

**THE EFFECT OF DIVERSIFIED PRIVATE BROADCASTING MEDIA ON
MALAWI BROADCASTING CORPORATION'S PERFORMANCE DURING
GENERAL ELECTIONS**

M.A. (POLITICAL SCIENCE) THESIS

By

RASHID AMADEU MAPILA

Bsc (Mass Communication) - Islamic University in Uganda

Submitted to the Faculty of Social Science, department of Political & Administrative
Studies, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Award of Master of Arts
(Political Science)

**UNIVERSITY OF MALAWI
CHANCELLOR COLLEGE**

NOVEMBER, 2017

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, confirm that this work was accomplished independently. All sources of consulted materials such as ideas, equations, figures, texts, tables and programs are duly acknowledged. A full list of the references used has been included. Furthermore, this work has not been submitted for evaluation to any other assessment institution for an award of any academic qualification.

Full Legal Name

Signature

Date

CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

The undersigned certify that this thesis represents the student's own work and effort and has been submitted with our approval.

Signature: _____ Date _____

EDGE KANYONGOLO, PhD (Associate Professor)

Main Supervisor

Signature: _____ Date _____

MACLAN KANYANG'WA, MA (LECTURER)

Co-Supervisor

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to my research supervisors Associate Professor Edge Kanyongolo and Mr. Maclan Kanyang'wa for their guidance in the preparation of this thesis. They are not only great teachers but also wonderful mentors who have made writing this research piece a wonderful experience.

I also wish to acknowledge LIDO Enterprises and Gift of the Givers – for funding my studies. I am sincerely grateful to all friends and relatives, too numerous to mention, who have contributed directly or indirectly to my studies and more especially those who have in one way or another contributed to the production of this thesis.

I am also grateful to all survey respondents who shared their views on the research topic and assiduously answered all the questions; without their cooperation this study would not have been completed. I am also appreciative to research assistants who assisted me in the data collection process.

ABSTRACT

This study investigated whether increased number of private broadcasting media in Malawi has changed the public broadcaster MBC's national elections coverage. The choice of the research was motivated by market structure theory in economics that increased number of actors in a market brings in competition leading to improved efficiency over time such as accurate and balanced reporting. The study interviewed a total of 280 randomly selected respondents of at least 18 years of age in Blantyre, Mangochi, and Zomba in Southern Region of Malawi. The analysis of the data collected showed that a small proportion of the respondents (about 3%) were of the view that MBC complied fully with broadcasting standards and norms, in contrast to 62% of the respondents who reported that the private media complied with the standards and norms. On media diversity, the study learnt that there were 78 registered broadcasters in Malawi as of 2014, consisting of 54 radio and 24 television stations. Despite this high diversity, the study found limited knowledge by respondents of broadcasting media diversity with only 13% of the respondents knowing more than 21 media broadcasters. This may be partly explained by the fact that 45% of the total licensed broadcasters have limited geographical coverage while 31% are not yet operational. The results on examining the influence of the increased number of private media on MBC's election coverage showed that media diversity has not changed the tendency of the state broadcaster- MBC of being biased in its coverage of national elections but has, on the other hand, given citizens varied sources of information. While these results are not in tandem with market structure theory in economics that the study was premised; they are in conformity with the political economy surrounding media ownership i.e. to advance political agenda and attain fame and not necessarily to serve the public with accurate information. One of the key recommendations from the research is that the media fraternity should advocate for safeguards on the use of the public media in the country by making it more autonomous. This would assist that state broadcaster complies with standards and norms as it has been found out that increased number of private media despite having other benefits may not change the observed status quo.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	vii
LIST OF TABLES.....	x
LIST FIGURES	xi
LIST OF APPENDICES.....	xii
ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS.....	xiii
Chapter 1.....	1
INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Background	1
1.2 Problem Statement	2
1.3 Objectives of the Study	4
<i>1.3.1 Main Objective</i>	4
<i>1.3.2 Specific Objectives</i>	4
1.4 Research Question.....	4
1.5 Research Hypothesis	4
1.6 Significance of the Study	4
1.7 Scope and Limitation of the Study	5
1.8 Structure of the Thesis.....	5
Chapter 2.....	6
LITERATURE REVIEW	6

2.1 Media Landscape in Malawi	6
2.1.1 Broadcasting.....	6
2.1.2 Print Media.....	7
2.1.3 Mobile phones and internet	8
2.2 Defining Media/Broadcasting Standards and Norms in Malawi	8
2.3 Brief History of Malawi Broadcasting Corporation.....	10
2.4 Impact of Biased Elections Coverage	11
2.5 Importance of Diversified Media in Elections	12
Chapter 3.....	13
CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK.....	13
3.1 Independent Variables.....	13
3.2 Dependent Variable.....	15
Chapter 4.....	16
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.....	16
4.1 Research Design.....	16
4.2 Study Area.....	17
4.3 Data Collection and Sources	18
4.4 Sampling Technique and Sample Size	19
4.5 Data Analysis	21
4.6 Ethical Considerations.....	21
Chapter 5.....	22
RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION.....	22
5.1 Characteristics of the Study Respondents 225.1.1 Gender, marital status and age	22

5.1.2 Education level	23
5.1.3 Ownership of radio and television.....	23
5.2 Main Sources of Information on National Elections.....	24
5.3 Knowledge about MBC, Regularity of Listening and Preferred Programs	25
5.4 Knowledge of Respondents on Media Diversity.....	26
5.4.1 Knowledge on private broadcasting media in Malawi.....	26
5.4.2 Perceived reasons for the proliferation of private media.....	27
5.5 Elections Coverage by the Private and Public Broadcasters.....	28
5.5.1 Radio most listened to during elections.....	28
5.5.2 Period respondent listened to radio during elections	30
5.5.3 Election coverage by MBC and Private Media	30
5.6 Broadcasting Standards and Norms during the General Elections	31
5.6.1 Compliance on standards and norms	31
5.6.2 Possible causes of MBC failure to comply to standards and norms	32
5.6.3 Accommodation of alternative views between MBC and private media	33
5.7 Influence of Private Electronic Media on MBC during Elections	33
5.7.1 Ratings of MBC against the private electronic media on election coverage ...	33
5.7.2 Effects of the private broadcasting media on MBC's elections coverage	34
5.7.3 Proposal on funding the media during election coverage.....	36
Chapter 6.....	37
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	37
REFERENCES	40
APPENDICES	45

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: ICT penetration and usage in Malawi -----	8
Table 2: Sample size estimation-----	20
Table 3: Sample size by district and gender-----	20
Table 4: Respondents socio-demographic characteristics -----	23
Table 5: Radio and TV ownership-----	24
Table 6: Sources of information on election issues -----	25
Table 7: Frequency of listening to MBC-----	25
Table 8: MBC Radio programs frequently listened -----	26
Table 9: Knowledge on existence of different private electronic media -----	27
Table 10: Reasons on the proliferation of private media -----	28
Table 11: Radio most listened to during elections-----	29
Table 12: Specific period respondent listened to radio -----	30
Table 13: Opinion on 2014 election coverage by public and private media-----	31
Table 14: Compliance on standards and norms -----	31
Table 15: Reasons for MBC failure to comply with broadcasting standards and norms -----	32
Table 16: Accommodation of alternative views between MBC and private media -----	33

LIST FIGURES

Figure 1: Conceptual framework-----	14
Figure 2: Research onion-----	16
Figure 3: Map of Malawi showing study areas -----	18
Figure 4: Private media involvement in election -----	27
Figure 5: National radios listenership in 2014 -----	29
Figure 6: Performance of MBC versus private media -----	34
Figure 7: Influence of private media on MBC performance -----	35
Figure 8: Opinion on resource allocation during election -----	36

LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Study Questionnaire.....	45
Appendix 2: Participant Briefing and Consent Letter.....	51
Appendix 3: Licensed Broadcasters in Malawi (2014).....	52

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

DPP	Democratic Progressive Party
EC	Electoral Commission
MACRA	Malawi Communications Regulatory Authority
MBC	Malawi Broadcasting Cooperation
MCP	Malawi Congress Party
PP	Peoples Party
PPE	Presidential and Parliamentary Elections
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Science
UDF	United Democratic Front
ZBS	Zodiak Broadcasting Station

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

The media has significant role in fostering development and promoting democracy. According to Locksley (2009: 5), the media's major contribution to development include promotion of good governance and transparency, behaviour change, infrastructure development; provision of employment and trade. The Media Council of Malawi (2008: 2) notes that the media's primary function in a democratic state 'is to inform the public accurately and to comment fairly on matters of public concern without fear or favor and that such duty is fundamental to the existence, sustainability and development of a democratic state'.

The media is also important in promoting free and fair national elections by being a catalyst for democracy and an instrument of democratic rule (Chiyamwaka, 2009). For instance, the media reports on incumbents' performance, provides a platform for debates among candidates, allows candidates to communicate their message to the electorate, reporting on campaigns, inform voters on how to exercise their rights, monitor the electoral process, and report the results of the elections to the public (ibid).

In Malawi, there are a number of media categories that contribute to the aforementioned functions in different ways. Some of these include internet, television, radio, print media, advertisements, music, and associated technological devices. However, like in many other countries, the radio is the main broadcast medium in Malawi with 96% of population listening to the radio and 45% of the households owning the same (Chirwa, 2005; Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2012; NSO &MACRA, 2014). MACRA (2015a) lists 78

licensed broadcasters in Malawi as of 2014. Out of which, 54 are sound based (radio) and 24 television broadcasting licenses. There are also 4 print media houses, 80 registered publications and 12 operational internet service providers (MACRA 2015a; Chirwa 2005).

The above statistics suggest an increased diversity in the country's media landscape. Nonetheless, prior to 1994, the country had only one state owned radio station namely Malawi Broadcasting Cooperation (MBC) (Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 2003; Manda, 2006). Previous studies have reported strong bias in news and election coverage by the state broadcaster (Rakner and Svåsand 2005; EU EOM 2009; SAEF 2014).

With the increased number of the broadcasting media in the country, the common expectation is that there would be improvement in reporting by the state broadcaster. This expectation is consistent with the market structure theory in economics that increased number of actors in a market encourages competition leading to efficiency in service delivery (Koutsayiannis, 2003; Mankiw, 2008; Besanko et al., 2011; Yadav, 2015; Socialists & Democrats, 2016). Media competition allows the citizens and consumers access to a wider choice of high quality information as well as making the information available in good time (Coyne and Leesen, 2004; Socialists & Democrats, 2016; Metykova, 2016). Metykova (2016) argues that media diversity contributes to an inclusive and well-functioning democratic society. It is against this background that the study explored whether or not the increased number of broadcasting media in Malawi has changed the behaviour of MBC on election coverage.

1.2 Problem Statement

Following the liberalization of broadcasting licensing in 1994 in Malawi, there has been proliferation of the electronic media, particularly in the form of private radio stations. Market structure theory in economics suggests that such media diversity should result in competition and improve the provision of the services in the media industry. In the case of the MBC, one area in which improvement of services would be most evident and significant is in the coverage of national elections.

Previous studies that have observed and assessed Malawian past elections have highlighted the imbalances in MBC's coverage in general elections (Rakner and Svåsand, 2005; SAEF, 2014; EU EOM, 2004; 2009; 2014). Some studies have also reviewed the programming of the public broadcasting organizations in Malawi e.g. Manda (2006). Mhagama and Kanyang'wa (2011) gives a good of account of mismatch between the existence of regulatory laws on the media and how the same have been used to oppress the media in reporting accurately. Kanyongolo (2009) reported that during the 1999 and 2004 elections there were a lot of unofficial complaints from the public on how MBC covered elections.

Furthermore, the review of various election observer mission reports and other relevant literature suggest a higher level of biased election coverage by stated owned media (MBC Radio 1, 2 and MBC TV) in contrast to balanced reporting by the private media. However, the same literature has reported few incidences of biased reporting in selected politically connected private broadcasting media.

It has been noted that in the 1994 election campaigns which were the first democratic elections in Malawi, the MCP dominated the airwaves and the then head of state. Likewise, due to biased reporting during the 1999 campaign period, one week before 1999 elections, the High Court in Blantyre ordered the Malawi Electoral Commission to ensure that MBC provided fair coverage to all contesting parties (Nasongó, 2008). A similar trend was observed in the subsequent elections of 2004, 2009 and 2014 Malawi Presidential and Parliamentary Elections.

Despite the aforementioned research among others, there are few (if any) empirical studies in Malawi that have focused on examining the influence of private broadcasters on public media outlets during national elections. This study therefore attempts to fill this observed knowledge gap existing in media literature in Malawi. The study does so by assessing the extent to which MBC may have accommodated changes in the case of 2014 elections due to diversified private electronic media.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

1.3.1 Main Objective

The main objective of the study was to examine the effect of diversification of electronic media on MBC's compliance with norms and standards of media coverage of national elections.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

The specific objectives of study were to:

- To determine the nature and extent of private electronic media diversification since 1994;
- To compare the level of compliance with broadcasting standards and norms between MBC and private electronic media;
- To investigate the effects of election coverage by private electronic media on MBC's compliance with broadcasting standards and norms in its national election coverage.

1.4 Research Question

The study was guided by the following research question:

- Has the proliferation of private broadcasting media in Malawi influenced any significant change in the compliance by the MBC with standards and norms governing media coverage of elections?

1.5 Research Hypothesis

The hypothesis of this study was that election coverage by diversified private electronic media has not produced any significant change on MBC on its biased reporting in national elections.

1.6 Significance of the Study

The subject is worth studying because it helps to assess the factors that contribute to the capacity and willingness of the MBC to act according to "the rules of the game" with respect to coverage of national elections by public broadcasters. There are few empirical studies in the country that focused on the influence of private broadcasters on public media outlets during national elections. This study therefore will attempt to fill this

scholarly knowledge by filling the empirical gap observed knowledge gap existing in media literature in Malawi by providing the empirical evidence on the influence of private broadcasters on the performance of MBC.

The study also contributes to providing policy makers with the facts on which they can make evidence-based judgments on whether the continued use of public funds to finance MBC makes a better contribution to democratization than the investment of those funds in interventions that facilitate the expansion of private electronic media. The study will also contribute to a historical understanding of MBC's failure to comply with norms of neutrality and balance.

1.7 Scope and Limitation of the Study

The study was conducted in the Southern Region sites of Blantyre City, Mangochi Town and Zomba City, representing about 10% of the administrative local councils in Malawi. Furthermore, the study covered only the broadcasting (radio) segment of media out of others such as print, internet and television. MBC- the public broadcaster referred to in this study comprises of Radio 1, Radio 2 and Television channel, however, MBC 1 has been operational since 1964 while Radio 2 and the Television were established after 1994. While the focus of the study was on MBC Radio 1 as the oldest among the three entities making MBC, the statements and findings are valid for the other two as well because editorial policies and its leadership are the same. Financial and time constraints were the two main reasons for conducting the research in limited number (three) local councils.

1.8 Structure of the Thesis

The thesis report is organized in five main Chapters. Chapter 1 has the following sections: general introduction, problem statement, objectives and significance of the study. Chapter 2 presents literature review. Chapter 3 presents the conceptual framework for the study. Research methodology is provided in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 presents the study findings whereas Chapter 6 presents a summary of the study findings, conclusion and recommendations emanating from the study.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Media Landscape in Malawi

Locksley (2009: 1) broadly defines media as ‘a combination of content such as music, films, television TV, radio, publishing, advertisements, and electronic games along with associated technological devices’. The author further notes that over time what constitutes “the media” has both expanded and proliferated due to technological changes providing various ownership opportunities and new business models.

2.1.1 Broadcasting

This research focused on the broadcasting (radio) segment of the media. NSO & MACRA (2014: 32) defines broadcasting ‘as any form of telecommunications intended for general reception by the public by means of receivers adapted for the purpose while broadcasting service is defined as service consisting of the diffusion of sound or television programs for general reception by the public’.

MACRA categorizes broadcasting licenses into three: a) Community, b) Regional and c) National. Community broadcasting license covers a geographical community occurring within a 100 km radius (Chirwa 2009). Regional license covers the administrative regions of Malawi while national license covers the whole country (NSO & MACRA, 2014). In terms of ownership, there are a) public and b) private/commercial and c) community owned broadcastings services providers (Chirwa 2005; Manda 2006).

Public broadcasters are those owned and funded to a large extent by the state (Chirwa, 2005). For example, Malawi Broadcasting Corporation (MBC) which comprises two radio stations (MBC 1 & 2) and television channel (MBC TV) (MACRA, 2014). Private broadcasters are usually those run by private individuals or organizations for commercial purposes (Chirwa, 2005) and examples include Zodiak Radio and TV, Capital FM, Times TV, Joy Radio Station (MACRA, 2014). Community broadcasters are owned by religious

institutions or run by local communities and in recent years have seen rapid growth (Chirwa, 2005). Some of the community broadcasters have a national coverage while others have a geographical or regional coverage. Examples of community broadcasters include Nkhotakota Community Radio, Radio Maria, Radio Islam and Dzimwe Radio.

MACRA (2015a) listed 78 broadcasters in Malawi as of 2014. When classified by functionality, 54 were sound based (radio) and 24 were television broadcasting licenses. By operational status 53 were operational, 24 not operational and one (1%) had its license revoked. The review further showed that 3 broadcasters were public and 30 were privately owned while 45 were classified to be community broadcasters. On coverage status, 43 had national coverage and rest had regional or geographical coverage (See Appendix C for a full list of the licensed broadcasters in 2014). From these statistics, it is clear that the country has seen substantial growth in broadcasting service providers compared to the period before 1994 when Malawi was dominated only by MBC (Manda, 2006; Mhagama and Kanyang'wa, 2011).

2.1.2 Print Media

The other sources of information on elections in Malawi include print media, mobile phones and internet. However, these media sources of information are generally expensive and largely available to the middle income earners and urban dwellers (Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2012). According to Chirwa (2005), there are over 80 registered publications in Malawi however the most regular two daily newspapers both privately owned and published in English are *The Daily Times* owned by Blantyre Print and Publishing and *The Nation*. *The Nation* has a circulation of about 18,000 per day (Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2012). While the three most weekly newspapers published in English and Chichewa are *Malawi News* and *Weekend Nation* and the fortnightly *Fuko Nation* available in Chichewa and Tumbuka. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (2012) estimated that *The Weekend Nation* has a circulation of about 30,000 copies every Saturday.

2.1.3 Mobile phones and internet

MACRA (2015b) statistics show that 5.06 million Malawians have mobile phones representing 38.3% penetration (Table 1). Malawi has been able to achieve 80% mobile signal coverage and mobile penetration is said to be very low when compared to Africa average which is estimated at 76% (ibid).

In terms of service providers, the country has two major mobile network operators: Bharti Airtel and Telecom Networks Malawi (TNM) Limited. The Malawi Telecommunications Limited (MTL) and Access Communications Ltd (ACL) are the providers of fixed lines (MACRA, 2015b). About 934,000 people have access to internet representing 6.7% penetration but only 0.06% of the population have fixed broadband subscriptions. The Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (2012) reported that there were 112,100 Facebook users, as of 2011 in Malawi representing 0.7% penetration rate. Internet access is also provided through internet cafés and telecentres, as well as through mobile network providers, Airtel and TNM. The Malawi's internet penetration rate is below the global average of 40% (MACRA, 2015b).

Table 1: ICT penetration and usage in Malawi

Service	Subscribers	Penetration (%)
Fixed	33,569	0.22
Mobile	5,059,221	38.3
Internet	934,000	6.7
DSL	2,854	0.02
3G mobile broadband	202,499	1.34
WiMAX and EV-DO	391,454	2.26

Data Source: MACRA (2015b: Page 8):

2.2 Defining Media/Broadcasting Standards and Norms in Malawi

Media standards and norms can be summarized as 'need for media to provide information to the public based on the principles of fairness, truth and balance' (Media Council of Malawi, 2008). The need for 'fairness, truth, and balance in providing information' is

also guided through various legislation including the Communications Act of 1998, Printed Publications Act of 1947, Government Archives; Censorship and Control of Entertainments Act, of 1968, Official Secrets Act, of 1913, and Commercial Advertising (Traditional Music) Control Act, of 1978, the Constitution of the Republic of Malawi, the Gender Equality Act of 2013, Guidelines on media coverage of elections in SADC region of 2012, The African Charter on Broadcasting of 2001, the SADC Principles and Guidelines Governing Democratic Elections of 2004 among others.

In terms of institutions, Malawi Communications Regulatory Authority (MACRA) was established by the Communications Act of 1998 as an independent regulatory authority with exclusive power to grant, suspend and withdraw broadcasting licences. It also has the power to monitor and enforce compliance with the Communications Act and its subsidiary legislation (Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 2003; Chirwa, 2005, 2009; Mhagama and Kanyangwa, 2011). However in terms of elections, the guiding registration is the Parliamentary and Presidential Elections Act and the Local Governments Elections Act which guides both print and electronic media operations (EU EOM, 2014).

Specific to elections, the guiding registration is the Electoral Commission Act of 1998 particularly Section 8 of the Act which mandates Malawi Electoral Commission to promote public awareness of electoral matters through the media among others means to conduct civic and voter education. In line with this mandate media houses normally signs a Code of Conduct for the elections. The code among other things outlines the role of the media in reporting during the entire electoral process as well as the conditions required for media effectiveness by highlighting the role of media houses in ensuring this and the requirements for the professional conduct of journalists upholding the principles of fairness, truth and balance-essentially the standards and the norms for the media.

There are also two codes of conduct that govern the operations of media industry in Malawi namely a) Code of Conduct for Broadcasting Services ('the Broadcasting Code'); and the Malawi Code of Ethics and Professional Conduct ('the Journalism Code'), a self-

regulatory code for journalists operating in Malawi (Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 2003).

Reviews of the Communication Act and the legislative framework of elections have shown inconsistency in their implementation by relevant organization. Rakner and Svåsand 2005, for example, notes that there appear to be unclear responsibilities between the MACRA, the Malawi Electoral Commission (MEC) and the MBC in terms of enforcing the electoral guidelines for the media pointing to certain level of ambiguity in these instruments in Malawi. Chirwa (2005) observed that MACRA's failure to provide equal access to all political players during elections indicates weak enforcement of the Act. Furthermore, the Act is criticized for failing to make the regulatory body independent from the control of executive arm of government (Manda, 2006). The President appoints the Board of Directors of MACRA, while the Minister of Information appoints the Director General (Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 2003).

2.3 Brief History of Malawi Broadcasting Corporation

The MBC was established as a parastatal radio station in 1964 by the MBC Act of 1964 (Mhagama and Kanyang'wa, 2011). The Act of 1964 allowed government to establish the monopoly and control of the radio by the state. It was modelled on British Broadcasting Cooperation (BBC) and was mandated to offer education, entertainment and inform the Malawian public (Manda, 2006). Legally speaking, it became a public broadcaster in 2004 when it was officially licensed by MACRA. MBC radio 2 was launched in 1998 as an entertainment radio station dominated by music and phone-in programs and was initially supported by the German government (Chirwa, 2005). EISA (2009) observed that all successive incumbent governments in Malawi have tended to monopolize the state owned media to their advantage. While the key rationale of having public broadcaster is to provide information and serve the interest of the public, in Malawi, MBC for over 30 years under the one party rule of MCP was used to silence real and potential opponents of the state and the party (Manda, 2006).

According to the Malawi Communications Act of 1998, the President appoints the chairperson and board members while the board is mandated to appoint the Director General who in turn is mandated to recruit the employees (Government of Malawi, 1998). The Secretary of Information is an ex officio of the member of the board (ibid). The prevailing management structure may have been the continue source of biased behaviour by MBC. At one point in 1999 the MBC leadership argued that presidents ought to be given special treatment on media coverage as this was trend since the genesis of the MBC (Article XIX, 2000).

2.4 Impact of Biased Elections Coverage

Studies of voting behaviour have identified useful voting models which focus directly on individual voters. Dalton and Wattenberg (1993) assumed that voters identify with their choice of party because they perceive that the party's objectives are compatible with their own. This is the psychological model with partisanship as its central concept. Downs (1957) submitted the theoretical background for an economic explanation of voting behaviour known as an economic theory of democracy. This theory is commonly referred to as the rational choice theory. The operation of the model is based on all decisions that are made by voters and political parties are rational, i.e. guided by self – interest.

Bray and Kreps (1987) argued that the effects of media bias depend on how the audience processes the information broadcast by the media. If the audience is aware of the media bias and filters it from the information, distortions in media reporting are unlikely to have large effects on voter beliefs. From the above studies, it is clear that MBC's biased election coverage may have no major effect on voter choices. However, what is of public concern is how MBC's biased editorial policy undermines good governance. The expectation by the general public is that as democracy is growing, there shall be less or no undemocratic tendencies in the way MBC conducts itself particularly during election period.

2.5 Importance of Diversified Media in Elections

In Ghana, a study by Agyeman-Duah (2005) indicated that the role of the electronic media in monitoring elections has been unique and innovative. Private FM stations post their reporters countrywide to give live reports of events at the polling stations and at collating centres.

In Malawi, Chiyamwaka (2009) noted that in the past two elections, 1999 and 2004, particularly the latter, there were a lot of unofficial complaints from the public on how MBC used to cover the election results. Election Commission's (EC) decision to accredit two private radio stations i.e. Zodiak Broadcasting Station (ZBS) and Capital FM for the first time in Malawi to officially broadcast the results of the 2009 parliamentary and presidential elections (PPE) alongside public broadcasters is a milestone in the development of media industry and also in the management of elections in Malawi.

The above studies demonstrate huge positive impact of diversity of electronic media in election coverage. However, in the case of Ghana, the observation is clear that the environment is so accommodative to an extensive coverage of elections by private electronic media unlike in Malawi where official election coverage is restricted to only few accredited private radio stations.

Chapter 3

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Independent Variables

The study identifies media diversity as the main independent variable that may influence the performance of media during elections (Figure 1). The specific element under examination is on how MBC (which was the sole dominant broadcasting media from 1964 to 1994) has changed its behaviour in response to the increased number of private broadcasting media during national elections.

The choice of the media diversity as the key independent variable of this research is based on market structure theory in economics that increased number of actors (perfect market or near perfect market) leads to improved market efficiency in services delivery (see for example, Besanko et al., 2011). The study conceptualized that media diversity should result in unbiased reporting for both public and private broadcasters (Figure 1).

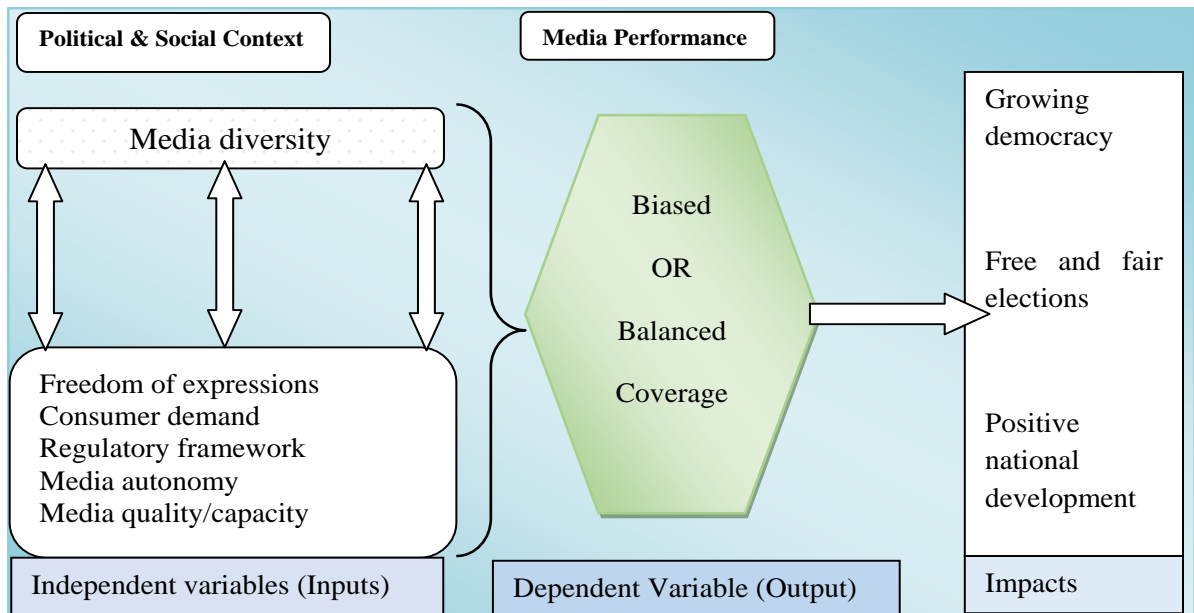


Figure 1: Conceptual framework

Although media diversity is at the centre of this research, the conceptual framework recognizes that there are other important internal and external parameters that may affect or influence media performance during elections. These factors have backward and forward linkages with media diversity (Figure 1). Chiyamwaka, (2009), for example, notes that the context in which the media operate and the level of media autonomy may influence media performance. The context in which media operates is further shaped by right to freedom of expression, connections between media and politics, media ownership and respect for media norms and standards (ECDL, 2005). Coyne and Leesen (2004: 28) define ‘media autonomy as the ability of media sources to act without interference from government’. It is dependent on market forces-issues; political pressure, the general economic environment including financing opportunities (ibid).

Media regulatory environment is also another vital aspect that can influence media performance during election. The media laws that apply to private and public media on the accessibility and usability of information have influence on the media performance. Transparency requires that information about the government is available to the media and hence the populace (Coyne and Leesen, 2004). Quality of the media can also affect

the performance of the elections. The training of journalists, for example, may impact on the performance of media reporting (Chitsulo, 2005).

The ability of consumers to demand information from the duty bearers may also impact on the transformation in way the media operates in order to satisfy this demand (Coyne and Leesen, 2004). This consumer demand is critical when the media sources do not receive state funding.

3.2 Dependent Variable

The study identified media performance as the dependent variable. The media performance was measured by the respondent's views on elections reporting whether it was either balanced or biased (Figure 1). Furthermore, reasons for the observed election reporting behaviour were also investigated. Balanced media coverage is important in an election because it promotes co-existence, national development, and improves the credibility of elections and hence growth of democracy (Rakner and Svåsand, 2005; Chiyamwaka, 2008). The influence of media diversity on the performance of the public broadcasting media as presented in Figure 1 is a simplification of reality or simply a model. Other external and internal factors as pointed out earlier have influence on the overall performance of the media; however these were beyond the scope of this research. Understanding the interaction of this other external and internal factors could be potential area of the further research.

Chapter 4

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Research Design

The research design for this study was guided by the ‘research onion’ as detailed in Saunders et al. (2009: 138) (Figure 2). The philosophy used in this study was pragmatism and the approach adopted was deductive.

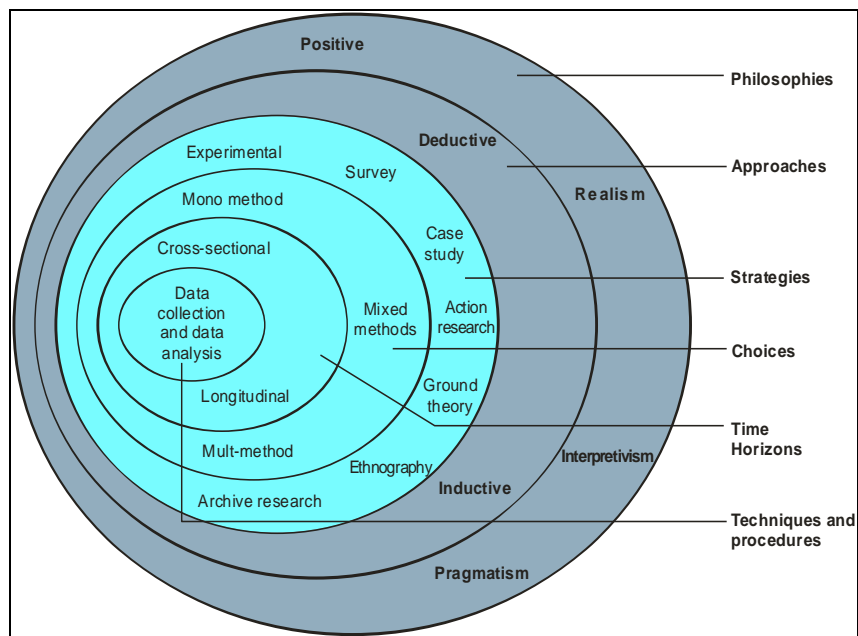


Figure 2: Research onion

Source: Saunders et al (2009: 138)

The study was cross-sectional and used mixed approaches involving survey strategy for data collection. The principal advantage of a survey is that it provides information on large groups of people, with very little effort and in a cost effective manner (Cresswell, 2003; Marczyk et al., 2005).

Saunders et al., (2009) further pointed out that a survey strategy is authoritative by people in general and is both comparatively easy to explain and to understand; and it allows collection of qualitative and quantitative data for descriptive and inferential statistics.

The study adopted a descriptive research approach because by design the major interest of the study was to understand whether the increased number of private broadcasting media has any influence on the performance on MBC's compliance to media standards and norms during general elections.

4.2 Study Area

Primary data for the research was collected from 280 randomly selected respondents in Zomba, Mangochi and Blantyre in the Southern Region of Malawi (Figure 3) from June to July 2016. These three localities have a population of nearly 1.6 million based on the 2008 National Population Census (NSO 2008), half of which is within the age of voting i.e. above 18 years of age. The sampled areas have individuals active in all the four main political parties existing in the country namely; United Democratic Front (UDF), Malawi Congress Party (MCP), Peoples Party and Democratic Progressive Party (DPP). Coincidentally, all these four political parties have at one point controlled MBC when they were in power. The MCP, for instance, was in government from 1964 to 1994, UDF from 1994 to 2004, DPP from 2004 to 2012, PP from 2012 to 2014 and DPP from 2014 to date.

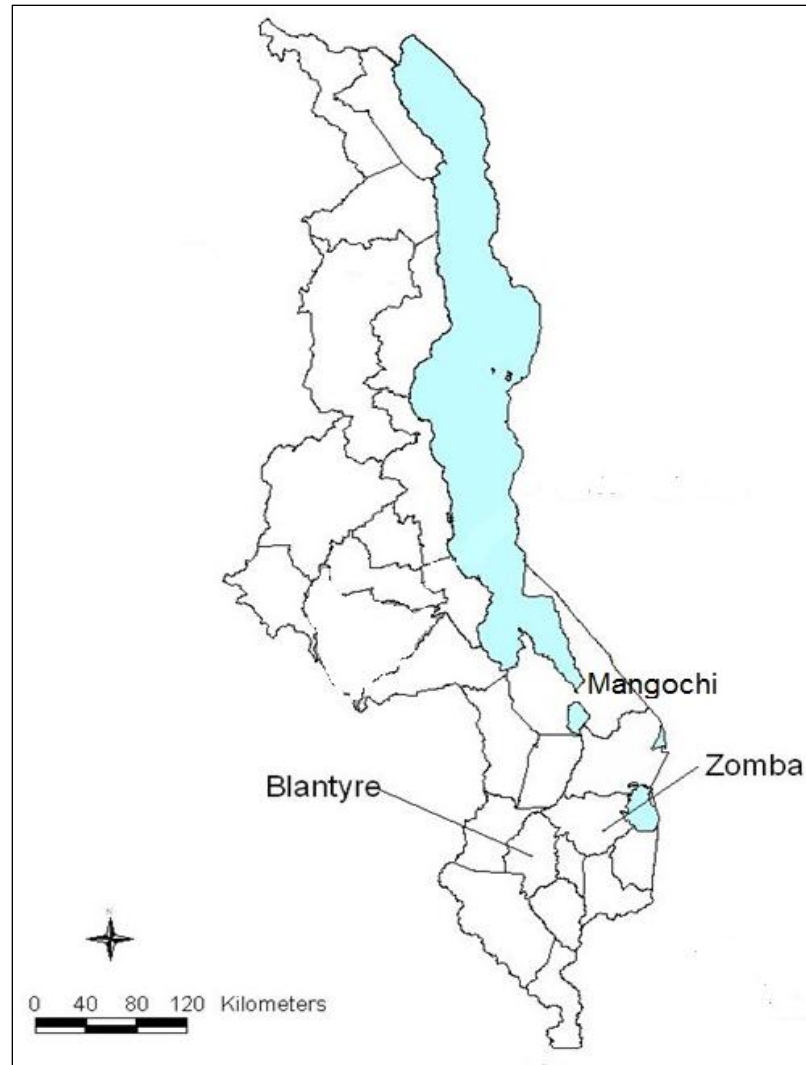


Figure 3: Map of Malawi showing study areas

Modified from Lilongwe District Assembly, (2006: 4)

4.3 Data Collection and Sources

The study collected both primary and secondary data. Primary data was collected through structured questionnaires and key interviews. Secondary data was sourced from various MACRA publications and election monitoring reports among other publications. Key informant interviews were carried out with key persons from political parties, the media houses and civil society groupings in order to validate and triangulate the primary data findings.

The information that was collected include background information of the respondents e.g. respondents' socio and demographic characteristics, ownership of radio and televisions and how often they listen or watch the radio and the television, respectively, knowledge about MBC, perceptions about election coverage by the MBC, knowledge about the nature and extent of private electronic media diversification since 1994, understanding of other private broadcasting media's coverage in the previous general elections as regards to compliance to standards and norms; and perceptions on the possible effects of diversified private broadcasting media on MBC's compliance to norms and standards.

The questionnaire was administered by a team of enumerators who were trained before the exercise. The survey tools were pre-tested for suitability before administering to the respondents. The study also collected information from the media fraternity (both private and public). These were selected based on their professional understanding of media laws governing elections. The other sources of information were the civil society that have advocated for MBC's review on election reporting.

4.4 Sampling Technique and Sample Size

The number of respondents (sample size) was estimated using the following statistical formula based on (Israel, 2013 citing Cochran, 1963):

$$n = \frac{pqz^2 (de)}{e^2}$$

Where n is the sample size, p is the proportion responding to a particular indicator level and in this study, it was set at 0.445 which is an average ownership of radios in Malawi (44.5%) in Malawi (NSO & MACRA, 2014), q = 1-p, z represents z-score, set at 1.645 corresponding to the 95% level of confidence, de is the design effect assumed equal to 1.0 (the study assumed homogeneity across the sampled councils districts), e is the level of precision or absolute margin of error assumed equal to 0.05. The estimated sample size

was adjusted by 5% to take care of non-responding respondents. The computation of the sample size is presented in Table 2.

Table 2: Sample size estimation

Statistical parameter	Estimation
P	0.445
q = 1-p	0.555
Z	1.645
z^2	2.706
De	1.00
E	0.05
e^2	0.003
$pqz^2(de)$	0.802
$n=[pqz^2(de)/e^2]$	267
% of non-response households (5%)	13
Estimated sample size	280

The computed sample size was used to carry out random sampling of required 280 respondents in three selected councils (Table 3). One member per household of at least 18 years of age was interviewed during the study to ensure good representation of information to be collected as well to allow for a variety of opinion.

Table 3: Sample size by district and gender

Local Council	Male	Female	Total
Blantyre	88	29	117
Mangochi	62	17	79
Zomba	72	12	84
Total	222	58	280

4.5 Data Analysis

Descriptive statistics was used in the study to analyze various variables and some of the statistics computed and applied in the study include: means, frequencies and percent (%). The results have been presented in tables and graphs. Data entry and analysis for the quantitative data was done using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) Version 17.0 and Microsoft Excel 2007. Data entry forms were designed to replicate the pages in the questionnaire and validation routines were programmed to capture data collection and entry errors. Data exploration was done using histograms; scatter plots; P-P plots; box-whisker plots and stem and leaf plots in SPSS environment.

The study also collected qualitative data which cannot simply be analyzed using quantitative computer software such as SPSS because it produces large quantities of information that is diverse and include a range of opinions from the respondents. In order to summarize this type of data and highlight the important points, the qualitative data was organized and reduced through a process of coding. Through this process, important points and facts raised by the respondents were established and transcribed into narratives and incorporated in the report to compliment and validate the quantitative findings.

4.6 Ethical Considerations

It is considered ethical that prior to collecting any data from study participants, the participants must voluntarily agree to participate (Marczykl et al., 2005). In line with this perspective, the respondents were made fully aware of the purpose of the study and voluntarily agreed to participate. All the relevant background information and the purpose of the study were explained to the respondents during the interviews. This was done truthfully and factually without using force or deceit to get the required information. The researcher also prepared consent forms where participants to the study were required to sign as evidence of acceptance that the information that they had provided can be used in the study (Appendix B).

Chapter 5

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

5.1 Characteristics of the Study Respondents

5.1.1 Gender, marital status and age

The analysis showed that the sample was dominated by male respondents with 79% representation. This could be attributed to culture and religion dynamics in the study localities. In Mangochi and Zomba for example, Yao is the dominant tribe while Islam is a prevailing religion. Through the influence of these two variables, men are generally more willing to talk to strangers than their female counterparts in these societies. The male respondents ranged from 75% in Blantyre to 86% in Zomba. Majority (84%) of the respondents were married and living with their spouses, followed by 8% divorced or separated household heads and 7% reported to be widows/widowers. The average age of the respondents was estimated at 42 years with Blantyre, Mangochi and Zomba having respondents with average ages of 42, 42 and 43 years, respectively (Table 4).

Table 4: Respondents socio-demographic characteristics

Respondent characteristic	Blantyre	Mangochi	Zomba	All
	(n=117)	(n=79)	(n=84)	(n=280)
Gender of the respondent (%)				
Male	75	78	86	79
Female	25	22	14	21
Marital status of respondent (%)				
Single	2	1	1	1
Married	81	83	87	84
Divorced	6	8	3	6
Separated	4	2	2	2
Widowed	7	6	7	7
Age of respondent (years)	42	42	43	42
Education respondent (years in school)	10	8	4	7

5.1.2 Education level

Education is a basic human right and is of central importance for decision making and understanding of issues particularly in a democratic society such as Malawi (OECD, 2013). The study found out that the respondents had more years in school (10 years) on average in Blantyre, followed by Zomba (8 years in school on average) and the least being Mangochi (4 years in school on average). These results were within expectation with literacy estimates in Malawi as reported in the Malawi Integrated Household Survey Number 3. NSO (2012) reported that 74%, 69% and 34% of population aged 15 years and above were literate in Blantyre, Zomba and Mangochi, respectively.

5.1.3 Ownership of radio and television

People need to get information at the right time and place to make informed decisions on various aspects of development including election related information. The study asked the respondents regarding ownership of radio and television ownership as these are the main media related assets at household level closely relevant to the study objectives. The

analysis showed that in overall more respondents owned radios (66%) compared to 17% on television sets ownership. These results are slightly higher than the national averages of radio and television ownership estimated at 44.5% and 11.9%, respectively (NSO & MACRA, 2014).

In terms of council level disaggregation, the results ranged from 70% of respondents in Zomba owning radios to 62% in Mangochi (Table 5). In terms of television sets, the results ranged from 20% of respondents having television sets in Blantyre to 11% of respondents having television sets (Table 5). Overall, the results seem to suggest that there is relatively high ownership of radios in each of the three sampled councils. The limitation however could be that most radios require batteries and the unavailability of these batteries due to financial limitations may negatively impact the listening of the same.

Table 5: Radio and TV ownership

Name of asset	Blantyre	Mangochi	Zomba	All
	(n=117)	(n=79)	(n=84)	(n=280)
	%	%	%	%
Radio ownership	66	62	70	66
Television set ownership	20	18	11	17
Do not have	14	20	19	17
Total	100	100	100	100

5.2 Main Sources of Information on National Elections

The study also examined the main sources of information on national elections from the respondents. The results showed that 69% of the respondents in overall get election related information from the radio, followed by television (19%) (Table 6). The results on radio and television as main sources of election information were slightly higher compared to the proportion of respondents who reported on ownership on these media related assets in Section 5.1.3 suggesting that there is some sort of sharing of these media

assets i.e. some of the respondents listen or watch the news on election related information from their friends and relatives. The study also observed that friends and relatives have a major role in sharing election related information as shown by 5% of the respondents who reported to have heard election related updates from their friends.

Table 6: Sources of information on election issues

Source of Information	Blantyre	Mangochi	Zomba	All
	(n=117)	(n=79)	(n=84)	(n=280)
	%	%	%	%
Radio	67.2	65.2	73.1	68.5
Television	21.1	19.5	16.0	18.9
Newspaper	4.3	2.3	3.2	3.3
Internet	1.2	0.8	1.2	1.1
Political rally	2.0	5.2	2.2	3.1
Friends and relatives	4.2	7.0	4.3	5.2

5.3 Knowledge about MBC, Regularity of Listening and Preferred Programs

The results showed that all respondents had at one point in their life listened to MBC. These results were expected considering the number of years that MBC has been in existence particularly that it was the only broadcasting house in the country prior to 1994. In terms of how often the respondents listened to MBC, the results showed that 46% listened to normally on chosen programs, 22% listened very frequently and 32% did not listen frequently (Table 7).

Table 7: Frequency of listening to MBC

Frequency	Blantyre	Mangochi	Zomba	All
	(n=117)	(n=79)	(n=84)	(n=280)
	%	%	%	%
Normal on chosen programs only	52.6	36.0	44.4	45.6
Very frequent	15.8	36.0	18.5	22.2
Not frequent	31.6	28.0	37.0	32.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The study also examined the radio programs that the respondents listened to on MBC stations. The results showed that 23% of the respondents listen frequently to news; 23% listen to sports; 14% listened to development programs; 12% reported listening to music, 10% reported to have listened to agricultural programs; 13% reported to listened frequently to drama and 3% indicated poetry (Table 8). Council level disaggregated statistics on the same are also presented in Table 8 and show similar pattern to overall statistic above.

Table 8: MBC Radio programs frequently listened

Program	Blantyre	Mangochi	Zomba	All
	(n=117)	(n=79)	(n=84)	(n=280)
	%	%	%	%
News	31.6	16.0	18.5	23.3
Sports	23.7	24.0	22.2	23.3
Development programs	10.5	20.0	14.8	14.4
Music	10.5	12.0	14.8	12.2
Agricultural programs	7.9	8.0	14.8	10.0
Drama	10.5	16.0	14.8	13.3
Poetry	5.3	4.0	0.0	3.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

5.4 Knowledge of Respondents on Media Diversity

5.4.1 Knowledge on private broadcasting media in Malawi

In order to understand the respondents' understanding of the existence of different private broadcasting media operating in the country, the study asked the respondents to provide an estimate on the number of broadcasting media that they know. The analysis showed that despite the increase in the number of the various private electronic media in the country, majority of the respondents (40%) know about 7 to 10 broadcasting media, followed by 28% that know 11 to 15 private broadcasting media and only 13% know over 21 electronic private media (Table 9).

Table 9: Knowledge on existence of different private electronic media

Number of private media	Blantyre	Mangochi	Zomba	Overall
	(n=117)	(n=79)	(n=84)	(n=280)
	%	%	%	%
2 to 5	7.9	20.0	11.1	12.2
7 to 10	44.7	28.0	44.4	40.0
12 to 15	26.3	32.0	25.9	27.8
17 to 20	5.3	8.0	7.4	6.7
Over 21	15.8	12.0	11.1	13.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

In terms of the type of radio most involved in the election coverage, the respondents reported that commercial private electronic media are the ones that dominate election coverage (97%) versus only 3% reported for the religious radio stations (Figure 4).

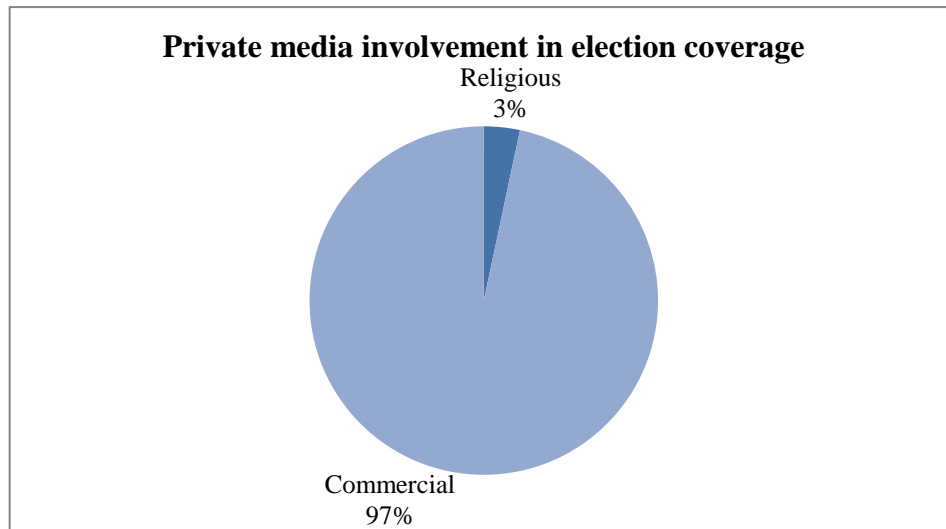


Figure 4: Private media involvement in election

5.4.2 Perceived reasons for the proliferation of private media

The respondents were further asked to indicate the possible reasons for the proliferation of private broadcasting media in the country as part of their understanding of media diversity in the country. The results showed that the coming of democracy (60%) has significant influence in the proliferation of the media houses. At the same time, the

revision of the media laws and the increase in the number of media training institutions has also contributed to the existing situation as shown in Table 10. These findings are consistent with what is reported in literature on possible explanations on the increased number of media in the country (Chirwa, 2005, 2009; Manda, 2006; Mhagama and Kanyang'wa, 2011).

Table 10: Reasons on the proliferation of private media

Reasons	Sampled Districts			
	Blantyre	Mangochi	Zomba	Total
	(n=117)	(n=79)	(n=84)	(n=280)
	%	%	%	%
Influence of democracy	55.3	68.0	59.3	60.0
Emancipation from hash media laws	2.6	8.0	7.4	5.6
Many media training institutions	7.9	4.0	7.4	6.7
All the above reasons	34.2	20.0	25.9	27.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

In terms of whether Malawi needs more electronic media or not, majority of the respondents (52.2%) suggested that the country does not need additional private broadcasting media because the existing ones are offering almost similar programs and it is not practical to listen to all existing stations. In contrast, 47.8% of respondents reported that the country may need more because by doing that, it will create more jobs, it will promote more balanced reporting and news coverage and it will cover more district news which is missing in the present setting.

5.5 Elections Coverage by the Private and Public Broadcasters

5.5.1 Radio most listened to during elections

The study also asked the respondents the name of radio that they listened to most during the elections period. The results showed that Zodiak Radio was listened to most (54%), followed by Radio Maria (19%) and MBC (18%) (Table 11).

Table 11: Radio most listened to during elections

Name of Radio Station	Blantyre	Mangochi	Zomba	All
	(n=117)	(n=79)	(n=84)	(n=280)
	%	%	%	%
Zodiak Radio	57.9	36.0	66.7	54.4
Radio Maria	18.4	20.0	18.5	18.9
Radio Islam	0.0	8.0	0.0	2.2
MBC Radio 1&2	18.4	24.0	11.1	17.8
MIJ	5.3	12.0	3.7	6.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The results are consistent with national reports that suggest that Zodiak is among the most favorite radio as reported in the 2014 National Survey on Access and Usage of ICT in Malawi (Figure 5).

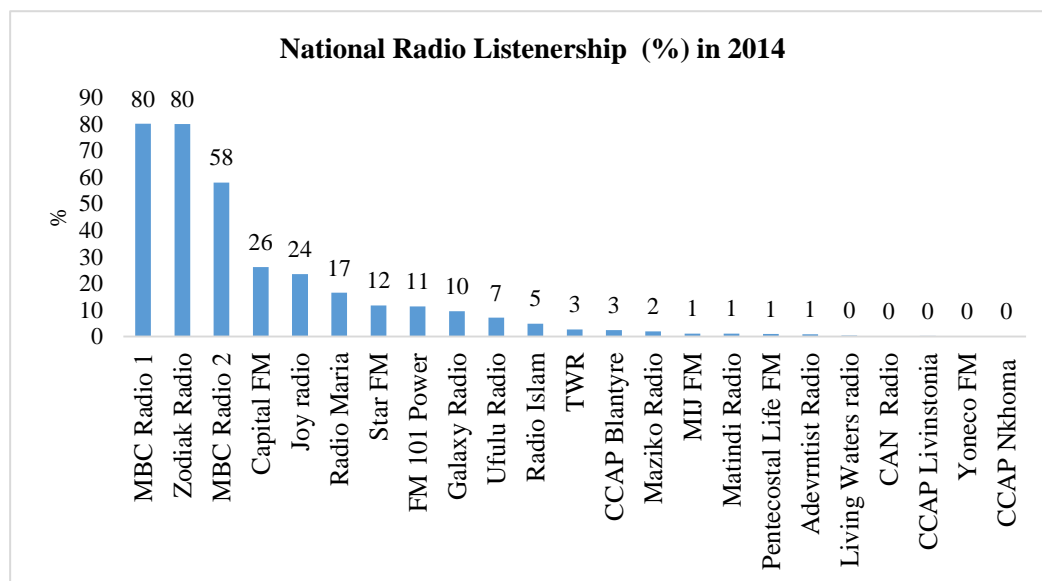


Figure 5: National radios listenership in 2014

Data source: NSO & MACRA (2015)

5.5.2 Period respondent listened to radio during elections

Respondents were further asked the specific time that they had listened most to the radio during the election period. The analysis showed for those that reported that they had listened to the MBC during elections in 2014, 50% listened to the MBC radio days after voting and waiting for final results, followed by those that listening to all days up to president elect sworn in to power (34%) and finally those that had listened to campaign period (16%) (Table 12). These results were different to the respondents that had listened to private media where over half (54%) listened to the private media all the days up to the president elect was sworn in power, followed 32% who reported to have listened to during the campaign period and 14% who reported to have listened to days after voting awaiting results (Table 12).

Table 12: Specific period respondent listened to radio

Election period	MBC	Private Media	All
	(n=50)	(n=230)	(n=280)
	%	%	%
Campaign period	16.0	32.1	24.1
Days after voting waiting for results	50.0	13.6	31.8
All days up to president elect sworn in to power	34.0	54.3	44.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

5.5.3 Election coverage by MBC and Private Media

The study also examined the opinion of the respondents on the coverage of elections by the public broadcaster and private media. Eighty percent (80%) of the respondents reported MBC coverage of the elections was partisan in its coverage of the elections in contrast to 6% of the respondents who indicated that the private media was partisan (Table 13). The results are a reflection of people's perceptions on the conduct of MBC largely due to its control by the government.

Table 13: Opinion on 2014 election coverage by public and private media

Opinion	MBC	Private Media
	N=280	N=280
	%	%
Partisan	80.0	6.0
Non Partisan	6.7	92.0
Neutral	13.3	2.0
Total	100.0	100.0

5.6 Broadcasting Standards and Norms during the General Elections

5.6.1 Compliance on standards and norms

Compliance on broadcasting standards and norms by the broadcasters is critical in ensuring that voters and consumers obtain unbiased and accurate information. The analysis showed that only 3% of the respondents felt that MBC had full compliance of norms in contrast to 62% who reported that the private media complied with the standards (Table 14). The results however showed 60% of the respondents reported that MBC partially complied with the standards and norms (Table 14).

Table 14: Compliance on standards and norms

Level of compliance	MBC	Private Media
	N=280	N=280
	%	%
Full compliance	3.3	62.2
Partial compliance	60	31.1
No compliance at all	36.6	6.7
Total	100	100.0

5.6.2 Possible causes of MBC failure to comply to standards and norms

The major reasons cited for non-compliance or partial compliance by the MBC included: heavy influence and interference by the ruling party (39%), employees being inclined towards the ruling party for job security reasons (26%) and 18% of the respondents reported that government tend to have a tight grip of this ‘fourth state’ to advance its agenda (Table 15). These results are in line with the observation made by Djankov et al. (2001) that government ownership is more pervasive in broadcasting and that government ownership of the media is generally associated with less press freedom, fewer political and economic rights of the citizens.

Table 15: Reasons for MBC failure to comply with broadcasting standards and norms

Main Reason	Blantyre	Mangochi	Zomba	All
	(n=117)	(n=79)	(n=84)	(n=280)
	%	%	%	%
Heavy influence and interference by the ruling party	40.5	32.0	44.4	39.3
Its employees are inclined towards the ruling party for job security	27.0	20.0	29.6	25.8
Lack of enforcement of media standards and norms	2.7	12.0	7.4	6.7
Financial and economic gains by MBC	2.7	0.0	7.4	3.4
Because MBC is owned by government	18.9	28.0	7.4	18.0
Lack of awareness of media standards and norms	8.1	8.0	3.7	6.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

5.6.3 Accommodation of alternative views between MBC and private media

The study further compared the opinion of the respondents on election coverage by MBC in comparison to the private broadcasting media in terms of accommodating alternative views during the 2014 General Elections. The analysis showed that 70% of the respondents indicated that private broadcasting media accommodate more alternative views in comparison to 19% for MBC (Table 16).

The results further showed that about 40% of the respondents reported that MBC completely ignored alternative views against 7% of the respondents who reported the same for the private media (Table 16). The reason why some of respondents indicated that some private media ignored alternative views had to do with ownership of the private where in few instance the private media are owned by politicians who may use the private media to advance their political ideologies and fame.

Table 16: Accommodation of alternative views between MBC and private media

Difference	MBC	Private Media
	N=280	N=280
	%	%
Accommodated more alternative views	18.9	70.0
Presented fairly alternative views	41.1	23.3
Completely ignored alternative views	40.0	6.6
Total	100	100.0

5.7 Influence of Private Electronic Media on MBC during Elections

5.7.1 Ratings of MBC against the private electronic media on election coverage

The results on ratings of the public broadcaster versus the private broadcasters showed encouraging ratings on the private media as opposed to the public broadcaster. For instance, the results showed that with private media, election reporting has become more transparent and trusted (71%) while 7% suggested that with MBC election reporting is not transparent and cannot be trusted (Figure 6). These results are a wakeup call for MBC

to change the observed negative perception that people have on its election reporting which can be achieved among others by being autonomous and avoiding political interference.

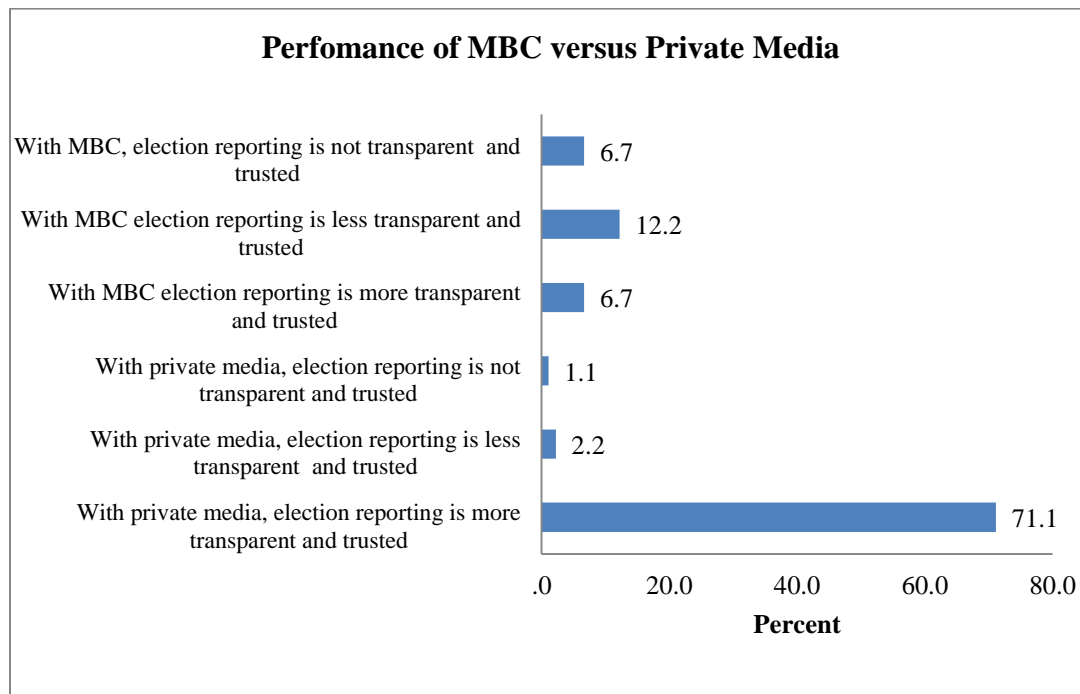


Figure 6: Performance of MBC versus private media

5.7.2 Effects of the private broadcasting media on MBC's elections coverage

The results on examining the influence of the increased number of private media on MBC's election coverage showed mixed results. Twenty percent (20%) felt that increase in the number of private has made MBC to minimize biased reporting, while 80% had the view that it has made MBC to be more biased (Figure 7).

The results are in contrast with the basic economic theory that increased number of actors in a particular market increases competition and thereby increases the efficiency or what the economist call 'near perfect market conditions' as opposed to having a single actor which leads to monopoly with a lot of inefficiencies. However, the study is in tandem with the study hypothesis that the diversity in private electronic media has not produced any significant change on MBC's biased behaviour reporting during elections.

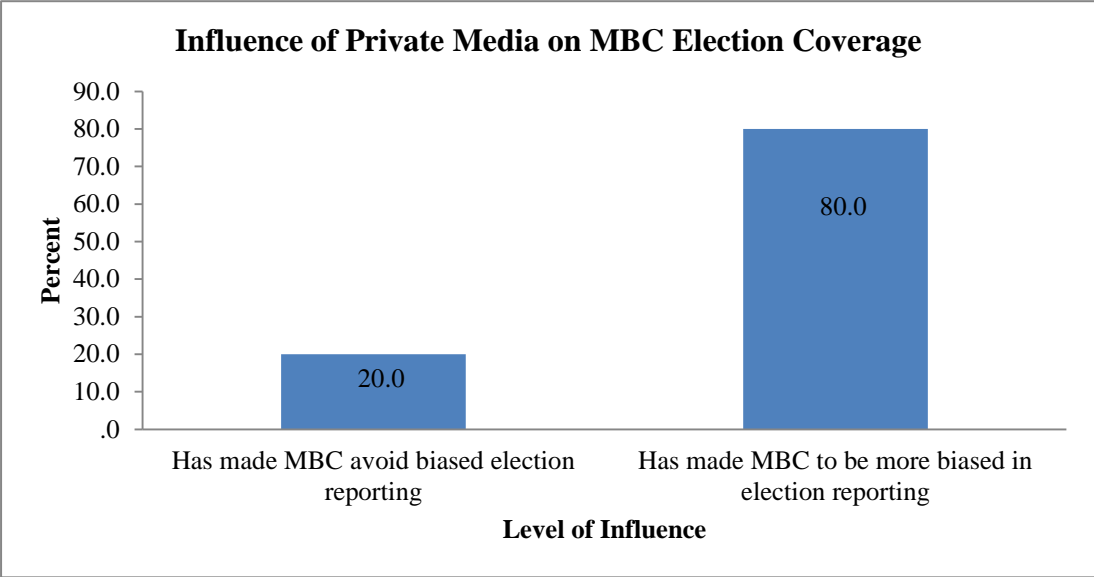


Figure 7: Influence of private media on MBC performance

While the results contradicts the basic economic theory, they are in line the political economy explanations of media ownership by politicians, government and the elite i.e. they need the media to advance political agenda and fame especially in case of state funded media such as MBC. The continued bias by MBC could also be explained by the expectation to satisfy the ‘master’ in this case the government in power from which its funding comes from. This is also the case because the board chairperson of MBC is appointed by the President as such one may advance the agenda of the appointing authority in order to stay long in employment. Furthermore, the presence of Secretary of Information as an ex-officio of MBC board may add to the observed bias by MBC as government has essentially all the control of the institution. President Bingu wa Mutharika summarized it all in the Nation Newspaper of 11th August (2006) when he said ‘how can you be independent from someone who appoints you’.

The results are also in line with historical institutionalism theory and path dependency theory. For example, Guys (1999) in explaining the historical institutionalism theory pointed out at that when policy choices are made during institution formation, they will continue, and largely determinate influence over the policy far into the future. The results are also in line with the path dependency theory as noted by Krasner (1984) that when a

government program or organization embarks upon a path there is tendency for those initial policy choices to persist.

5.7.3 Proposal on funding the media during election coverage

The foregoing Section confirmed that MBC continue to be biased even in the era of increased private broadcasting media in the country. The findings raise a serious question as to whether continued provision of public funds to MBC during elections is the best use of public resources. The question is valid considering that the funds that are provided by government to MBC, majority of it are public generated through taxes paid by every Malawian regardless of political affiliation or interests.

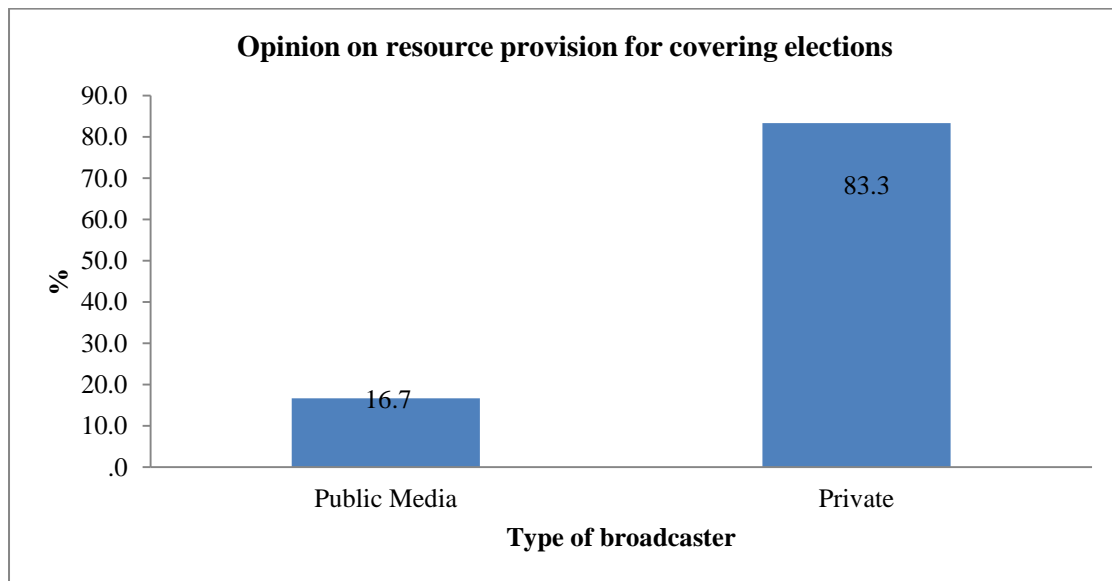


Figure 8: Opinion on resource allocation during election

The study respondents were asked their opinion on what would be their preference in terms of public resources allocation during elections between the public and private broadcasters. The analysis showed that only 17% of the respondents felt that MBC should receive funding for election coverage. Majority of the respondents (83%) were of the view that the private media should receive more funding for election coverage (Figure 9). The main reasons for the observed results could be that by providing adequate and more funds to the private broadcasting media; the citizen feel that they would be able to have access to accurate and unbiased information in good time.

Chapter 6

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study assessed whether the coming in of more private broadcasting media in Malawi after 1994 has influenced the behaviour of MBC during election coverage i.e. compliance to media standards and norms on election coverage. The study interviewed 280 randomly selected respondents of at least 18 years of age in Blantyre, Mangochi, and Zomba in Southern Region of Malawi.

The increased number of private media on MBC's election coverage has not influenced change in behaviour by MBC but rather it has just increased the opportunity to listen to other media sources available. While these results are against basic market structure theory in economics, they are in tandem with the fundamental role of media in politics i.e. advancing political agenda and fame of the owners of media houses. Since 1994, the behaviour of MBC has remained more like the same and has not taken any strides to comply with the standards and norms governing media coverage of elections regardless of the proliferation of private broadcasting media in Malawi. On perception of respondents on the coverage of elections by the MBC and private media, the findings show that a large proportion (80%) of the respondents felt that MBC coverage was biased in contrast to only 6% of the respondents who indicated that there was some bias by the private media. The study results show limited understanding by the respondents in terms broadcasting media diversity in the country. About 40% of the respondents know 7 to 10 broadcasting media, followed by 28% that know 11 to 15 private broadcasting media and only 13% know over 21 electronic private media. These results are low compared to the total (78) of the broadcasting media registered in the country.

Compliance on broadcasting standards and norms by broadcasters is critical in ensuring that voters and consumers obtain unbiased and accurate information. The analysis showed there is a feeling that MBC still lack full compliance to broadcasting norms and standards some of the major reasons cited for non-compliance or partial compliance by the MBC included: heavy influence and interference by the ruling party and employees being inclined towards the ruling party for job security reasons.

In terms of suggestions on receipt of more funding, the study showed 83% of the respondents would like to see the private media receiving more funding for election coverage probably because most of respondents felt that the private media provides unbiased information and once provided with more funding it would enhance the delivery of this role.

Based on the study findings, the following recommendations were proposed:

- There is need for instituting safeguards on the use of the public media to ensure that it complies with the standards and norms as increased number of private media alone seems to have not change the way MBC conducts itself during national elections. One of the practical safeguards is to push for legal reforms to ensure that the head of MBC is selected competitively from the market as compared to the current status where the head of MBC is technically appointed by the President by the mere fact that the president appoints the Board Chair, who in turn together with the Board members hire Director General of MBC.
- There is a need for the Malawi Privatization Commission to restructure MBC through privatizing the ownership and operations of MBC in order to ensure effectiveness and unbiased reporting. This is because government's control and as main financier of MBC seems to be the main cause for continued bias behaviour of the institution. Considering the reluctance of state to give up such an important "weapon", one way to ensure that this reform is implemented is to work closely with Malawi's large donors such as International Monetary Fund, the European Union and World Bank to include this reform as one of conditions for their financial support. Such arrangement has worked before, for example, under

Structural Adjustment Programs championed by the World Bank, many reforms that government was reluctant to undertake were to a larger extent implemented.

- The main beneficiary of media content are the consumers which in current situation appear to have less say on the coverage by the state owned media-MBC. There is therefore need to enhance the consumer demand side of good policies and governance from media sources so that the MBC continue to provide factual and transparent information to consumers thereby promoting fair and balanced reporting on important topics such as elections. This recommendation can be extended to the private media as well.
- The results seem to suggest there is small level bias in reporting even in some private media actors. In order to address this problem, there is need to lobby MACRA to start strictly enforcing Section 48(7) of the Malawi Communications Act, (Act 41 of 1998) which makes it illegal for politicians or political parties or organizations to own radio stations in Malawi. Enforcing this Section will ensure that the influence of politicians in the private media is minimized.
- Related to the above all media houses should make public their sources of funding and shareholders so that the public are made aware of the owners of the media in order to make informed decisions when listening to the same.
- MBC receives financial resources from the state while the private media have to generate their own resources, hence in order to balance this equation and allow competitiveness particularly during national elections coverage, the country's donors should support the private media to allow it provide accurate and unbiased information to citizens in the country with same coverage as MBC.

REFERENCES

- Agyeman – Duah, B. (2005). *Elections and Electoral politics in Ghana's fourth Republic*. Accra, Ghana: Centre for Democracy & Development
- Article XIX (2000, May). *At the Crossroads: Freedom of expression in Malawi* (final report) Malawi: Malawi Election Monitoring Project.
- Besenko, D. A., Braeutigam R.R. & Gibbs. M.J. (2011). *Microeconomics* (4th ed.). USA: John Wiley and Sons Inc.
- Bray, M. and Kreps, D. (1987). Rational Learning and Rational Expectations. In G. Feiwel (Ed.), *Arrow and the Ascent of modern economic theory* (pp. 78-90). London: Macmillan
- Chirwa, W. C., (2005). *Community Broadcasting in Malawi. Which Way Forward? A Country Assessment Paper*. Johannesburg, South Africa : AMARC Africa,
- Chitsulo E., (2015): Journalists as watchdogs of good governance: Challenges and some ways forward. *Journal of Development and Communication Studies*, 4(1), 62-65. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.4314/jdcs.v4i1.5>
- Chiyamwaka, B. (2008, June 6). *Media Ethics: A call to responsible journalism*. A presentation at Malawi Electoral Commission “Stringer” Training Course, Hippo, Liwonde, Malawi
- Chiyamwaka, B. (2009). The Media: Political Players or Honest Brokers? In Otti M., and Kanyongolo (Eds.), *Democracy in Progress: Malawi's 2009 Parliamentary and Presidential Elections* (pp. 12-21). Zomba, Malawi: Kachere Series.

- Coyne, C.J. and Leeson, P.T. (2004). Read all about it! Understanding the Role of the media in economic development. *KYKLOS*, 57(3), 21-44
- Dalton, R.S. and Wattenberg, M.P. (1993) (Eds.). *Parties without partisans: Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Djankov, S., Caralee M., Nenova, T. and Shleifer, A. (2002). Who Owns the Media? *Journal of Law and Economics*, 12(4), 36-49
- EISA (2009, September). *The Malawi Presidential and Parliamentary Elections of May 2009* (Election Observer Report). Johannesburg, South Africa: EISA
- European Commission for Democracy through Law (ECDL) (2005). *Guidelines on Media Analysis during Election Observation Missions*. Strasbourg, France: ECDL
- European Union Election Observation Mission (2004). *The 2004 Malawi Presidential and Parliamentary Elections* (Final Report). Brussels: European External Action Service.
- European Union Election Observation Mission (2009). *The 2009 Malawi Presidential and Parliamentary Elections* (Final Report). Brussels: European External Action Service.
- European Union Election Observation Mission (2014): *The 2014 Malawi Tripartite Elections Presidential, parliamentary and local council, Final Report*, European External Action Service, Brussels, Belgium
- Friedrich, E. S. (2012). *African Media Barometer Malawi 2012: The first home grown analysis of the media landscape in Africa*. Windhoek, Namibia:

- Government of Malawi (1998). *The Malawi Communications Act*. Zomba: Ministry of Justice
- Guys, P.B. (1999). *Institutional Theory in Political Science*. London – New York: Continuum
- Israel, G.D. (2013). *Determining Sample Size*. USA: University of Florida. Retrieved September 22, from <http://edis.ifas.ufl.edu>
- IWPR (2014, April). *Second Media Monitoring Report of 2014 Malawi Tripartite Election*. London UK: IWPR
- Kanyongolo, F.E. (2009). Back to the Courts: Legal Battles and Electoral Disputes Dispute. In M. Otti and F. E. Kanyongolo (Eds.), *Democracy in Progress: Malawi's 2009 Parliamentary and Presidential Elections* (pp.45-62), Zomba, Malawi: Kachere Series
- Konrad Adenauer Foundation (2003). *SADC Media Law: A Handbook for Media Practitioners: A Comparative Overview of the Laws and Practice in Malawi, Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe* (Volume 1). South Africa: Konard Adenauer Foundation.
- Koutsayiannis, A. (2003). *Modern Microeconomics*, McMillan Press Ltd, USA
- Krasner, S. (1984). Approaches to the State: Alternative conceptions and historical dynamics, *Comparative Politics* 16: 223-46
- Lilongwe District Assembly (2006). *Socio-Economic Profile for Lilongwe District Draft Version including District Implementation Plan*, Lilongwe, Malawi.

- MACRA (2015a). *List of Broadcasting Licensees-2014*. Retrieved from <http://www.macra.org.mw/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/MACRA-Broadcasting-Licensees-Updated-March-2015.pdf> (Accessed 3rd August, 2016).
- MACRA (2015b). *Malawi Communication Regulatory Authority Strategic Plan (2015-2020)*. Blantyre, Malawi: MACRA
- Manda, L. Z. (2006). *National Broadcasting in Malawi: Recommendations of MBC and TVM into Public Broadcasters*, Development Media Consultants, Blantyre, Malawi
- Mankiw, N.G. (2008). *Principles of Economics* (5th ed.). USA: Cengage Learning.
- Marczyk, G., De Matteo D., and Festinger D. (2005). *Essentials of Research Design and Methodology*. John Wiley and Sons, Inc, Hoboken, New Jersey
- Media Council of Malawi (2008). *Media Council of Malawi Code of Ethics and Professional Conduct*. Draft Copy. Lilongwe, Malawi
- Metykova, M., (2016). *Diversity and Media*. PALGRAVE MacMillan, New York USA, ISBN 978-1-13728599-7
- Mhagama, P. and Kanyang'wa (2011). *State of media freedom in Malawi*. African Communication Research, Vol. 4, No. 2, Pages 285-300
- Nasong'o, S.W., (2008). *The transition from a personal Dictatorship: Democratization and the Legacy of the past in Malawi*, Edwin Mellen Press.
- National Statistical Office (2008). *Population and Housing Census Preliminary Report*, September 2008, Zomba, Malawi

- National Statistical Office (NSO) (2012). *Integrated Household Survey 2010-2011: Household Socio-economic Characteristics Report*. Zomba, Malawi.
- NSO & MACRA (2014). *National Survey on Access to and Usage of ICT Services in Malawi: Final Report*, MACRA, Zomba and Blantyre, Malawi
- NSO & MACRA (2015). *National Survey on Access to and Usage of ICT Services in Malawi*(Summary Report). Malawi, Blantyre: MACRA.
- OECD (2013). *Education Indicators in Focus*. Paris: OECD
- Rakner L. and Svåsand L. (2005). *May be free but not fair: Electoral administration in Malawi (1994-2004)*. *CMI Working Paper CHR Micherson Institute, Bergen, Norway*.
- SAEF (2014). *Southern Africa Editors Forum (SAEF): Report on Observation of Media Conduct during the 2014 Malawi Tripartite Elections 16-23 May 2014*. Windhoek, Namibia: SAEF
- Saunders, M., Lewis P. and Thornhill, A. (2009). *Research Methods for Business Students* (4th ed.) London: Prentice Hall
- Socialists and Democrats (2016). *Fostering media diversity and press freedom*. Retrieved from http://www.socialistsanddemocrats.eu/sites/default/files/position_paper/160701%20Final%20SD%20position%20paper%20on%20Media.v2.pdf Accessed on 22 September 2016.
- Yadav, Y. (2015). *Inside Trading and Market Structure*. USA: Chicago University.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Study Questionnaire

The Effect of Diversified Private Broadcasting Stations on Malawi Broadcasting Corporation National Elections Coverage'

Introduction: Please introduce the purpose of the survey and state confidentiality of the responses. Please tell the respondent that participation in this study is voluntary and that he/she will not receive any direct benefit due to participation in this study.

I am **Rashid Amadeu Mapila**, a student pursuing Master of Arts in Political Science in the Department of Political and Administrative Studies at Chancellor College, a constituent college of the University of Malawi. As a requirement, I am supposed to conduct a research and my study focuses on the extent to which Malawi Broadcasting Corporation accommodate changes in the case of 2014 Malawi's Tripartite General Elections due to diversified electronic media. Please note that this study is for academic purposes hence its contents are strictly confidential. Therefore, you are requested to respond to this questionnaire in the earliest possible time and if you require any clarifications or questions, please do not hesitate to contact me on 0888 866 630 or armapila@yahoo.com.

Request for Consent and Confidentiality: All answers you give in this interview will be treated with strict confidentiality. The answers we get from you will be treated completely anonymously. Your name or the names of your family members or those related to you will NOT be used to identify your answers. No one will be able to identify your answers with you or your family members. The interview will take about **45 minutes**. Are you willing to answer these questions? Thank you for accepting to participate.

A. Identification Panel	Enter CODE /Description
1. Date of interview	
2. Respondent Identification Number [RIN]	

3. Name of interviewer	
4. Date of Data Entry	
5. Name of District [1] Blantyre [2] Mangochi [3] Zomba	
6. Name of respondent	
B. Basic Characteristics	Enter Code/Value ONLY
7. Sex of Respondent [1. Male 2. Female]	
8. Age of Respondent [Enter Number in Years]	
9. Have you ever attended school? [1. Yes 2. No]	
10. Marital status of the respondent [1. Single 2 Married 3. Widowed/widow 4. Divorced 5. Co-habiting]	
C. Socio-Economic Characteristics	
11. Does the household/respondent have any of the following? [1. Yes 2. No]	
	1. Radio
	2. Television
	3. Mobile Phone
12. Main source of information on election related information?	
	1. Radio
	2. Television
	3. Newspaper
	4. Friends and relatives
	5. Political Rally
	6. Internet
D. Knowledge About Malawi Broadcasting Corporation	
13. Have you ever listened to Malawi Broadcasting Corporation (MBC)?	
	[1] Yes [2] No
14. Please indicate the degree of frequency you listen to this radio?	
	1. Normal (on chosen programs only)

	<p>2. Very frequent</p> <p>3. Not very frequent</p> <p>4. I do not listen to MBC at all</p>	
15. Please indicate the radio programs that you frequently listen when you tune to MBC		
	<p>1. Development programs (zachitukuko),</p> <p>2. Music,</p> <p>3. Agricultural programs (zaulimi),</p> <p>4. Drama,</p> <p>5. Sports,</p> <p>6. Poetry,</p> <p>7. News</p>	
E. Electoral Coverage By The Malawi Broadcasting Corporation		
16. If you have ever listened to MBC during elections, Please specify the period you listen to MBC during elections		
	<p>1. Run up to elections (campaign time),</p> <p>2. The voting day only,</p> <p>3. The days after voting waiting for official results to be announced,</p> <p>4. The day of announcing official results only</p> <p>5. All days up to when the president elect is sworn in to power</p>	
17. Please describe election coverage by MBC		
	1) Partisan, 2) Non partisan, 3) Neutral	
18. Please justify your answer above		
19. Do you think MBC complies with the standards and norms in broadcasting election issues? [1] Yes [2] No		
20. Please describe the degree of MBC's compliance to the standards and norms		
	1) Full compliance, 2) Partial compliance, 3) No compliance at all, 4) I do not know,	

<p>21. Please explain your answer in question above</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p>	
<p>22. Please specify the causes of MBC’s failure to comply with broadcasting standards and norms during elections. You may tick more than one answer.</p>	
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Heavy influence and interference by the ruling party, 2. Its employees are inclined towards the ruling party for their job security , 3. Lack of serious enforcement of media standards and norms, 4. Huge financial and economic gains by the MBC , 5. Because MBC is owned by the government, 6. Lack of awareness of media standards and norms, 	
<p>23. In your own opinion, please indicate if MBC’s election coverage in 2014 General Election was different from the previous years</p>	
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. It accommodated alternative view point, 2. It completely ignored alternative view point, 3. It presented fairly alternative viewpoint, 	
<p>F. Knowledge About The Nature And Extent Of Private Electronic Media Diversification Since 1994</p>	
<p>24. How many private electronic media do you know?</p> <p>[1] 1 to 5, [2] 6 to 10, [3] 11 to 15, [4] 16 to 20, [5] Above 21,</p>	
<p>25. In private sector, which electronic media is more involved in election coverage?</p> <p>1) Religious 2) Commercial</p>	
<p>26. State the reason for Malawi to experience proliferation of private electronic media since the advent of political pluralism</p>	
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Influence of democracy, 2. Emancipation from hash electronic media laws, 3. Introduction of electronic media institutions and training, 4. All of the above, 	

27. Do you think Malawi needs more and more electronic media? 1) Yes, 2) No	
28. Please justify your answer in above:	
G. Knowledge about Diversified Private Electronic Media's Coverage In The Previous General Elections As Regards To Compliance To Standards And Norms	
29. Which radio station(s) do you listen to during elections?	
30. If Public please indicate your opinion on its coverage in terms of compliance to standards and norms during 2014 General Elections	
31. If Private, please indicate your opinion on its coverage in terms of compliance to standards and norms during 2014 General Elections	
32. How different was its coverage from MBC and other radio stations?	

<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. It accommodated more alternative viewpoint, 2. It presented fairly alternative viewpoint, 3. It completely ignored alternative viewpoint, 	
<p>H. Knowledge About Effects Of Diversified Private Electronic Media On MBC's Compliance To Norms And Standards</p> <p><i>Proliferation of diversified private electronic media may mean having more information outlets during election period. How do you rate the performance of private media and MBC?</i></p>	
<p>33. How do you rate the performance of MBC against private media (radio stations)?</p>	
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. With private media, election reporting is more transparent and trusted, 2. With MBC, election reporting is more transparent and trusted, 3. With private media, election reporting is less transparent and trusted, 4. With MBC, election reporting is less transparent and trusted., 5. With private media, election reporting is not transparent and trusted, 6. With MBC, election reporting is not transparent and trusted., 	
<p>34. What influence has the proliferation of diversified private electronic media had on MBC's election coverage</p>	
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Has made MBC to avoid biased election reporting 2) Has made MBC to be more biased 	
<p>35. Which media would you recommend to get more funding for election reporting?</p>	
<p>1) Public media 2) Private Media</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;">End of Interview</p>	

Thank you very much for your time.

Appendix 2: Participant Briefing and Consent Letter

Dear Participant,

Participant Briefing and Consent Letter

My name is **Rashid Amadeu Mapila** I am currently working on my MA in Political Science Thesis with University of Malawi, Chancellor College ‘**The Effect of Diversified Private Broadcasting Stations on Malawi Broadcasting Corporation National Elections Coverage**’.

The overall objective of the study is to examine the effect of diversification of electronic media on MBC’s compliance to norms and standards of media coverage of elections.

The data you provide will be kept until **30th December 2016**, in case it is required for scrutiny by University of Malawi as part of the assessment process.

If you feel uncomfortable with any of the questions being asked, you may decline to answer specific questions. You may also withdraw from the study completely, and your answers will not be used.

And, if you later decide that you wish to withdraw from the study, please write to me at Email: armapila@yahoo.com or call me on mobile **0888 866 630** no later than 5th August 2016 and I will be able to remove your response from my analysis and findings, and destroy your response.

I have read and understood the contents of this consent and briefing form, and freely and voluntarily agree to participate in this research.

I am happy to be identified as a participant in the research.

Name: _____ Signed: _____ Date: _____

Appendix 3: Licensed Broadcasters in Malawi (2014)

Type	Name of broadcaster	Category	Status in 2014	Coverage	Location
Radio	MBC Radio 1	Public	Operational	National	Blantyre
Radio	MBC Radio 2	Public	Operational	National	Blantyre
Radio	Zodiak Broadcasting Station	Private	Operational	National	Lilongwe
Radio	MIJ FM	Private	Operational	National	Blantyre
Radio	Joy Radio	Private	Operational	National	Blantyre
Radio	Capital Radio	Private	Operational	National	Blantyre
Radio	FM101 Power	Private	Operational	National	Blantyre
Radio	Star FM	Private	Operational	National	Blantyre
Radio	Maziko Radio Station	Private	Operational	National	Lilongwe
Radio	Galaxy Radio	Private	Operational	National	Lilongwe
Radio	Matindi Radio	Private	Operational	National	Blantyre
Radio	Dziko FM	Private	Operational	National	Lilongwe
Radio	National Assembly Radio	Community	Not operational	Community	Lilongwe
Radio	Karonga Diocese (Tuntufye FM)	Community	Operational	Community	Karonga
Radio	Likoma FM	Community	Operational	Community	Likoma
Radio	Ntharile FM	Community	Not operational	Geographical	Chitipa
Radio	Ufulu FM	Community	Operational	Community	Blantyre
Radio	YONECO FM	Community	Operational	Community	Zomba
Radio	Pentecostal Life FM	Community	Operational	Community	Lilongwe
Radio	Rainbow FM	Community	Not operational	Community	Blantyre
Radio	Angaliba FM	Community	Not operational	Community	Blantyre

Type	Name of broadcaster	Category	Status in 2014	Coverage	Location
Radio	Radio Act	Community	Not operational	Community	Zomba
Radio	Limbe Muslim Jamt FM	Community	Not operational	Community	Blantyre
Radio	Radio Alinafe	Community	Operational	Regional	Lilongwe
Radio	Radio Maria	Community	Operational	National	Mangochi
Radio	Transworld Radio	Community	Operational	National	Lilongwe
Radio	Radio Tigabane	Community	Operational	Regional	Mzuzu
Radio	Calvary Family Radio	Community	Operational	Regional	Blantyre
Radio	Living Waters Radio	Community	Operational	National	Blantyre
Radio	Radio Islam	Community	Operational	National	Blantyre
Radio	Seventh Day Adventist	Community	Operational	National	Blantyre
Radio	Chanel for All Nations	Community	Operational	National	Lilongwe
Radio	Nkhotakota Community Radio	Community	Operational	Geographical	Nkhotakota
Radio	Mzimba Community Radio	Community	Operational	Geographical	Mzimba
Radio	Dzimwe Community Radio	Community	Operational	Geographical	Mangochi
Radio	Mudziwathu Community Radio	Community	Operational	Geographical	Mchinji
Radio	African Bible College	Community	Operational	Community	Lilongwe
Radio	Mulhako Radio	Revoked	Revoked	Revoked	Revoked
Radio	Usisya Community Radio	Community	Operational	Geographical	Nkhatabay
Radio	Chancellor College Radio	Community	Operational	Geographical	Zomba

Type	Name of broadcaster	Category	Status in 2014	Coverage	Location
Radio	Mwandama Radio	Community	Not operational	Geographical	Zomba
Radio	Nyathepa Community Radio	Community	Not operational	Geographical	Nsanje
Radio	CCAP Blantyre Synod Radio	Community	Operational	National	Blantyre
Radio	CCAP Nkhoma Synod Radio	Community	Operational	National	Lilongwe
Radio	CCAP Livingstonia Synod Radio	Community	Operational	National	Mzuzu
Radio	Beyond FM	Private	Operational	Regional	Lilongwe
Radio	Goodnews Broadcasting System	Community	Not operational	National	Lilongwe
Radio	Gaka FM	Community	Not operational	Geographical	Nsanje
Radio	Umoyo FM	Community	Operational	Geographical	Mangochi
Radio	Chirundu FM	Community	Not operational	Geographical	Nkhatabay
Radio	Radio Dinasour	Community	Operational	Geographical	Karonga
Radio	Neno FM	Community	Operational	Geographical	Neno
Radio	Radio Bembeke	Community	Not operational	Geographical	Dedza
Radio	Mzati FM	Community	Operational	Geographical	Mulanje
TV	Gateway Television	Private	Not operational	National	Lilongwe
TV	Tele-Pursuit Television	Private	Not operational	National	Lilongwe
TV	Matindi Television	Private	Not operational	National	Blantyre

Type	Name of broadcaster	Category	Status in 2014	Coverage	Location
			operational		
TV	Ufulu Television	Private	Not operational	National	Blantyre
TV	Pentecostal Life Television	Private	Not operational	National	Lilongwe
TV	Sunrise Television	Private	Not operational	National	Blantyre
TV	Rainbow Television	Private	Not operational	National	Blantyre
TV	Laura Television	Private	Not operational	National	Blantyre
TV	Angaliba Television	Private	Not operational	National	Blantyre
TV	Television Islam	Private	Not operational	National	Blantyre
TV	MBC TV	Public	Operational	National	Blantyre
TV	AFJ Television	Private	Operational	National	Blantyre
TV	Galaxy TV	Private	Operational	National	Lilongwe
TV	Times Television	Private	Operational	National	Blantyre
TV	Beta Television	Private	Operational	National	Lilongwe
TV	Joy Television	Private	Operational	National	Blantyre
TV	Luso Television	Private	Operational	National	Lilongwe
TV	Independent Television etworks	Private	Not operational	National	Blantyre
TV	Television Luntha	Community	Operational	National	Balaka
TV	CAN TV	Community	Operational	Geographical	Lilongwe
TV	Chancellor College Television	Community	Not operational	Geographical	Zomba

Type	Name of broadcaster	Category	Status in 2014	Coverage	Location
TV	Zodiak Television	Private	Operational	Regional	Lilongwe
TV	SDA Television	Community	Operational	National	Blantyre
TV	Timveni Televison	Community	Operational	National	Lilongwe

Data Source: <http://www.macra.org.mw/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/MACRA-Broadcasting-Licensees-Updated-March-2015.pdf> (Accessed 3rd August, 2016)