zambia, potentially playing multiple and important roles in the representation of public opinion and exercise of political accountability. Public participation in phone-in and text-in shows, as well as the popularity of such shows with listeners, indicates some interest by the audience in participating in public broadcast and could be seen as an expression of voice. Whose voice is heard and represented remains open to research. Participation in media broadcasts does not necessarily mean that all sections of the population are able to express themselves and hold leaders to account. Broadcast platforms themselves must be examined as restricted spaces shaped by the political contexts in which they are premiered and regulated. For example, media owners, radio hosts and guests may have forms of influence over what topics are discussed, who appears as an in-studio guest and the extent to which those calling-in or texting-in can freely express themselves. What occurs behind the scenes in editorial rooms can influence the manufacturing of public opinion and the extent to which citizens can participate in holding leaders to account. Within the context of the varied and contested media landscape in Zambia, the PiMA project hopes to examine the extent to which interactive media provide opportunities to citizens to participate in governance, especially to express themselves and hold their leaders to account.

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## Annex

### Major registered radio and television stations in Zambia by ownership, December 2012

Name of station	Ownership	Town/Region
Radio Phoenix	Private/commercial	Lusaka
Radio Icengelo	Religious/Roman Catholic	Lusaka/Copperbelt
Q-FM	Private/commercial	Lusaka
Breeze FM	Private/commercial	Chipata/Eastern
Zambezi FM	Private/commercial	Livingstone/Southern
Sky FM	Private/commercial	Lusaka
Hot FM	Private/commercial	Lusaka
Radio Lyambai	Community	Lusaka
Radio Maria (Zambia)	Religious/Roman Catholic	Chipata/Eastern
Radio Chikaya	Religious/Roman Catholic	Lundazi/Eastern
Mpika FM	Community	Mpika/Muchinga
Solwezi Community Radio	Community	Solwezi/North-Western
Mkushi Community Radio	Community	Mkushi/Central
Flava FM	Private/commercial	Kitwe/Copperbelt
Yar FM	Private/commercial	Kitwe/Copperbelt
Unza Radio	Community/Teaching	Lusaka
Isoka Community Radio	Community	Isoka/Muchinga
Hone FM	Community/Teaching	Lusaka
Choice FM	Private/commercial	Lusaka
Power FM	Private/commercial	Lusaka
Radio Chongwe	Community	Chongwe/Lusaka
Oblate Radio Liseli	Religious/Roman Catholic	Mongu/Western
Yatsani Radio	Religious/Roman Catholic	Lusaka
Radio Mano	Private/commercial	Kasama/Northern
Komboni FM	Private/commercial	Lusaka
Millenium Radio	Private/commercial	Lusaka
Radio Mphangwe	Community	Katete/Eastern
Radio Pasmе	Private/commercial	Petauke/Eastern
Comet FM	Private/Commercial	?
Kasempa Radio	Community	Kasempa/North Western
Sun FM	Private/commercial	?
Kariba FM	Private/commercial	Siavonga/Southern
Radio Christian Voice (Zambia)	Religious/ecumenical	Lusaka
Radio Maranathan	Religious/SDA	Kabwe/Central
Radio Feel Free	Private/commercial	Chipata/Eastern

<b>Name of station</b>	<b>Ownership</b>	<b>Town/Region</b>
Macha Community Radio	Community	Choma/Southern
Chikuni Radio	Religious/UCZ	Monze/Southern
Mungu FM	Private/commercial	Mongu/Western
Rock FM	Private/commercial	?
Roots FM	Private/commercial	?
KNC FM	Private/commercial	Kabwe/Central
ZNBC Radio 1	Government-owned	Lusaka
ZNBC Radio 2	Government-owned	Lusaka
ZNBC Radio 4	Government-owned	Lusaka
Muvi Television	Private/commercial	Lusaka
Mobi Television	Private/commercial	Lusaka
CBC Television	Private/commercial	Lusaka
Copperbelt Television Network	Private/commercial	Ndola/Copperbelt
Trinity Broadcasting Network (TBN)	Religious/ecumenical	Lusaka
Multichoice (DStv) Zambia	Private/commercial	Lusaka
Chipata Television	Private/commercial	Chipata/Eastern
North-Western Television	Private/commercial	Solwezi/North-Western
ZNBC Television 1	Government-owned	Lusaka
ZNBC TV2	Government owned	Lusaka

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