Business Journalism Ethics in Africa: A Comparative Study of newsrooms in South Africa, Kenya and Zimbabwe.

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ABSTRACT

This study provides an insight into the state of business journalism ethics in Africa, firstly through an examination of newsroom ethical policies and secondly through an exploration of the way in which African business journalists negotiate ethical decision-making in their day-to-day news processing practices. Thirdly, it examines how the three African media organisations have responded in their newsroom policies and practices to the debates on the Africanisation of journalism ethics. In order to collect data, the researcher employed document analysis, semi-structured questionnaires and in-depth interviews. Three financial newspapers namely: *Business Day* in South Africa, *Business Daily* in Kenya and *Financial Gazette* in Zimbabwe were purposively chosen. In these African countries, business journalism has been steadily growing since the late 1960s, fuelled by the presence of robust stock exchanges, making the issue of business journalism ethics of central importance. Grounded in the sociology of news production paradigm, Bourdieu's journalistic field theory and debates on Africanisation of journalism ethics, this study identifies three major issues. First, the research found that while all three newspapers had clear ethical guidelines in place, and editors and journalists recognised the importance of ethical behaviour, ethical practice did not always follow. A disconnect exists between words (codes of ethics) and actions (practice) especially in Kenya and Zimbabwe, where business journalists are more susceptible to economic and political pressures. The argument is ethical considerations notwithstanding, people need to survive. This is largely due to the precarious economic basis of news organisations, lack of effective monitoring, and a pervasive culture of unethical behaviour at some sites. Second, the study also shows that institutional factors such as advertising, powerful news sources and interference from senior management make ethical business journalism difficult to practice. Third, Africanisation remains an academic issue with little movement towards that direction in most newsrooms studied. The findings of this study demonstrate that business editors in African newsrooms are confused on what 'Africanisation' entails especially given their shared view that journalism practices are universal. It recommends that business journalism codes of ethics informed by African values are long overdue. In terms of enforcement and monitoring of codes, it is important to use compliance officers or ombudsperson and periodically run in-house refresher courses on ethics and professionalism. It is imperative that the financial press improve the working conditions of its employees in order to lessen incidences of corruption which are threatening the credibility of media content and media organisation themselves.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.   Introduction

This chapter introduces the whole study. Divided into eight sections, the first section outlines the research context. The second section explores the theoretical lens guiding this study. The third section examines the choice and motivation for undertaking such a research in Africa. The third section discusses the statement and justification of the research problem. The fourth section outlines the goals of the study and research questions. The fifth section explores the methodological underpinnings of this study and methods deployed. The sixth section examines the limitations of this research. The seventh section offers 'signposts' in terms of the overall structure of this thesis. The final section concludes this Chapter.

1.1 Context of the study

The aim of this thesis is to provide insight into the state of business journalism[1] ethics in Africa, firstly through an examination of newsroom ethical policies and secondly through an exploration of the way in which business journalists in Africa negotiate ethical decision-making in their day-to-day news processing practices. Zimbabwe, Kenya and South Africa offer a valuable context in which to explore the way in which African journalists negotiate business journalism ethics. The three countries mentioned above besides having some of the oldest business newspapers are home to the most vibrant stocks exchanges in Sub-Saharan Africa. South Africa boasts of the buoyant Johannesburg Stock Exchange (JSE), while Zimbabwe has the Zimbabwe Stock Exchange (ZSE) and Kenya has the Nairobi Stock Exchange (NSE). These stock exchanges have created a fertile ground for the sprouting of robust business journalism in Africa. The *Business Day*, the *Financial Mail* and the *Business Report* are some of the flagship titles published in South Africa, which have thrived in the post-apartheid era. The *Business Day* compared to the two other titles is most selling daily business newspaper. It has recently launched its code of ethics on business journalism. The *Business Day* is owned by BDFM, a 50/50 joint venture, between Avusa and Pearson PLC. Avusa also publishes a number of titles in South Africa. It was launched in 1986. The

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[1] Business journalism refers to all reporting that is written not only about businesses but also about the economy and markets (Roush 2006: 8, Kariithi, 2002). Economics, business and financial journalism are closely related forms of journalistic endeavour and the terms are often used interchangeably, even though there are distinctions between them (Kariithi, 2003:153). This study uses the term 'business journalism' to refer to business, financial and economic journalism.

decision to focus on this paper was based on its robust coverage of business, financial and economic news. With a daily readership of over 120 000, *Business Day* has a circulation of 41 591 copies. It is clearly a good example of a newspaper that targets a 7-10 LSM bracket (Banda, 2009).

Also included in this study, the *Business Daily* in Kenya is one of East Africa's most influential business newspaper published by the Nation Media Group (Mbeke, 2007). The Nation Media Group is quoted on the Nairobi Stock Exchange. It is owned by the Aga Khan Fund for Economic Development, an agency of the AKDN, which owns the majority of the shares of the Nation Media Group. It news genre is predominantly business, economic and financial issues from the East African region. The Business Daily is published from Monday to Friday. I narrowed this choice primarily because of the newspaper's role, among other news organisations, in the development of the financial press in Kenya in the late 1980s (Mbeke, 2007), and its relative influence upon business decision makers and entrepreneurs. Lastly, in Zimbabwe, the Financial Gazette (Fingaz) was chosen as its niche market fulfils the objectives of the study. It was founded in 1969 by Modus Publications. In 1989 it was sold to a consortium including disgruntled former Zimpapers editors (Zaffiro in Tomaselli and Dunn, 2001). In 2002, Fingaz was sold to another consortium before a 2006 boardroom coup saw Gideon Gono, Governor of Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe becoming the majority shareholder. Besides, being the only surviving financial newspaper in a country renowned for its anti-press freedom laws, the paper espouses liberal professional ethics premised on objective news and editorial independence (www.fingaz.co.zw, 2010). It caters for business executives, academics and predominantly middle class readership. Its news genres encompass a bit of political and business news. Fingaz is a weekly newspaper published every Thursday.

1.2 Theoretical framework

This study draws on literature dealing with the 'Africanisation' of journalism ethics and postcolonial theory which allows one to illuminate the complexity of journalism as a context-specific social practice in contrast to the 'Anglo-American ideals' against which it is often measured. The history of journalism ethics in Africa is intricately linked to the institutionalisation of mass media during the colonial era (Ndlela, 2009: 58). There is general consensus amongst scholars that journalism is predominantly an 'Anglo-American invention' and as such journalism ethics have been shaped by the ideals of liberalism, social responsibility and debates on the relationship between media and society (Ward, 2005;

Schudson, 2001; Chalaby, 1996). As a result, Kupe (2005), citing the colonial ancestry of journalism in Africa, asks whether it is not more accurate to talk about 'media in Africa' instead of 'African media'. Literature on media ethics in Africa is scant compared to that focusing on media ethics in other parts of the world (Kareithi, 2005:3; Mupfurutsa, 1999 and Ukpabi, 2001). Western libertarian theories of the relationship between media and society have to a large extent shaped debates on journalistic ethics in Africa (Kareithi, 2005: 3). However, scholars such as Kasoma (1996) and Nyamnjoh (2005) have advocated a paradigm shift to embrace Afro-centred values in order to answer the key question posed by Francis Kasoma: "Which journalism ethics for African journalists?" (cited in Karikari, 1996). Banda (2006), Tomaselli (2008) and Wasserman and Rao (2007) advocate an African journalism ethics embedded in 'glocalism' and communitarianism, while Christians (2004) proposes a journalism anchored in 'Ubuntu' as a normative ethical framework. Postulations around communitarianism, 'ubuntu' and 'glocalism' fall within postcolonial theory, which is a reaction to the cultural legacy of colonialism and entails the destabilisation of Western ways of thinking, thereby creating space for alternatives to the dominant discourse (Bhabha, 1994 and Hall, 1996).

This thesis also explores the relationship between journalistic practice and the ethical policies that guide such practice in context of debates about professional identity (Deuze, 2005, Soloski, 1997); and the 'journalistic field' theory as espoused by Bourdieu. Journalism ethics is a central part of media production and regulation, and must be considered in terms of its articulation with the other moments of the so-called circuit of culture, namely production, identity, representation, consumption and regulation (Du Gay et al., 1997, Banda, 2009: 230 and Tomaselli, 2009: 579). Ward (2008) adds that journalism ethics is a product of the journalist-society relation interacting and mutually influencing each other. In the same vein, Tuchman (1972), Schudson (2001) and Lichtenberg (2000) have provided ground-breaking theoretical debates and insights on objectivity and balance underpinning American journalism. Journalism ethics and professionalism are discussed in most scholarly research as synonymous and coexisting (Ward, 2004). There have been intensive debates on the question of whether or not journalism qualifies to be recognized as a profession (Nassanga, 2008: 650). These debates reflect theoretical insights from the sociology of news production and sociology of professions (Glasser and Ettema, 2009). This study mainly focuses on normative ethics, which act as a guide for business journalists and other institutions in the performance of their work (Nassanga, 2008: 646).

In terms of Bourdieu's notion of the journalistic field, journalism is conceptualised as characterised by differentiation into semi-autonomous institutional orders or fields and specialised spheres of action such as business, sports and politics. Bourdieu's notion of journalistic field allows one to analyse how the journalistic field and other fields in society such as the economy interact and mutually influence each other. Banda (2009) and Rumney (2009) concur that the business media are structurally and operationally locked into the market which compromises its claims to ethicality. The Bourdieusian frame allows researchers to identify and address the ways in which discursive subjects (business journalists) locked up in an intercalary position of the journalistic field and the wider economic context negotiate their normative ethics in practice. Bourdieu views 'habitus' as a habitual way of being and becoming which forms over time as the agent negotiates their field, and internalizes roles, relationships, and expectations. This study therefore conceptualises journalism ethics as a structure which is internalized as 'habitus' by business journalists within their social field. In the Bourdieusian frame, normative ethics are conceived as symbolic capital which allows individual journalists to adhere to ethical codes only insofar as they have a strategic interest in doing so (Markham, 2008). Moreover, it sees normative ethics as 'common sense discourse' or 'ideology of common sense' (Hall, 1997), which journalists ought to deploy in their news production work.

1.3 Statement and justification of the problem

The research was carried out in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Kenya. In these African countries, business journalism has been steadily growing since the late 1960s (Kareithi, 2005), fuelled by the presence of robust stock exchanges, making the issue of business journalism ethics of central importance. Kariithi (2002) points out that developing an ethics code on business journalism in Africa is still critical, especially when one considers the bountiful coverage of corporate entities and personalities. Schechter (2008) and Tambini (2009:11) observe that in a context where ethical frameworks are lax or non-existent; business journalists have the power to influence the stock markets through market manipulation, short-selling and insider trading. Research and analysis is needed to ascertain the prevalence of such directly corrupt practices, and the effectiveness of measures aimed at preventing them. Such research is lacking in the African context, partly because business journalism as a sub-field of journalism is a comparatively recent phenomenon in Africa (Kariithi, 2002).

Yet, amidst all reported ethical transgressions, much of the literature surrounding journalistic ethics research is written from a Western perspective which negates the role of glocalisation, de-westernisation and cultural differences. My thesis endeavours to provide an insight into the state of business journalism ethics and the negotiation of these ethical policies by practitioners in Africa, with a view to informing future debates about business journalism ethics on the continent. The significance of my study, therefore, lies in its attempt to contribute to African perspectives on business journalism ethics within the context of glocalisation, indigenisation and globalisation. This study attempts to look at African business journalism ethics from an African perspective, which would differ from a Western perspective that relies on values derived from a p articular interpretation of Western experience.

1.4 Goal of the study and research questions

The main goal of the study is to gain insight into the state of business journalism ethics in Africa through, firstly, a comparative examination of newsroom ethical policies, and secondly, an exploration of how business journalists within different African media organisations negotiate ethical decision-making in their day-to-day news processing practices. This involves, firstly, determining how ethical business journalists actually are when they engage in journalistic activities and secondly, investigating how seriously the profession takes the discourse of business journalism ethics. It does so by examining three different African media organisations focusing on how these institutions have responded in their newsroom policies and practices to the debates on the Africanisation of journalism ethics.

1.5 Methods of study

The methodological approach for this study is mainly qualitative. Qualitative research refers in the broadest sense to research that produces descriptive data, people's own written or spoken words and observable behaviour (Taylor and Bodgan, 1984: 5). It allows the researcher to understand perspectives of social actors, to retrieve experiences from the past, and to gain expert insight or information (Babbie and Mouton, 1989). This study also follows a case study and comparative research approach. Case studies are used when there is a desire to understand complex social phenomena which is usually contemporary (Silverman, 2005:

126). It also helps in the gathering of descriptive and explanatory data as it allows for a number of research techniques to be used in the same study. Comparative research compares two or more groups on one variable (Smelser, 1976). It allows for cross-national studies to identify, analyse and explain similarities and differences across societies. It also enables one to establish whether shared phenomena can be explained by the same causes.

The research focused on the *Business Day*, the *Financial Gazette* and the *Business Daily*. The three news organisations were purposively chosen based on readership statistics, specialisation in business journalism and their operations in economies that have well developed stock exchanges which allows for a vibrant business journalism market. Purposive sampling is simply selecting groups or categories to study on the basis of their relevance to the research questions which one is developing (Mason in Silverman, 2004:130). Thus the three publications chosen can be said to be leaders in their field in each of the countries that form part of the research.

The research employs a three-stage design which allows inferences to be drawn from one data collection tool to be supplemented by another. Methods triangulation ensures that evidence from multiple sources can be cross-checked and searched for regularities. The three stages of the research process are: i) *Document analysis*: Newsroom codes of ethics governing business journalism practice were collected and analysed to describe and compare newsroom ethical policies; ii) *Semi-structured questionnaire*: A semi-structured questionnaire was used to elucidate more information on business journalism ethics. It was helpful in exploring how journalists negotiate preferred ethical policies and assess views on Africanisation of newsroom ethical policies; and iii). *Individual in-depth interviews*: After the second stage; business journalists and editors conveniently sampled based on availability were interviewed face-to-face and by telephone to probe the negotiation of newsroom ethical policies. Interviews are a useful research tool as they enable the researcher to further probe issues that emerged from the semi-structured questionnaire which tends to be more structured in its approach (Deacon et al, 2007:66). The research prioritised confidentiality and informed consent amongst its respondents. The collected data was coded into themes reflecting the issue of business journalism ethics in Africa.

1.6 Limitations of the research

The primary aim of this study is provide insight into the state of nature of business journalism ethics in Africa. While I often use the phrase 'business journalism ethics in Africa', I do so with an understanding that Africa is not a monolithic entity. In fact, there are so many 'Africas' out there. Questions can, however, be asked on the existence of such a thing as 'business journalism ethics in Africa' and if it does exist, to what extent can its canon be identified? There is a problem of ambiguity associated with the use of the noun 'Africa'. It is used within the confines of the understanding that journalism has embedded within it values peculiar to a particular cultural context. The noun 'Africa' can be used as a geographical reference, to define all research falling within certain identified physical boundaries that define the African continent. Therefore, meanings change from discourse to discourse depending on the context in which language is in use (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002). African countries differ greatly in their social, political, historical and cultural context, and hence North Africa is often excluded in discourses on Africa as it is remarkably different. This study acknowledges that Africa is not a monolithic space, but multiple spaces. Bhuiyan (2008: 100) observes that Africa can be conceptualised as a metaphor, a geographical space and a worldview. In terms of a geographical space, it denotes a continent devastated by years of colonial exploitation while as a metaphor Africa is seen as virtual within the context of information technology explosion. It is in this sense that this study draws on Bhabha's (1994:33-37) analytic concept of 'hybridity', whereby African identities whether 'diasporic' or 'continental' are not necessarily looked at as being singular, but rather as being inherently unstable, neither 'eurocentric' nor 'indigenous', but something else that is always in the making. There isn't a final identity that is African (Kanyagirire, 2007). But at the same time, there is an identity coming into existence. And it has a certain context and meaning. Africa is also a worldview that is postcolonial (Bhuiyan, 2008). By postcolonial, Bhuiyan (2008) refers to an epistemological position that is in opposition to colonialism. This position has resonances with Hall (1992)'s 'imagined communities' and 'systems of cultural representations' characterisation of nation-states and continents. In this study, 'business journalism ethics in Africa' refers exclusively to the study of media ethical practices in sub-Saharan Africa. I also use the phrase to refer to sub-Saharan African countries such as Kenya, South Africa and Zimbabwe which forms the bedrock of this study. This study cannot exhaust all African media systems, hence the purposive selection of three flagship business news organisations in the three countries. I am also cognisant of fact that the term 'Africa' is

contested given the colonial and globalisation influences. I have also excluded from my analysis national codes of ethics governing journalism in these countries.

1.7 Structure of the thesis

The thesis is be divided into eight chapters. This introductory chapter introduces what the study is all about and what it seeks to achieve. It puts the context of the study, the general and personal background to the study, as well as the objectives and significance of the study. It also presents the theoretical and methodological framework pertinent in the study.

Chapter two explains the local context of the study. It will looks at why this study was carried out in the Zimbabwean, Kenyan and South African context, the business journalism ethics context of the three case studies as well as the history of business journalism ethics around the world in general and the link between journalism professionalism and codes of ethics in particular.

Chapter three pays special attention to violation of journalism ethics in general and also makes reference to business journalism ethical transgressions. As a subfield of journalism, it is increasingly becoming important as a source of information on the operations of business and the economy. This chapter and the preceding ones (chapter two and three) help build the context and the theoretical approach to the research problem.

Chapter four sets the theoretical framework of the study. It discusses the concept of sociology of news production paying particular attention to professionalization and deprofessionalisation debates surrounding journalism ethics. It also discusses Bourdieu's journalistic field theory in so which explains the way in which journalists are constrained or enabled by the habitus and symbolic capital. It also elucidates debates on Africanisation situating them within the broader theoretical arguments informed by critical theory, decolonisation and globalisation. It outlines the post-colonial theory strands such as Afriethics, communitarianism and ubuntu within the context of globalisation and glocalisation of media ethics.

Chapter five situates the study within its methodological framework. It presents methodology used for generating, collecting and analysing data. It highlights the sampling procedures employed and examines case study approach as a qualitative approach employed in this study. The focus is also on the justification for use of specific methods such as questionnaire,

face to face interviews, and document analysis. The value of the methodology chapter is that it provides a guide for a similar research to test reliability of findings.

Chapter six presents the major findings from the field work as well as a discussion and analysis of the results. This chapter is the core of this thesis as it presents the findings of the research in a narrative form. Through the discussion and analysis of the findings inferences will be made on the state of business journalism ethics in Africa as raised in the introductory chapter, it revisits the theoretical perspectives and literature review raised in chapters three, four and five.

Chapter seven concludes the study. It draws conclusions and inferences based on findings in the literature review, and reflected in the research questions. The chapter also gives an indication as to where future research should be done. Finally the last section provides a list of references and appendix of questionnaire and other material used in the study.

1.8 Conclusion

This chapter has laid down out the broad foundations of the thesis. It briefly introduced the context of the study, its theoretical underpinning, research problem and its significance. Then the research questions were presented and the methodology employed. Finally the structure of the thesis was outlined. On this basis the thesis now proceeds with theoretical framework and literature review which form the basis of the forthcoming chapters two, three and four.

CHAPTER 2

BUSINESS JOURNALISM IN AFRICA: A BRIEF OVERVIEW

2.0 Introduction

In the introduction to this thesis, I outlined its aim, which is to provide insight into the state of business journalism ethics in Africa, firstly through an examination of newsroom ethical policies and secondly through an exploration of the way in which African business journalists negotiate ethical decision-making in their day-to-day news processing practices. This study is cognisant of the fact that the issue of business journalism ethics have become pertinent in light of debates about the role of the business media following the 2008 worldwide financial crisis that resulted in the current global recession. In order to contextualise the issue of business journalism ethics in Africa and explore how business journalists negotiate these preferred ethical practices, this chapter gives a brief historical background to business journalism practice in Kenya, South Africa and Zimbabwe. It then proceeds to explore the evolution of business journalism ethics in Western contexts and also examines media ethics and professionalism in the three African countries under consideration.

2.1 Context of the Study

The study is situated in Zimbabwe, South Africa and Kenya, all former British colonies. Zimbabwe got its independence in 1980, Kenya in 1967 whereas South Africa got its nominal independence in 1910 and attained its freedom in 1994 after the end of apartheid. The three countries have recorded steady economic growth rates since independence with the exception of Zimbabwe which since 2000 has been reeling under an economic crisis born out of the disputed elections and the fast track land reform. Business journalism blossomed in South Africa since the 1960s with the launch of publications such as the *Business Times*, *Financial Times* and *Business Day.* To fully understand the context of this study which concerns itself with the way in which business journalism has established itself within this particular African context, it is important to look at its media history and how it has shaped the discourse of business journalism ethics in African newsrooms.

2.2 Conceptualising Business Journalism

Business journalism refers 'to all reporting that is written not only about businesses but also about the economy and markets' (Roush 2006, Kariithi, 2002). Economics, business and financial journalism are closely related forms of journalistic endeavour and the terms are often used interchangeably, even though there are distinctions between them (Kariithi, 2003:153). This study uses the term 'business journalism' to refer to business, financial and economic journalism. Generally, economics deals with the production, distribution and consumption of wealth and with its various related problems of labour, finance, taxation, etc. As a result, 'economics has been identified as an important area of knowledge acquisition for effective participation in modern economies' (Mogekwu, 2003). Due to the importance of economics in modern societies, business news derives from, and is related to, nearly all aspects of our lives. This makes it one of the most important areas for journalists in any media organisation. Consequently, Parker (1997: 3) summarily concludes that 'we're all embedded in economic relations, but our personal experience is only an uncertain drop in the sea of economic actions and assumptions around us'. .

However, there is no consensus on the existence of a self-contained genre of business journalism. As a result scholars such as Thompson (2000) amongst others argue that there is no such a thing as a monolithic 'business beat'. The argument is based on the different titles given to journalists falling within the broad church of business journalism. For instance, those who cover the markets are known as financial writers, whereas those who report on monetary or fiscal policy may call themselves economics correspondents (Thompson, 2000). As such, business journalism has had a chequered history in Anglo-American contexts with scholars such as Welles (2000) describing it as a bleak wasteland-'the most disgracefully neglected sector of American journalism'. In a similar vein, Parker (1997: 5) quotes Jeff Greenfield, a reporter for the American TV network ABC as defining economic reporting as the 'the blind date of journalism...better than staying home, but not by much'. Despite its tumultuous history, there is evidence on the ground to suggest that news about business, economics, and finance is going through one of the most dynamic, momentous, and exciting periods. For instance, the growth of specialised business newspapers, magazines and television stations such as CNBC and Bloomberg is just a tip of the ice-berg (Roush, 2008).

It is important at this formative stage to highlight the role of the business media in modern economies. Business journalism has had a profound effect on many countries and the billions of people who interact with companies on an everyday basis by purchasing their goods, products, and services (Roush, 2008: 5). Moreover, early settlers in America and in Africa depended on newspapers to provide them details of crop and livestock prices, information about what ships had entered the port, and what goods they contained (Thompson, 2000; Brand, 2009). This information which constituted earliest manifestations of business news was crucial for business decisions. Consequently, the business media arose as a response to the hunger for financial and economic information amongst businesspeople and investors. As such business journalism has progressed from a purveyor of business intelligence to become the handmaiden of modern economies. In the same vein, Brand (2010) suggests that the financial media are more than simply providers of information for business and investment sectors due to their broader political role. It is now generally agreed that the business media is an instrumental cog in the market mechanism, which provides information for market participants, investors and corporations (Parsons, 1990, Thompson, 2000)). In view of the preceding argument, Brand (2010: 28) summarily concludes that the business media play a political role in addition to their economic role. His argument is that the financial media play a crucial role in spreading economic ideas and ideologies and setting the parameters of debate about economic issues.

Over the years, business journalism, besides exposing several high profile corruption scandals involving large corporations such Enron and influencing governments' business operation reforms (Roush, 2008), has propagated the values, myths and the discourses of the free market (Parsons, 1990). As a result, the financial media have become crucial mediators between the price system and the political system (Brand, 2010). A large body of research corroborates the argument that the financial media fulfil an important role in the market mechanism; the price system and market economy cannot function without an information network (Parsons, 1990, Brand, 2010). As such Parsons (1990) argues that the construction of the communication network underlying the price system would have been difficult without the rise of the financial media. It is perhaps no coincidence then that Roush (2008) and Thompson (2000) summarily conclude that there is no more important work in today's media than that of the financial journalist. In light of the foregoing discussion, one can summarily conclude that perhaps no other journalistic specialty provides consumers with information that is as essential to their daily lives. By linking up the price system with the market

economy, the business media enables financial transaction to grow or destroy modern economies.

As evident in the preceding paragraphs, business journalism has become an important and ubiquitous genre as the capitalism extends its reach fuelled by the globalisation of financial markets. The financial media has enabled the 'selling of markets' and the 'provision of information for businesspeople' in time and space. Inevitably, the business press is now the single most important source readers have for information about the economy—and explanations for its performance (Parker, 1997: 3). On the other hand, Roush (2008) demonstrates that access to financial information promotes world prosperity; and prosperous nations, in general, promote peace. This assertion is corroborated by Sen (1994) who argues that the existence of free markets promote democracy in the long run. Consequently, the need for strong business journalism has become essential as a result of economic growth and development in emerging democracies and emerging economies.

In Africa, the roots of economic journalism can be traced to the continent's protracted economic crises of the late 1970s and early 1980s, when the failure of World Bank-sponsored structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) thrust economics into the public limelight in many African countries (Kariithi and Kareithi, 2005: xi). As African nations embarked on their political transitions, the still fledging economics media again kept pace, constantly advocating through their coverage the need to open up both the political and economic systems (Kariithi, 2002). African journalists have become even more aware of their pressing responsibility to regularly monitor and scrutinise the government to ensure its performance matches its promise (Kareithi et al, 2005: 120). Nowhere is that scrutiny more critical than in the management of the nation's economic and financial affairs. The evolution of an enlightened economics and financial press has been seen as a matter of survival for African democracies. However, few African media organisations can show a track record of substantive economics reporting, given that economics reporting is generally a recent addition to the regular newsroom beats in much of Africa (Kariithi and Kareithi, 2005).

Consequently, the African economics press has struggled for greater recognition among its peers, even while joined in the wider battle by African media for greater liberty and the struggle for more resources and better skills. Brand (2010), for instance, highlights that the financial press as a distinct genre of newspaper is a recent phenomenon. In Africa, a bruising

debate has been raging on when exactly did economics journalism began? Thus far there is consensus amongst scholars that it emerged as a sub-field conflated under rubric 'development journalism' encompassing economics, financial and business news. However, an examination of African economics journalism cannot be complete without a discussion of the economics of journalism in Africa (Nyamnjoh, 2005). Underlying this argument is the view that media organisations operate on shoe-string budgets and journalists are poorly remunerated which accounts for the underdeveloped state of business journalism as a genre in Africa.

Despite its late-comer status, a mix up of concepts has meant that economic journalism has been seen as an offshoot of 'development journalism' dating back to the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. Most research on the economics of journalism in Africa has concluded that journalists in most countries are not well paid, and are therefore most likely to bargain away in myriad ways their independence, professionalism and ethics, in order to make ends meet (Kariithi, 2005). Even in newsrooms that actively cover business news, quality reporting is hampered by myriad of problems including lack of skills, heavy dependence on government and other official news sources, ownership and funding challenges and strained media/state relations (Kariithi, 2002). Extending this argument further, Brand (2010: 28) demonstrates that since the late 1980s, mass circulation newspapers have strengthened their business coverage, and economics and financial news has become a central feature of the mainstream news agenda. The next section looks at business journalism practice in Kenya.

2.3.1 Business Journalism Practice in Kenya

To fully understand business journalism practice in Kenya, there is need to look at the country's media background. This can be achieved by looking at the history of the media in colonial and postcolonial Kenya. The context within which media in Kenya operate is influenced by its political and economic environments both past and present. Therefore understanding and appreciation of the operation of the media during these periods is important in helping understand journalism practice in Kenya in general and the nature and work of journalists in particular. In short, the modern media in Kenya was started by the Missionaries and the British settlers (Ochillo, 1993). However, despite evidence of government hostility and interference during and after colonialism, the Kenyan press has developed considerably during the 1980s and 1990s. Buoyed by political pluralism, media growth saw the emergence of financial journalism, a field that the press had largely ignored

during the first two decades after independence (Kareithi and Kariithi, 2005). In Kenya in general, the evolution of financial journalism may be attributed to extrinsic forces similar to those that shaped financial writing in the West in the last century, namely, the need for organised system of gathering financial information to keep interested readers in touch with the realities of the developing economy (Kareithi and Kariithi, 2005). There is, however, a great deal of debate over whether such efforts were in fact financial journalism or development journalism, defined as…. Against this apparent confusion of concepts, much of the newspaper coverage of 'economic' and 'financial' issues in Kenya during the late 1970s and the early 1980s could in fact be classified as 'development' journalism (Kareithi and Kariithi, 2005: 121). The concept of 'development journalism' has, over time, become possessed by demons of all sorts of confusion (Banda, 2006). In Africa, the concept of is caught up in the historical evolution of the theory of development communication. It denotes 'emancipatory journalism' which thrives to contribute towards participatory democracy, economic development, security, peace, and other humanistic values. However, Kenya is one of the few African countries to introduce university-level journalism in the early 1970s and this has led to robust news coverage.

In 1978, Njehu Gatabaki made the first attempt at financial journalism when he founded *Kenya News and International Report*, a monthly publication that featured articles on business and finance. The publication was re-oriented to the African economic scene in 1979 and had its name changed to *Kenya News and Africa Report* (Kariithi and Kareithi, 2005). Five years later, Gatabaki re-oriented his publication again, this time to focus on money, its sources and applications, in the monthly *Finance*. Kariithi and Kareithi (2005) point out that in Kenya, the first weekly publication devoted to financial journalism was the *Financial Review*, founded in 1986, as a sister paper to the now defunct *The Weekly Review*. Its approach to financial reporting appealed to a wide cross-section of the country's growing middle class. Its editor was Peter Kareithi. It adopted a distinctive journalistic style of in-depth but simply-presented economic and business analysis. It introduced new sections such as company profiles, local and international commodities and financial market reports, currencies and personal finance. The state-owned *Daily Nation* started a four-page weekly business pull-out which, like the banned (*Financial Review* in 1989), was clearly aimed at a specific business section (Kariithi and Kareithi, 2005). The new pull-out relied on economic and financial analysis, and invited technocrats to comment on a wide range of issues. In 1992, the pull-out was expanded to a twelve-page supplement through a general increase in the

space allocated to international business news and the opinion columns. The advent of political pluralism in 1992 w as accompanied by the rise of investigative reporting and opinion columns. Kenya's second financial weekly news magazine publication was the *Economic Review,* a w eekly news magazine that borrowed heavily from the *Financial Review,* especially in the area of editorial policy, structure and style (Kareithi, 2005). It was founded in October 1992 by a group of financial journalist who previously for the now defunct *Financial Review.* In Kenya, every major newspaper now carries an economic pullout every Tuesday of the week (Kareithi, 2005: 212). The Nairobi Stock Exchange (NSE) has 55 listed companies, mostly private corporations.

2.3.2 Business Journalism Practice in South Africa

This section examines the country's media background in order to understand business journalism practice in South Africa. The history of the South African mediascape can be divided into four distinct phases (Switzer, 1997). In short, the four phases encapsulates the transition from mainstream pro-apartheid press towards a m ore resistance oriented press. However, debates continue to rage long after the burial of political apartheid-about the pace of racial changes in media ownership, control and content (Switzer, 1997). Although during apartheid, the media were predominantly white-controlled businesses; there is an observable trend towards black ownership and partnership in media (Nyamnjoh, 2010: 9). South Africa is also different from other countries in Africa because of its long tradition of newspaper journalism that dates back to 1800, almost 150 years before the whites arrived at the Cape of Good Hope. It is also worth noting that South Africa and Nigeria have the oldest newspapers in Africa.

Today's South Africa has emerged from being a journalistic pariah to one of the freest and most democratic countries in the world. Despite the warning by Mamdani (1996) against adopting what he calls 'South African exceptionalism' when analysing the colonial history of Africa; however, this study argues that different continuities apply in the new South Africa, where the media are still largely in the hands of the economically powerful white capital. Out of the four major newspaper groups two (Naspers, Independent Newspapers Group) are white-owned, one is black-owned (Avusa) and the other (Caxton-Pearson) is foreign owned. The new state is yet to appropriate control of the media in ways similar to the rest of Africa (Nyamnjoh, 2005). Nyamnjoh contends that the ideas of *ubuntu* and Africanisation have yet to capture the creative imagination of the media and industries beyond tokenism.

The first newspaper published in sub-Saharan Africa appeared in Cape Town in 1800. The *Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser,* which carried English and Dutch news, began appearing almost 150 years after the first Dutch settlers had arrived in South Africa. The two newspapers published the kind of information the port city's merchants and agricultural producers needed to make business decisions (Brand, 2009).However, it is Brand (2009)'s observation that ties between South Africa's English-language press and mining capital remained intact into the 20th century. Newspapers aligned with mining capital such as the *South African Mining Journal,* not only reflected the ideas and views of the audience, but created and articulated the ideology underpinning the development of mining capital (Bozzoli, 1981). The *Rand Daily Mail* carried business sections that focused mainly on covering the burgeoning and sophisticated mining industry (Brand, 2009). For a while it became one of the most influential newspapers in South Africa. The *Financial Mail*, South Africa's first free-standing newspaper, was launched by South African Newspapers in 1959, to be followed in the ensuing decade by a spate of new titles including *Business Times*, the *Financial Gazette* and Finance Week. *Business Times* rapidly became the *Sunday Times*' most profitable section and with the *Financial Times,* came to define business and financial journalism in South Africa (Brand, 2009).

Since 1980, there has been almost explosive growth in the volume of financial news available to consumers in South Africa, as in other parts of the world. This expansion has seen the establishment of first business daily title, *Business Day*, launched in 1985 by Times Media Ltd. Following this media development trajectory, Brand (2009) suggests that business journalism has managed to stake its own claim as a distinct genre. Inevitably, it has developed its own narrative conventions, unwritten rules and practices. Consistent with his argument of the marriage of convenience between the mining sector and the financial press, Brand (2009: 9) summarily concludes that the financial press has throughout its history been sponsored and subsidized by the markets and corporations it covers. He singles out the stock exchange regulation compelling listed companies to publish their company reports and notices in the newspaper as of one the factors that have contributed to the financial viability of the financial press in South Africa. Moreover, Brand (2009) reveals that until the mid-1990s the financial press was owned, via subsidiaries by Anglo-American Corporation, the country's largest mining conglomerate and this connection both evident in management and editorial policy of the newspapers. In a similar vein, Kareithi et al (2005: 23) observe that

instead of raptures there are continuities in the manner in which the financial press writes about business in post-apartheid South Africa.

2.3.3 Business Journalism Practice in Zimbabwe

The history of Zimbabwean media is intricately woven with colonialism and post colonialism. Like in South Africa, the media in Zimbabwe have colonial ancestry which dates back to the early 1890s when the gold and diamonds were discovered in the Kimberley area. This can be achieved by looking at media operation during three distinct phases of Zimbabwe's history. These phases are colonial period (1887-1980), the postcolonial state era (1980-2000), and the Third Chimurenga phase (2000-2010). Kupe (2005), Moyo (2005) and Ndlela (2005) observe that the context within which media in Zimbabwe operate is influenced by its political environment both past and present. Therefore understanding and appreciation of the operation of the media during these periods is important in helping understand state of journalism practice in Zimbabwe. Dzirutwe (2005) notes that Zimbabwe has been caged in a economic recession since 2000 characterised by record unemployment rates, inflation figures, foreign currency shortages, ballooning domestic and foreign debts and shortages of the local currency. The mediation of this crisis together with the Economic Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) of the 1990s provided the bedrock upon which economic journalism has managed to grow.

Dzirutwe (ibid) and Ndlela (2005) are of the opinion that the mediation of the post-2000 crisis brought media polarisation to the fore with state-owned media and privately-owned media caught up in the blamestorm. The blamestorm saw the state owned media flagging themselves as 'cheerleaders' and 'propagandists' of the status quo while the privately owned media aligned themselves with progressive forces by providing scathing criticism to Zanu PF's economic policies (see Chiumbu and Moyo, 2009). This is despite the fact that financial and economic journalism in the country is still underdeveloped. There is no journalism institution in Zimbabwe that gives attention to focused business and economic reporting because they concentrate more on news reporting (Dzirutwe, 2005). Zimbabwe's political environment, characterised by intimidation and arbitrary arrests of progressive elements, has left economic journalism a much poorer profession as news sources either refuse to be identified, or refuse to comment altogether. Journalists' working conditions make it difficult to uphold professional and ethical virtues in an economic climate characterised by hyperinflation, unemployment, food shortages and foreign currency shortages (Chari, 2008).

However, the political and economic situation has stabilised since the formation of the inclusive government on the 15th of September 2008.

2.4 History of Business Journalism Ethics

The recent crisis in global banking, markets and economies has reminded us all of the importance of financial and business journalism ethics (Tambini, 2009: 2). It has brought into sharp focus the intricate relationship between business journalism and the operations and behaviour of financial and economic markets. However, the notion of business journalism ethics, like general media ethics, has an Anglo-American ancestry-a history that oscillates between Europe and America. As Ward (2007) and Schudson (2004) point out journalism ethics as we know them today are implicated within history of Anglo-American media. At centre of this Western philosophical understanding was the belief that the media has a role to play in society. As such, journalism ethics and debates on self regulation are informed by the social responsibility approach which is unashamedly normative. It is noteworthy to highlight that although Anglo-American journalism ethics have resonances with most postcolonial Africa, there are different ethical traditions in the world. Generally, the social responsibility theory upon which Anglo-American tradition is founded emphasizes responsibility of the media to the society it serves as opposed to freedom per se (Ochillo, 1993: 23). It proceeds from the position that the media need of necessity to assume both moral and legal responsibilities for all that they publish for the general good of the society. As a result, it is important to point out that journalism ethics are implicated in what McQuail (1987: 110) calls ―the media-society linkages. To Ward (2007) the origins of journalism ethics' are located within the matrix of media-societal interactions. This means journalism ethics that came into being bear the imprint of certain societal views. In short, it is a product of specific historical conditions and media operations mutually interacting with each other.

As a result, journalism ethics arose in Anglo-American contexts, as the media tried to free itself from the constraining ambits of partisan press in America towards commoditisation and professionalisation (Schudson, 2004). This movement from partisan press to commercial press brought with it a bundle of rights and responsibilities for journalists (Ward, 2004). As a result, the development of codes of ethics needs to be seen in the context of the trend towards professionalisation of journalism, which Ward (2004) traces from around the mid-19th Century. The guiding principles of the resultant social compact were based upon the desire:

to seek the truth and reporting it as fully as possible, to act independently, and to minimise harm (Schudson, 2004). Consequently, codes of ethics developed at that time mirror the Western philosophical understanding of how the media ought to operate in any given context. Given the colonial and postcolonial interpenetrations between developed and developing countries, Anglo-American journalism ethics have been exported far and wide. Banda (2010: 15) acknowledges the contributions of Western philosophy to elucidating the ethical considerations associated with the practice of contemporary journalism globally. Even, business journalism ethics have not escaped the Western philosophical encasing given the fact that first specialised business newspapers began in America in the early 1900s (Roush, 2008).

Against this background, the notion of business journalism ethics is central to the so called 'circuit of culture' which embraces the cultural moments of production, identity, representation, consumption and regulation (DuGay et al, 1997 and Hall, 1997) and how they articulate in the process of media-making. As a result, the centrality of the 'circuit of culture' is that enables one locate the discourse of business journalism ethics within the broader ambit of media ethics. The only difference being that the former seeks to regulate the relationship between business reporters and the market in particular way. However, there is no monolithic bundle of business journalism ethics. Although many business journalists agree on certain issues, such as that trading in stocks of companies they report about is unethical, there are just as many other issues that there is disagreement. Advocates of business journalism ethics claim that financial journalists, by the very nature of their beat, face many situations that could compromise their editorial integrity. The financial media is seen as embedded in the price-setting mechanism which affects the market sentiment.

Consequently, Tambini (2009) has developed a conceptual model for understanding the rights and duties of financial journalists. At the core of such a model of business journalism ethics is the understanding that the financial media has power to influence the prices of individual securities such as bonds and stocks. It also acknowledges that there is a reflexive relationship between financial reporting and the market. As such it differs from the broader discourse of journalism ethics which is concerned with the general ethical responsibilities. At first glance, there seems to be a rather widespread consensus about the manner in which business journalism ethics are both perceived and conceived within the broader ethics discourse, and to a large extent, amongst media ethicists. However, the fact that the boundary between journalism ethics in general and business journalism ethics is so fluid somehow makes it a

contested terrain. Whereas the broader discourse of journalism ethics focuses on the relationship between society and the media, business journalism ethics are concerned with the relationship between news and markets.

In short, business journalism ethics are informed by questions such as: What responsibility do journalists have when their stories can have direct impacts on market behaviour? Should the ethical and professional standards of business and financial journalists differ from those of others such as political journalists? Should journalists avoid 'panicking the markets'? What about direct conflicts of interest? How can journalists deal with conflicting responsibilities in relation to their various overlapping constituencies – to readers, investors, to corporations, to governments and to national economies? What happens when journalists themselves, or those close to them, hold shares in a company? Underlying the above questions is the premise that the rights and privileges that journalists enjoy are granted on the basis of a particular view of their function and responsibilities in society. Although this is true of all journalism, it is the argument of this study that financial and business journalism as a branch of the profession faces unique ethical dilemmas. Tambini (2009) argues that journalism and financial journalism, in particular, are based on a 'social compact' of rights and responsibilities.

Moreover, rights and privileges have been afforded to journalists in return for commitments to responsible journalism. This study works within the business journalism ethical framework as propounded by Tambini (2009: 12) which incorporates micro (impact of news on stock prices) and macro (impact on broader economic sentiment) levels. Colon (2000) asserts that correlations between media reports and stock market movements are discernible. To her, investors react to business, financial and economic news, by buying or selling stocks, bonds and treasury bills. Through agenda setting, priming, framing (Davies, 2005); financial media is associated with causing feedback loops and 'attention cascades' among investors thereby contributing to market movements as investors seek reinforcement for their beliefs and try to anticipate what other investors may do (Shiller, 2005). Furthermore, Tambini (2009) points out that whilst the causes of panics and other forms of market behaviour, ultimately lie in economic fundamentals rather than media representations, reports by the media and by financial journalists do have a role.

Scholars such as Shiller (2005) locate the history of speculative bubbles to the rise of newspapers. As a result, market movements are closely intertwined to the spreading of

business news in modern day economies. It is no wonder why scholars have described how financiers skilfully manipulate the media to profit from market movements. However, at the core of business journalism ethics, are a bundle rights and responsibilities for financial journalists which include: conflicts of interest, share ownership, accepting freebies, reading stories in advance, market abuse, accuracy, truthfulness, privacy, moonlighting and the role of business reporting in relation to market sentiment (Tambini, 2009; Colon, 2000). An attempt is thus made in this section to shed light on ethical dilemmas faced by business journalists, focusing mainly on understandings that relate to four distinct aspects: ramping, market manipulation, insider trading and short-selling. According to Tambini (2009: 10), market manipulation refers to a practice in which journalists deliberately omit certain details including declarations of personal interest, by allowing oneself to be manipulated by others, or deliberately as part of a strategy to profit from price fluctuations. On the other hand, ramping involves buying up shares, boosting them with a news story or a comment and then selling the inflated shares at a profit. Insider trading is trading on the basis of non-public information, usually gained through a formal relationship with the company in whose stocks one trades (Tambini, 2009). Moreover, short-selling denotes a situation in which journalists deliberately spread false rumours so that prices can be artificially deflated. Journalists would move in to buy deflated shares in order to sell at a profit at a later date when the rumours are found to be unfounded.

As already highlighted in previous sections, there is some general agreement on a basic tier of responsibilities that financial and business journalists must uphold. These relate to the potential for illegal market abuse, the ethical minefield around the potential to panic markets and the impact on broader consumer sentiment (Tambini, 2009). In short, business journalism ethics are pivoted on the desire to minimise capital market dysfunctionality and to regulate the interaction between the market and news reporting. Although research is inconclusive on the precise relationship between news and markets, it is clear however that financial reporting could reinforce the dysfunctional patterns of market behaviour such as herding and momentum (Colon, 2000). In light of the foregoing discussion, this study by no means offers a settled consensus of what constitutes business journalism ethics but at least proffers a conceptual model essential to illuminate ethical dilemmas in African newsrooms.

2.5 Journalism Ethics in Africa

This study uses the phrase 'business journalism ethics in Africa' to refer to the study of normative frameworks (codes) that inform African media institutions and organizations covering business or financial news in relation to other similar institutions in the world. The phrase covers normative frameworks that espouse African values and also incorporates Western influences, given the hybridity of contemporary African identities' (Nyamnjoh, 2005: 91). On the other hand, journalism ethics have become a problem in most African media systems as evidenced by increasing numbers of journalists being taken to court and newspapers being forced to retract their stories. Karikari (1996: 2) suggests that the emergence of the private media and the liberalisation of the public media have multiplied, complicated, aggravated and diversified the violations of certain 'ethical principles' of information and the rules governing the journalistic code of conduct. He locates these excesses and lapses as embedded in the euphoria of the new-found freedom. Kasoma (1996) also writing within the Zambian locution, suggests that unethical journalism has reared its ugly head in African newsrooms since the dawn of media liberalisation.

What is clear, though, is the influence of the Anglo- American journalism ethics on postcolonial African newsrooms conduct. This influence is evident through the religious flagging of western normative ideals such as the need for objectivity, truth, avoiding conflict of interest and balance. As Nyamnjoh (2005) argues, the existence of local training schools does not seem to have brought about appropriate indigenisation of the imported universal canons of journalism. The experience in Africa has so far shown that media and journalism education has been shaped, and continues to be shaped, by developments in trendsetting countries, mainly North America and Western Europe (Ndlela, 2007). However, this study focuses on publications in Kenya, Zimbabwe and South Africa as case studies to provide insight into the state of business journalism ethics in Africa. The next section discusses the issue of media professionalism and ethics in the three countries under consideration.

2.5.1. A Brief Overview of Media Ethics and Professionalism in Zimbabwe, Kenya and South Africa.

There is a vast body of research on media accountability and professionalism globally and in Africa which shows that the quality of media content is deteriorating (see White, 2010; Mfumbusa, 2008; Nyamnjoh, 2005). A spike in ethical transgressions comes at a time when state accountability has become a d iscredited practice (Duncan, 2010), yet many media systems continue to grapple with the question of who media organisations should be

accountable to. In Africa, governments have responded by tightening media laws and limiting freedom of expression and speech the in the process. The Zimbabwean and Kenyan governments are classic examples in this regard. In terms of Tettey (2006)'s classification of media accountability systems, Zimbabwe has assigned accountability, where legal and formal regulatory systems prescribe what is acceptable and unacceptable behaviour for the media. On the other hand, South Africa's ethical regulation framework can be equated to contracted accountability, where a contract is entered into between the media and its public regarding media performance. Kenya's system resembles assigned media accountability.

It is important to highlight that Zimbabwe has both the statutory (Zimbabwe Media Commission (ZMC) which replaced the Media Information Commission (MIC)) and self-regulatory (Voluntary Media Council of Zimbabwe) mechanisms. Such a bifurcated media accountability system has to be understood within the context of media polarisation. The Voluntary Media Council of Zimbabwe (VMCZ) which seeks amongst other issues to lobby for freedom of expression represents a parallel system of ethical governance. However, due to the difficult circumstances of the media in Zimbabwe, VMCZ has become more of an activist body, set up deliberately to oppose state regulation, than a channel for complaints (Kruger, 2009: 10). On the other hand, South Africa has a transparent self regulatory system administered by the Press Council which has a binding code of ethics (Kruger, 2009). The history of the South African council dates back to 1962 when the industry body, the Newspaper Press Union, set up the Press Board of Reference in an attempt to forestall the apartheid government's threat to set up a statutory council (Kruger, 2009). However, a crucial change in the evolution of the body came in 1997, when it was replaced by the office of a Press Ombudsman, motivated strongly by a desire to signal a sharp change from the discredited concept of a press council (Ntuli, 2008: 22). Research to date shows that the Press Council of South Africa has been instrumental in considering complaints against the media and in arbitrating disputes within or related to the industry and to promote ethical standards in the media (Kruger, 2009). Despite this record, it has not been smooth sailing with the self-regulatory system coming under pressure from the ruling ANC which threatened to set up a statutory Media Appeals Tribunal (Kruger, 2009).

Conversely, Kenya's statutory regulatory body has a code of ethics which the media are not duty bound to follow. According to Berger (2009), the Media Council of Kenya (MCK) was born in the face of strong opposition from some quarters, replacing a prior voluntary body

that had been set up in 2002. The predecessor of the Media Council of Kenya was also calved as a reaction to the government's attempt to regulate the media during the Moi era. However, the statutory body has also been criticised for failing to enforce subscription payments by the media industry. Amongst its purposes, the MCK in terms of its legislative basis in the 2007 Media Act is supposed to advise the government or the relevant regulatory authority on matters pertaining to professional education and the training of journalists and other media practitioners, and also to make recommendations on the employment criteria for journalists (Berger, 2009: 272). Thus in the three cases there are worrisome shifts towards statutory regulation, in Zimbabwe, the MIC, a statutory body has been reconstituted and rebranded as the Zimbabwe Media Commission by the inclusive government. In Kenya, the Media Council of Kenya is a statutory body whereas in South Africa, the talk of Media Appeal Tribunal (MAT) replacing the Press Ombudsman had gathered steam at the time of writing this thesis. In both Kenya and South Africa politicians have raised concerns regarding the conduct of the free press and their adherence to the voluntary code of ethics.

In Zimbabwe, the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA) provides for the establishment of a Media and Information Commission (MIC) with wide powers to licence news media and individual journalists, and has used these powers extensively to control the media (Kruger, 2009: 6). As a result, the MIC has presided over the media sector with impunity to the point where many private newspapers were forced to close. Given the shrinkage of the private press and rising cases of unprofessional media conduct, Chari (2007) suggests that it is not quite certain whether the term 'profession' is applicable to the Zimbabwean media. Conversely, in post-apartheid South Africa, laws concerning the media and political control over its content are generally considered to be moderate and there is little evidence of repressive measures against journalists. Consequently, South Africa is ranked 38th as of October 2010 in terms of the worldwide index of press freedom by Reporters Without Borders.

In terms of media laws, the three media systems under consideration have notable similarities and differences. For instance, the mass media and communication sector in Kenya remains vulnerable to system-wide pressures because of the weak, irresolute and inadequate legal, regulatory and policy framework inherited from the colonial era (Mbeke, 2007). In fact, Kenya has a long media history, much of which spent operating under conditions of one-party rule that lasted until 1992 (Collender, 2004). During this time the government

dominated broadcast media with a monopoly on radio and television. Nyabuga (2007) suggests that during both the Moi and Kibaki eras, media freedom gains have been eroded by government orchestrated tactics such financial starvations, dismantling of presses, harassment and detention of journalists. In the same vein, Kareithi and Kariithi (2005) add that media freedom in the country has not been achieved easily, mainly because of severe government hostility and heavy-handedness. As a result, Frank Ojiambo, Chairman of the Editors' Guild of Kenya is on record as saying: "I have been a journalist since 1974 and I must say that what I have seen now, I have never seen anything as shocking. Journalism is no longer what it was. Lack of morality and corruption has crept into our profession – it is all about money, lunches, houses, cars and plots" (International Media Support, February 2008, p.3). For instance, the Kenyan Media Act of 2007 has been lambasted as draconian in so far as it requires journalists to disclose their sources and forces them to register with the department of communication (Berger, 2009).

On the other hand, the Zimbabwean media system shares a lot of commonalities with Kenya in terms of the muzzling of press. The promulgation of draconian laws such as the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA) in 2002 saw the closure of newspapers like the Associated Newspapers of Zimbabwe (ANZ)'s *Daily News* (Moyo, 2003). Other pieces of legislation followed such as Public Order and Safety Act (POSA) and Broadcasting Services Act (BSA) which ultimately handed over the market monopoly to state-owned press. In the context of the foregoing discussion, one can argue as posited by Moyo (2003: 673), that the development of press in Zimbabwe after independence needs to be seen within the context of tightening control over debate by the ruling party. It is no wonder that the mediascape in both Kenya and Zimbabwe is characterised by polarisation across party lines (Ndlela, 2005; Mano, 2007; Mudhai, 2007 and Collender, 2004). In the case of Zimbabwe, Ndlela (2005) demonstrates that in Zimbabwe, public and private media owners have created 'regimes' that undermine professional and ethical roles of journalists. This contrasts with the South African media system where the Films and Publications Act and the Electronic Communications Act of 2005 have paved way for media development and extended freedom of expression through the licensing of community newspapers. On the other hand, Zimbabwe are ranked 123rd and Kenya is joint 70th on the annual world press freedom index published by Reporters Without Borders (www. en.rsf.org/press-freedom-index-2010).

In terms of ethical governance practices in Zimbabwe, the main body which represents journalists (the Zimbabwe Union of Journalists) does not have a formal code of ethics (Chari, 2007). However the association has a loose code of ethics guidelines which is not binding. Efforts aimed at developing a code of ethics spearheaded by the Department of Information and Publicity in July 2001, headed by Tafataona Mahoso was met with resistance from some journalists who saw its role as no more than a mouthpiece for the Zimbabwean government (Ndlela, 2005). As a result, nothing came into fruition despite a substantial investment of public resources into the project. In contrast, Kenya is one of the few African countries with a code of conduct and practice that speaks to issues pertaining to financial journalism (Mudhai, 2007). However, codes are of little use in an environment where, as one scholar puts it, 'danger lurks due to the absence of strict adherence to ethics or due to dearth of professionalism' (Anon 2007). On the other hand, South Africa has a press code which is binding and individual media organisations have their own editorial codes of ethics. Media professionalism in South Africa has fared better compared to other African countries with harsh media laws and poor working conditions (Nyamnjoh, 2005).

In light of the foregoing discussion, it is important to highlight that a number of media ethicists concur that journalists within Kenya, Zimbabwe and South Africa still operate within the strictures of Western ontology and epistemology (Banda, 2009). More particularly, it is characterised by the liberal journalistic epistemic orientation which privileges dispassionate media work over civically active media practice (Banda, 2009). Fourie (2008) adds that mainstream South African media and the majority of media organisations think in terms of the liberal journalistic epistemic orientation. In short, an underlying view here is that Africanisation of code of ethics is still far from being realised. A review of most journalism codes of ethics reflects the 'Western philosophical orientation' adopted for guiding media practice in former colonial powers such as Britain and France (Mupfarutsa, 2006). However, clamours for the adoption of African 'ubuntuism' and 'Afriethics' is indicative of the growing scholarly agenda, across the continent, for the reconceptualisation of journalism practice in non-Western societies (Banda, 2009; Tomaselli. 2003; Christians, 2004 and Fourie, 2008).

In light of the unfolding discussion, it is clear that the performance of the press has not been up to scratch at times in the three case studies. For instance, South Africa has not been exempt from unethical behaviour by its journalists, in spite of the existence of the Press

Ombudsman system (Claassen, 2005 in Hadland, 2005). Journalistic ethical violations that come to light in South Africa include the City Press' story on Bulelani Ngcuka, Darrel Bristow-Bovey case and Vusi Mona case (Berger, 2007; Kruger, 2007). In comparison, in Zimbabwe, Chari (2007) and Ndlela (2005) point out that professional journalism has been compromised by a co mbination of low remuneration, media polarisation and harsh media laws. On the other hand, in Kenya, while various extraneous factors have affected the democratic role of the media in the country (Mudhai, 2007), analysts generally concur that the media businesses and practitioners stand 'accused' as they are 'largely to blame for their highly unprofessional and unethical journalism' (Nyamnjoh 2005: 27). Extending the same argument further, the Kenyan government spokesperson, Dr Alfred Mutua is on record as saying that the country's mainstream media had become synonymous with corruption and, therefore, lacked the moral authority to accuse others (Muriithi, 2007).

2.6 Conclusion

The chapter has looked at concept business journalism ethics. It has also explored the local context of the study especially business journalism practices, genealogical roots of business journalism ethics, history of business journalism in the three media systems and media professionalism in the three countries under consideration. The next chapter looks at the international case studies on journalistic ethical transgressions. It examines ethical transgressions in Anglo-American, African and Asian media systems.

CHAPTER 3

JOURNALISTIC ETHICAL TRANSGRESSIONS: INTERNATIONAL CASE STUDIES

3.0 Introduction

In chapter 2, I outlined the development of business journalism practice in Africa and alluded to some ethical problems already experienced in African newsrooms. I also looked at the origins of business journalism ethics within the context of Anglo-American journalism. In this chapter, I will examine what other scholars have found out on journalistic ethical violations. Divided into four sections, the first one discusses journalistic ethical violations in Western contexts (UK and USA). The second section chronicles journalistic ethical transgressions in Asia. The third section outlines journalistic ethical transgressions in African contexts. This study pays particular attention to the research findings on journalism ethics in its broadest sense given the fact that in most African newsrooms 'business reporting' is still far from being set apart as a specialised genre. It shows that research to date seems to highlight the fact that from Europe to Africa, journalism ethical violations tend reflect socio-cultural and socio-economic realities. The fourth section concludes this Chapter.

3.1 Journalistic Ethical Violations in Anglo-American Contexts

In recent years, there has been scholarly interest in journalism ethical violations in different media systems across the world whether in authoritarian or liberal (Limor, 2006, Tambini, 2009 inter lia). There is still paucity of research and knowledge on business journalism ethical transgressions in Europe and Africa. This is despite the fact that the relationship that exists between news reporting and the markets allow business journalists to operate within an intercalary position where they possess intimate knowledge of how money is made (which money managers know how to handle it; what stocks are high-fliers; where the loopholes are in the system, etc) (Newman, 1996). As already alluded to in the previous chapters, cases of ramping, moonlighting, insider-trading, market manipulation have come to fore ever since the global financial bubble that rocked most countries in 2008 (Tambini, 2009). These unethical practices have deeply scarred the credibility of business journalism across the world.

However, there is a glaring dearth of literature focusing on business journalism ethics given the nascent nature of the issue in developing economies. As such, a schematic presentation

here cannot do justice to the historically evolving issues and nuances evoked by business journalistic ethical violations in different media systems. Suffice it to note that this chapter presents a brief sketch and pointers to issues at the centre of journalistic ethical violations in selected countries.

An important study which looks at business journalism ethics and responsibilities was conducted by Donald Tambini (2009) of the London School of Economics. Tambini's research highlights a business journalism ethical transgression known as ramping, a technique used by the infamous City Slicker columnists at the *Daily Mirror* in Britain. The columnists were accused of buying up shares then boosting them with a news story or a comment before selling the inflated shares at a profit. Tambini (2009) also cites the case where news reports were used to cause panic on the financial market thereby dampening in confidence certain stocks. In Britain, the collapse of Northern Rock is often touted as a classic example. The company collapsed following a *BBC* report in September 2007. He also argues that companies such as Marilyn Lynch also crumbled following media reports during the financial crisis of 2008. It is important, however, to note, as highlighted by Tambini (2009) that it is not primarily news reporting that caused the collapses but the consumer panic triggered by media reports which worsened the situation in the case of Northern Rock.

Writing in the same media system, Sparks (1999) argues that newspapers in Britain are first and foremost businesses. 'They do not exist to report the news, to act as watchdogs for the public, to check on the doings of the government, to defend the ordinary citizens against abuses of power, to unearth scandals or do any of other fine and noble things that are sometimes claimed of the press' (Sparks, 1999: 50). In short, his argument is that newspapers exist to make money just as any other business does. According to Limor (2006: 173), profit-driven media organisations and their owners promote ethical practices, not necessarily for the sake of ethics itself, but as a mechanism to establish credibility, respectability and public trust, all contribute to revenues. Driven by such commercial interests, journalists often throw ethics to the winds in the bid to achieve fame and success.

In the context of America, Newman (1996) discusses the case of financial journalism ethical violations committed by Dan Dorfman, a commentator for the cable network *CNBC* and former columnist for *Money* magazine. In 1995, Dorfman came under investigation by the Securities and Exchange Commission for possible illegal insider trading and other violations

of securities laws. Dorfman who identified himself as a journalist, 'not a financial analyst was accused of writing juicy tips and commentary on publicly owned companies that were associated with 'moving' the stock market' (Newman, 1996). Critics within the press and the financial industry have alleged that Dorfman illegally manipulated markets, paying off and receiving money from a Long Island stock promoter. Questions have been raised in media reports as to whether Dorfman received payment for mentioning certain companies on air. Although the stock-picker was not charged, *Money* magazine fired him in January of 1996 for refusing to reveal his sources after the publication initiated an internal probe into the matter. In an internal CNBC review Dorfman was cleared of all charges.

Newman (1996) also reveals the case of R. Foster Winans, a former *Wall Street Journal* reporter who wrote the "Heard on the Street" column. In 1987 he was convicted of insider trading, as well as violating criminal mail and wire fraud statutes, after divulging the contents of upcoming *Wall Street Journal* articles to friends and associates who then traded on the information. On the other hand, Hanson (2005:140) argues that the *Washington Post* credibility suffered a major blow when the paper discovered in 1981 that a Pulitzer Prize – winning story by reporter Janet Cooke was fabricated. He adds that in the spring of 2003, the young *New York Times* reporter Jayson Blair created shock waves throughout the news business when it was revealed that he had fabricated or plagiarized at least 36 stories for the nation's most prestigious newspaper. Notable too was the case of Patricia Smith, Award winner who had to resign from the *Boston Globe*. Hanson (2005: 418) quotes Patricia Smith apologizing to her readers in her farewell column: "From time to time in my metro column, to create the desired impact or slam home a salient point, I attributed quotes to people who didn't exist. I could give them names, even occupations, but I couldn't give them what they needed most, a heartbeat. As anyone who has ever touched a newspaper knows, that is one of the cardinal sins of journalism. Thou shall not fabricate. No exception, no excuse".

In an international comparative study, Limor (2006) content analysed 242 codes of ethics to assess how the issue of moonlighting is tackled by different media organisations. The study sought to examine ethical conceptions regarding additional work and activity, by examining 242 codes of ethics applied by the media in 94 countries. Although it was not a longitudinal study, it tried to answer the following three research questions: First, do codes of ethics address the issue of additional work, and if so, how? Second, are there differences in the ways the issue is addressed according to geo-political and geo-economic characteristics?

And, third, are there differences according to type of organization for which a given code was formulated (Limor, 2006)? He concluded that about half codes of ethics address additional work, or moonlighting, indicating that the issue is not some marginal aspect of journalistic ethics but rather one of concern to the professional community throughout the world. He found out that half the codes ignore the issue of moonlighting altogether. Limor (2006: 70) reveals that 'attention given to moonlighting in national codes of journalistic ethics indicates that the declared norms expressed therein cross national and political borders, reinforcing the claim that professional press norms are largely 'made in USA''. His conclusions also buttress contentions regarding the hegemony of Western values and even some manifestations of cultural colonialism.

3.2 Journalistic Ethical Violations in Asia

Cooper (1990: 3) collected and analysed numerous national professional codes of ethics, including those from Japan, China and Korea, to draw some preliminary multinational or universal journalistic values and also arrived at a similar trio: 'the quest for truth', 'the compulsion for free expression', and 'the desire for responsibility'. Using truth-telling and independence, then, is not an imposition of Western values as the true, or universal, core of journalism. Cooper (1990)'s argument is that 'each national press system reflects and recognizes similar values-- in name -- in their journalistic quest'. It is in the interpretation and application of truth-telling and independence where a richer context can be found for ferreting out meaning to international news reports (Brislin, 1997). In Japanese journalism, however, these small payments, sometimes in the form of gifts such as duty-free liquor, are seen as maintaining balance and harmony in an exchange of value. It makes a fascinating paradox that in the individualist U.S. press system, information is expected to be freely given for greater social value (Cooper, 1990). He reveals that in collectivist Japan, the release of information is individually rewarded through what is called 'red envelope' journalism, for the traditional colour of the envelope that contains the reward. In Korea, *ch'ongi*, or 'white envelope journalism' represents an institutionalized payoff system for journalists (Cooper, 1990). Cooper (1990) reveals that *ch'onji* or 'flattery money' remains pervasive in Korean journalism, despite new ethics codes repudiating it. The practice is so institutionalized that a reporter being assigned to a desk position in the newsroom receives a salary adjustment to offset his loss of *ch'onji*. The acceptance of 'flattery money', however, is seen as less than a bribe by many Korean journalists, 'who see themselves not as representatives of the people,

but as of the same class and stature as, and thus part of the ruling leadership of, the government' (Cooper, 1990).

Eric Loo (2006) studied the Cambodian press and observed the unwillingness by the journalists to commit themselves to ethics. He reveals that many Khmer publications owned by as many factions are likewise unrestrained in slandering their opponents. In short, all are fair media prey except for the King. In Cambodia, impartial reporting is a non-concept. This is because partisan politics are explicitly transferred to the text (Loo, 2006). It is no wonder, he summarily concludes that taking sides in the news and ideological positioning has created an altered descriptor media 'mad-dog' grafted into the Cambodian press antics. In such a press system, journalists working for local newspapers wages are often not enough for daily life and hence they depend on earnings from other sources, i.e. taking gifts — asking for 'gas money', or 'coffee money' (Loo, 2006). He discusses at the length the issue of cheque book journalism where journalists take direct payments for covering news events. Without getting into the nitty gritties of most African journalistic ethical violations, it clear that the Cambodian scenario is not something new.

3.3 Journalistic Ethical Violations in Africa

Africa has not been immune from cases of ethical transgression sweeping across media houses in other continents. However, unlike in the West where business journalism is a highly specialised profession, in Africa business journalism ethical violations have not been systematically documented. Hence cases discussed herein, covers the broad journalism spectrum because everyone including sports, business and political journalists are loosely referred to as 'journalists'. This is not surprising in a continent where mass media markets are under-developed, the regulatory frameworks draconian, the press councils are ineffective and working conditions diabolical (Karikari, 1996). In the current democratic process, West African journalists (both official and private) have been 'accused of professional impropriety, not only by government and other prominent political actors, but also by the general public and even by fellow professionals at home and abroad' (Nyamnjoh, 1999). Senghor concurs with Karikari (1996) that information pluralism in West Africa has produced perverse effects. Thus the democratisation wave and commercialisation of newsrooms have been accompanied ethical violations such as ones witnessed in Rwanda by Radio 1000 hills. News commercialization has amplified the tendency amongst journalists to commit the 'cardinal sin

of journalism – fabrication – through inaccurate, unfair and biased news reports – a contradiction to what news *ought* to be' (Omenugha and Oji, 2008: 20). Senghor in Karikari (1996: 1) demonstrates that 'since 1992, hundreds of legal actions have been instituted in the region against the press on charges of undermining the dignity and respect of the individual (libel, sedition, etc)'. Thus she suggests that 'democratisation, just like the revolution at different time and place, seems to be devouring its own children' (1996: 1).

In a seven-country study, Karikari (1996) highlights the problems common to the profession in the region, points to areas for further study and gives practical programmes to improve the situation. I t is Karikari (1996: 144)'s contention that: "While some cases of ethical impropriety result from the journalists' dubious integrity, such as bribery and other material or financial solicitations, much of the problem stem from errors arising from the journalists' genuine pursuit of what they may consider to be the 'truth'. Similarly, Kasoma (1996) concurs that 'the rise of private press and tabloid news in Africa has been accompanied by a spike in cases of ethical violations'. Although the private media are perceived to be the worst culprits, there have been cited examples of journalists in the state media who are guilty of ethical violations (Chari, 2007). Reasons for the spike in ethical transgressions amongst the private and public media are varied and context specific. Karikari (1996) sees the reasons for the violations of journalism ethics as rooted in: 'lack of any or adequate training professional training; publishers' or owners' drive for financial gain or political influence; journalists' own partisanship, journalists' personal interests; government or opposition political pressures; the precarious financial conditions of journalists; self-censorship as a survival strategy; sheer contempt and disregard for rules and standards; neglect of or laziness about basic professional demands of accuracy, lack of investigation and sensitivity of subjects and readers, bankrupt social values and norms; including widespread corruption and the pressures and demands of time on the small staff of most of the press which undermine thoroughness in performance'. However, on the issue of training, Berger (2009) reminds us that 'journalism education cannot be called to account or atone for all the sins committed by journalists in society'. He suggests that there are other variables that play a part in unethical journalism such as: 'the individual character of journalists and their educational background; individual media houses and the business models therein; reporter-source relationships; and government controls' (ibid. 2009).

In the end, Karikari (1996) lambasts the ineffective and inefficient professional associations for lacking authority to enforce codes of ethics and discipline members, and elements in the cultural environment of the societies in which the media operate influence tendencies to unethical behaviour. As part of corrective measures, Karikari (1996) recommends the following: continuous education and training of journalists, development and updating of codes of ethics, awareness education of the journalistic code of ethics with active involvement of professional journalists' associations, strict application of rules and professionalism, critical assessment of credential of entry into the profession, public subvention to reduce financial vulnerability, better remuneration and conditions of service and the imposition of sanctions in the most extreme cases of violations as a deterrent to others by establishing and strengthening mechanisms of peer enforcement of the codes.

In West Africa, Nyamnjoh (1999) provides an informative summary of media ethical violations. He quotes Koomson (1996:42-58) writing within the Ghanaian context, as arguing that 'many cases of ethical violations relating to social responsibility and public interest, professional integrity, respect for human rights and the search for truth have been reported'. Some of these have resulted in legal suits 'brought against publishers, editors and reporters of the private press by ministers of state and parliamentarians' and some media practitioners have served prison terms for libel (Koomson, 1996). On the other hand, Nyamnjoh (1996) reveals that in Cameroon alone, where the law until 1996 empowered the Ministry of Territorial Administration (MINAT) to police the press as chief censor, a total of 144 issues of different newspapers were seized for reasons of "public order" between 1991 and 1993 and papers were suspended, journalists arrested and detained or imprisoned for all sorts of allegations and excesses, between 1990 a nd 1996, to which I have referred in detail elsewhere.

Still in Cameroon, Ndangam (2006) discusses at length the practice of institutionalised bribery corrupting professional journalism. In *"All of Us Have Taken Gombo,"* Ndangam (2006) laments the pervasiveness of *gombo* (means facilitating the work of journalists), which she describes as a "metaphor for payments, freebies and rewards solicited by journalists and provided by various news actors to journalists before, during or after events to tilt a news report in favour of a benefactor." She conducted in-depth interviews with Cameroonian journalists and observed them at a number of events. Clearly, in the environment of severe economic crisis and rampant corruption, journalists have come to rely

on a patronage system. Her research highlights that although journalists have the right to free speech and a free press, they choose to exercise it by speaking and printing in favour of their patrons. Ndangam (2006) demonstrates that *gombo* seeks to determine not only what or who is covered, but how it is portrayed. She reveals that some reporters solicit *gombo* before covering an event; others negotiate it before publishing or broadcasting a story. Still others write stories in anticipation of *gombo* to be rewarded after their publication (Ndangam, 2006).

It is important to highlight that, unlike advertorials, *gombo* stories in no way are identified as paid for. Rather these stories are published with the same authority as genuine news articles. Ndangam (2006) also shows that *gombo* has permeated the Cameroonian journalistic fibre to the extent of influencing press awards. In fact, press awards are paid for by the winners, and therefore change annually depending on who can pay. Ndangam, (2006) aptly sums up the situation when she says: "The prevalence of bribery in the country is such that popular slang for bribes is sometimes specific: the police take '*choko*,' when they harass motorists and public transport users at road checkpoints; journalists take '*gombo*' when they go out to cover events; civil servants take 'brown envelopes' in return for speeding up the processing of documentation at government ministries; while ministers and ruling-party officials hand out 'electoral gifts' in return for votes during election campaigns,". In view of the foregoing discussion, one can summarily conclude as suggested by Ndangam (2006) that Cameroonian journalists exercise freedom of expression and publication in an economically sustainable way. Pluralistic media thrives and sustains itself through an institutionalized culture of bribes, self-censorship and compromised integrity.

In Nigeria, Uche (1989: 114) recalls the public accusation of Nigerian journalists as "politically and financially corrupt as one can find individual Nigerian newsmen who will take money or gifts for doing special favours..." However, as already discussed above, 'acts of irresponsibility are not limited to Nigerian press only. For instance, in America, the media mogul Rupert Murdoch is often accused of running a media empire where journalism of convenience is the order of the day' (Uche, 1989). Omenugha and Oji (2008) in their study to determine the degree of stoicism towards news commercialisation in the Nigerian news scene; examined the news content of some national newspapers in Nigeria (January – March 2006 and October – December 2007, totalling six months) and looked out for stories indicative of other interests than pure news value. They concluded that ethics seem to have

gone with the wind. Omenugha and Oji (2008: 20) reveal that journalists made no pretence about their receiving forms of payment for themselves or for their media houses to publish stories. According to Omenugha and Oji (2008: 23), how could they do otherwise when: "They receive poor and irregular salaries; some media houses do not have salary system at all; therefore a journalist's chances of survival depend on how much s/he gets from news sources; the harsh economic situation has a telling effect on their job; the Nigerian society is corrupt, increasing their difficulty in being ethical in an 'unethical world' such as Nigeria and publishers complain of high cost of production and as such use such excuses to deny them their due wages". It is clear from the foregoing that journalism in Nigeria, like in other African countries such as Kenya, Cameroon and Zimbabwe discussed in this chapter has been contaminated by cancerous virus of institutionalised corruption.

In East Africa, Mudhai (2007) in his thought-provoking paper, '*Time to harvest-Media, Corruption and Elections in Kenya*', reveals gross media ethical transgressions. He cites the most public case, though not directly and conclusively a bribery scandal, involving the Standard Group editorial director, Mr Kwendo Opanga, also a former *Nation* popular political columnist, who was forced out of the company on grounds he accepted Ksh 60,000 ($100 or £600) from agents of the then-ruling party, the Kenya African National Union (KANU) ahead of a general election in 1990s. Kwendo Opanga, however, later came clean on corruption rumours and disclosed his 'consultancy fee' dealings in what amounted, at least, to conflict of interest. Kwendo Opanga acknowledged the prevalence of ethical transgressions in Kenyan media when he said, 'let it be very clear, we too easily stand condemned as scribes of SHAME' (Mudhai, 2007). Communication Secretary and Government Spokesperson, Dr Alfred Mutua, is on record as having singled out newspaper journalists as practising cheque book journalism: "I have evidence that these politicians are paying huge amounts of money to have their stories featured on the newspapers' front pages. It is a well orchestrated scheme where they are also making sure that any positive news, especially if it emanates from the government, is nipped in the bud and does not go past the sub-editor's desk (Mutua cited in Muriithi, 2007). Asked to provide evidence of his claims, 'Dr Mutua reportedly faxed a signed statement claiming that the newspapers were asking for Ksh 250,000 ($3,800 or £1,812) to carry one headline story while some politicians were spending about Ksh 6m ($90,000 or £43,505) per month to suppress any headline material that may come from the government camp' (Mudhai, 2007).

In Southern Africa, South African and Zimbabwean journalism ethical transgressions will be discussed respectively. As presented in chapters 1 and 3, the case of the *City Press* newspaper and their former editor, Vusi Mona, in South Africa has been flagged as a cameo experience (see Kruger 2007, Berger 2005). The *Sunday Tribune* reported that the revelations about Mona's moonlighting in public relations "again called into question the lack of integrity among this country's media". Kruger (2007) also discusses, for instance, the case of respected and talented columnist Darrel Bristow-Bovey, who copied large tracts of his book, *The Naked Bachelor*, from Bill Bryson's Notes from a Big Country, and subsequently lost the ability to publish columns in newspapers across the country; the case in which the *Sowetan* digitally manipulated a picture to make it look like MP Tony Yengeni had bought a copy of the paper outside a Pretoria courtroom where he was standing trial for corruption. One case of "brown envelope" – bribery – has been reported in South Africa, when a reporter at the *Cape Argus* newspaper admitted receiving money from a politician in return for negative coverage of his political opponents. But other, more sophisticated forms of influencing journalists also exist, such as the payment of a fee to CNBCA, the South African-based financial television channel, by the Gauteng provincial government in return for "preferential and regular programming and content slots to the Gauteng provincial government" (Steyn, 2010). Though difficult to prove, these few ethical transgressions in South Africa point to the existence of latent 'moonlighting' and institutionalised bribery involving journalists and their sources.

In Zimbabwe, relatively few studies on journalistic ethical transgressions have been conducted. Chari (2007, 2009), Mabweazara (2010) and Mano (2007) have come close to conducting a nuanced analysis of media ethics. Chari (2007) observes that 'laissez-faire approaches to ethical issues in the Zimbabwean media landscape reveal numerous ethical violations that have gone unchallenged'. At the core of Chari (2007)'s content analysis of some cases of ethical transgressions in Zimbabwe is the argument that the problems are occasioned by a weak ethical culture in the Zimbabwean media. The weak ethical culture is premised upon the absence of a code of ethics for the media in Zimbabwe. He argues this might be interpreted as an indication of the disdain for or indifference to ethical practices. Chari (2007: 40) suggests that it seems that the introduction of stringent media laws to regulate the activities of the media between 2001 and 2002 have resulted in media associations expending most of their energy in fighting these laws; thus failing to give ethical issues the due attention they deserve. Chari (2007: 45) lists the following ethical violations in

Zimbabwe since 2000: falsehoods in both public and privately owned media, sensationalism, moonlighting, cheque book journalism, advocacy journalism and plagiarism.

As indicated above, media practitioners in their individual capacities and the organisations they work for have cast to the wind cardinal ethics of the profession such as truth telling (see Mabweazara, 2010; Chari, 2007: 46). It is noteworthy to highlight that some of the ethical violations is that it sometimes involves high-ranking members of the journalists association. For instance, he cites the case involving Basildon Peta, the former Secretary General of the Zimbabwe Union of Journalists who, in February 2002, wrote a story for *The Independent* (UK) claiming that he had been detained by the police overnight. The story was later discovered to be untrue. In the story headlined 'My ordeal as Mugabe's prisoner' Peta wrote: 'I knew then I was in for a long night. The tiny cell I was being dumped in was next to a stinking blocked toilet, whose flushing system seem to have failed over a decade ago … the floors and walls of my cell were filthy … I was given a few broken planks of wood on which to spend the night' (Chari, 2007).

However, Chari (2007) is quick to point out that falsehoods are not a preserve of the private media. The public media seem to have more latitude and propensity to publish unsubstantiated stories than their private media counterparts because the private media generally fear a backlash from the law (Chari, 2007: 43). He locates this trend as accounted for by the selective application of laws by the government which gives the public media more latitude to lie without being punished. Chari (2007) cites one of the most glaring examples of falsehood in the state-owned media in a story published by *The Chronicle* on 22 April 2002 alleging that the MDC was planning 'massive terrorist attacks' on selected tall buildings in Harare and Bulawayo. What is most interesting about the story was that no sources were identified in the story nor could it substantiate its claims which were refuted by the opposition. The paper did not retract the story. This is despite the common understanding that truth-telling is a cardinal media ethic across the world, however the foregoing discussion, shows that 'lying about an event or somebody else has become a common phenomenon' (Chari, 2007: 49).

One classic example of ethical violations occurred in April 2002 w hen the Daily News reported that a Magunje woman, Brandina Tadyanemhandu, had been decapitated by ruling ZANU-PF supporters while her two teenage daughters watched (Kruger, 2007 a nd Chari,

2007). It later emerged that the story was not true as the paper had fallen victim to a confidence trickster Enos Tadyanemhandu, the alleged husband of the 'dead woman'. The newspaper quickly retracted the story and apologised to both the government and ZANU-PF. One thing which stands out clearly is that there was dereliction of duty on the part of the newspaper for failing to verify the authenticity of such a sensitive story. Crosschecking facts is an important aspect in journalism, which guarantees accuracy of stories (Chari, 2007: 50). Another ethical dimension is the fact that the publication of the story amounted to invading the privacy of the family who were in grief. Reporters and editors did not check or cross check their facts before going to print (Chari, 2007). It later emerged that six months before Enos and his wife had gone to the newspaper's office to report death of a son alleged to have been killed in political violence. The same story led to the conviction of Andrew Meldrum, correspondent for *The Guardian* (UK), who also could not authenticate the veracity of the story, also reproduced the story on 24 April 2002.

Chari (2007: 55) also highlights the emergence of embedded journalism practiced within the armpit of cheque book journalism. He locates the rise of corruption cases involving the taking of bribes by journalists as driven by the economic crisis and the absence of an ethical culture. Consequently, the absence of an ethical culture has forced some reporters to demand monetary incentives and gifts from business executives, politicians and musicians in return for positive coverage (Chari, 2007: 56). Chari (2007) highlights a few examples such as: In October 1999 a senior journalist with the state weekly the *Sunday Mail*, Phillip Magwaza, was arrested together with a freelance journalist, Richard Karichi, for soliciting a bribe of $10,000 from a Harare restaurant owner in exchange for good publicity. The two had carried a series of negative reports concerning conditions at the restaurant. In a similar case, *The Herald* reporter Tsungirirai Shoriwa was arrested in February 2006 for 'attempting to extort' money from a con man who was facing trial at the courts. Shoriwa, who had been covering the story at the courts, is reported to have asked for two million Zimbabwe dollars for 'lunch'.

As is evident in preceding sections, the extent and degree of cheque-book journalism is difficult to estimate given the clandestine nature of such activities. In the context of Zimbabwe, Chari (2007) and Mabweazara (2010) blames the economic hardships in the country for forcing most journalists to take bribes and practice 'prostitution' journalism. In 2007, most journalists were earning salaries that were way below the poverty datum line which was around $100,000 (Chari, 2007). This concurs with findings by Limor (2006: 170)

that journalists in some African countries receive low salaries and are largely financially insecure, turning prohibitions and constraints on additional work into lip service only, as the journalists find themselves unable to abide by these rulings. As a result, 'moonlighting became the order of the day in most newsrooms as journalists supplemented their income by doing some editorial work for cash' (Mabweazara, 2010). Within the context of lack of a strong tradition of ethics, the issue of gifts and bribes does not seem to be taken seriously in the media (Chari, 2007: 58). Most journalists in Zimbabwe have relationships with politicians and business people that would be deemed problematic in other 'cultures' (Chari, 2007). As a result, by engaging in unethical practices journalists have not only compromised their independence but also their ability to report honestly, objectively and without fear or favour. The underlying theme of Chari (2007, 2009) and Mabweazara (2010)'s studies is that there is currently a lack of a strong tradition of ethics governing media operations in Zimbabwe.

3.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have seen how scholars writing about journalistic ethical transgressions in newsrooms have shown that journalism still lacks a water-tight truth-testing mechanism to exorcise the profession from criticism. The chapter has presented anecdotal evidence from different media systems and highlighted the different ethical transgressions they are grappling with. It is clear from the above presentation that there are marked regional disparities on ethical transgressions. Whereas Europe and America are grapping with ramping, market manipulation, moonlighting and insider trading, Asian and African case studies highlight moonlighting, brown envelope and conflict of interest as major ethical transgressions. At the country level, there are also serious disparities. For instance, countries such as Kenya, Nigeria, Cameroon and Zimbabwe are more prone to ethical transgressions compared to South Africa, which is economically stable. Thus prevailing economic difficulties coupled with a weak ethical culture seem to foster unethical journalistic practices in most African countries. In the next chapter, I will look at the theoretical frames starting with the construction of Western journalism ethics, debates on professionalisation, Bourdieu's take on the journalistic field and debates on Africanisation of journalism ethics.

CHAPTER 4

THE SOCIOLOGY OF NEWS PRODUCTION PARADIGM AND AFRICANISATION OF JOURNALISM ETHICS DEBATES

4. Introduction

This study draws on sociology of news production thesis, debates on professionalisation and the Bourdieusian journalistic field frame to critically examine business journalism ethical practices in African newsrooms. In chapter 2, I outlined the state of business journalism in Africa, conceptualised the discourse of business journalism ethics and interrogated the research and social context. Divided into eight sections, this Chapter begins by problematising the concept ethics and then moves to discuss the evolution of Western normative journalistic ethics. The second section defines the sociology of news production thesis and outlines how the thesis has informed debates on professionalism, objectivity and independence in recent years. The third section looks at the advent of the objectivity as the legitimating principle of Western journalism and how it has been critiqued by postmodernists and critical theorists in the deconstructive age. The fourth section presents the argument that code of ethics and professionalism are coexisting, an argument put forward by theorists advocating for the professional project. The fifth section discusses professionalism and deprofessionalisation and the assumptions that underlie them, in the wake of new media technology and more sophisticated theorising in sociology. The sixth section looks at Bourdieu's postulation of journalism as a field rather than a profession (Larson, 1977) or a discipline (Foucault, 1984). The seventh section elucidates debates on Africanisation of codes of ethics and postcolonial normative ethics. It highlights how critical theories intersect with journalism ethics and allows one to illuminate the negotiation of preferred ethical practices. The last section concludes the Chapter.

4. 1 Problematising the Discourse of Ethics

The word 'ethics' comes from the Greek word 'ethos' which means character (Alia, 2004). It is no wonder why the term 'ethics' is associated with controversy as all other moral issues. Scholars hardly agree on one single concept 'with the consequence that each concept takes on various shades of interpretation' (Chari, 2009: 1). Gordon & Kittros (1999) define media ethics as a 'field that deals with nearly an endless array of gray areas where issues and appropriate courses of action are not clearly demarcated. Ethics are rules or norms of conduct

'pertaining to individual character of a person or persons' (Chari, 2007: 37). In a similar vein, Nassanga (2008:646) adds that ethics refer to the rules of conduct and deal with the philosophical foundations that act as a basis for decision making. In short, 'ethics are inseparable from journalism, because the practice of journalism is centred on a s et of essentially ethical concepts: freedom, democracy, truth, objectivity, honesty, privacy' (Belsey and Chadwick, 1992: 1). Ethics can be defined as a science that 'uses a systematic, reasoned or rational approach, based on a set of principles to determine what is good or ethical and what is bad or unethical, in human conduct' (see Retief, 2002; Schudson, 2001; Ronning, 2002). Ward (2004) summarises that in the end, ethics is the analysis, evaluation and promotion of what constitutes correct conduct and virtuous character in light of the best available principles. It is clear from the foregoing discussion that scholars concur that media ethics encapsulate moral prescriptions for social behaviour, which are 'obligations' rather than 'regularities'. Epistemologically, they are a branch of applied ethics that deals with ethical problems confronted by media practitioners.

This study mainly focuses on deontological or normative ethics, which act as a g uide for journalists and other institutions in the performance of their work (Nassanga, 2008). Ethical approaches to news work are generally characterised as deontological, teleological and virtue ethical systems (Christians, 2000; Berry, 2008). Deontological are duty-based ethics whereas teleological ethics are results-oriented. Aristotle's Golden Mean, Emmanuel Kant's Categorical Imperative, Mills' Principle of Utility, Rawl's Veil of Ignorance and the Judeo-Christian-Persons as Ends are widely recognised as the central philosophical principles driving the Anglo-American ethics discourse. Out of the five above-mentioned ethicists, Immanuel Kant is credited as the first Enlightenment figure who attempted to frame an impregnable foundation for choosing the good based on the fact that we are rational creatures (Sanders, 2003). However, it is not within the scope of this study to explore in detail the philosophical roots of ethics as mentioned above. Suffice to note that the above philosophical principles provide useful guidelines on negotiating moral choices, although they fall short of capturing other socio-cultural realities (Chari, 2009). This is because journalists operating in different jurisdictions and cultural contexts tend to emphasise different values.

4.1.1 The Construction of Anglo-American Normative Journalism Ethics

To fully understand the construction of journalism ethics in the world, it is necessary to examine debates on how concepts such as objectivity and professionalism entered into the

cannon of Anglo-American journalism in the late 1890s. The qualifying adjective 'Anglo-American' is used here rather loosely to encapsulate a h odgepodge of Western and Francophone cultural influences on journalism ethics across the world. The history of Anglo-American journalism ethics has taken an interdisciplinary route incorporating: philosophy, ethics, science, economics and social history. However, this social history does not foreground the influences of Eastern Orientalism and African culture on media ethics. This leads Schudson (2001: 149) to pose a series of pertinent questions: Why did the occupational norm of objectivity arise in American journalism? Where did the norm of objectivity came from? The answer is that objectivity was not always a norm in American journalism (Ward, 2004). In short, it has a history and a traceable point of origin. For many years media organisations did not have guidelines on ethics, 'a situation that only started changing in the second part of the 20th century when criticism about the lack of transparency and accountability at newspapers and other media brought a new awareness of the importance of ethical journalism' (Claassen, 2005: 131-2 in Hadland, 2005). Objectivity came a little bit later because prior to that partisanship ran deep in the 19th century American journalism (McNair, 2001; McChesney and Nichols, 2005). This unique 'discursive revolution' in the articulation of norms has generated enormous scholarly interest. It is noteworthy to highlight that European journalism did not initially develop the norm of objectivity because the sociological conditions that affected journalistic norms in America were less absent or less pronounced in Europe. Chalaby (1996) observes that journalism is an 'Anglo-American invention'. It is associated with the beginnings of modern journalism in the seventeenth century. Whereas British and American journalism became information and fact-centred in the mid 19th century, French journalism did not. The serious professional discussion about 'objectivity' came only after the First World War.

Scholars generally concur that the norm of objectivity was a b y-product of a developing commercial market of journalism which led to the commodification of journalistic products (Schudson, 2001; Ward, 2004 a nd McNair, 2001). On the other hand, Schudson (2001) identifies some of the conditions that prompted the formalisation of norms in American journalism. His argument is that objectivity cannot be separated from the need for horizontal solidarity, group identity and the need to institutionalise hierarchical social control across an organisation. In addition, McNair (2001) suggests that the ethic of objectivity, have their origins in the scientific and philosophical revolutions of the 19th century. He adds that concepts such as objectivity and balance have complex socio-historical roots which reflect the

values and ideas of the societies in which they emerged. McNair (2001: 64) posits that objectivity as the central ethic of the maturing profession of journalism came into existence in the 20th century driven by philosophical, technological and economic changes of that time. Consequently, journalism adopted ethical discourses in response to changing societal conditions in the field. This leads Ward (2004: 101) to summarily conclude that: "As a consequence, the advent of journalism ethics was neither an invention of the journalist nor simply the inevitable effect of the social factor. It was the result of the journalist-society relation interacting and mutually influencing each other, and as a consequence, at its roots, all journalism ethics lies in the complex relationship between journalist and society". It is no wonder that the practices of objectivity and factuality arose at the intersection of confidence and concern in the commercial newspaper.

4.2 Sociology of News Production Paradigm

The sociology of news production paradigm is closely associated with scholars such as Michael Schudson, Babbie Zelizer and Brian McNair who argue that media institutions, like any other institutions, are obviously governed by traditions and dynamics of their own. Sociological inquiry has emerged in recent years as germane to the study of journalism around the world. Cueing journalists as agents of modernity, sociology found its way into journalism research in accordance with an emphasis on people, with an eye both to the patterns by which they grouped themselves into organizational and institutional settings and to the surrounding structures, functions, and effects through which they worked (Zelizer, 2004). In short, the sociology of news production thesis is associated with sociologists such as Marx Weber, Robert Park and Helen MacGill Hughes. Their sociological inquiry of journalism provided a gradually broadening frame through which to consider journalism as a set of interactions and patterned behaviours. However, scholars such as McNair (2001) and Schudson (2000) have elaborated the sociology of news paradigm to embrace the social determinants of journalistic output i.e. those features of social life and organisation which shape, influence and constrain its form and content.

It is noteworthy to note that the sociology of news production paradigm is a conflation of a variety of theoretical insights and as such it is impossible to present a co mprehensive overview of it within the corpus of this chapter. Suffice to note that scholars generally concur that there are mainstream sociological research, political economic approaches and

culurological approaches (Schudson, 2000). Gaye Tuchman (2002) has revisited Schudson's typology, arguing that the three types of research were more complementary than had been suggested at first. In its simplest form, the sociology of news paradigm highlights that professionalism is negotiated by a complex set of factors (Mano, 2008). However this study is pivoted on the social organisation of newswork perspective which foregrounds issues of occupations and professions, and adherence to professional codes of ethics. According to this perspective, the journalistic text is a product of a variety of cultural, technological, political and economic forces, specific to a particular society at a particular time. Writing within the circuit of culture framework, McNair (2001) observes that the first factor of production is the system of professional ethics, aesthetic codes and routine practices which guide journalistic work. It is important to note from this perspective news content is product of the professional ethics, routine practices and bureaucratic organisation of journalists. Consequently, a journalist is viewed as a professional communicator, whose work is structured and shaped by a variety of practices, conventions and ethical norms, as well as by the constraints and limitations imposed by the fact that journalism is a complex production process requiring a sophisticated organization.

This trajectory sees the news media as serving to reproduce and reinforce the existing ideological or value systems in a given society at a given time. However, such a simplistic critique, often underestimate the extent to which journalists are free agents and thus these critics may easily address their criticisms to the wrong location (McNair, 2001: 62). Such a perspective has been critiqued as relegating a journalist to a cog in a wheel over whose speed and direction he or she may have little or no control (Schlesinger, 1987). In terms of this research such theoretical insights help one conceptualise journalists structurally determined role incumbents who operate within the armpit of a code of conduct which guarantees their integrity, their trustworthiness and their status as reporters of truth (McNair, 2001: 64). As this chapter will show, codes of ethics are seen as synonymous with professionalism. Journalists are thus seen as 'authorised truthtellers' or 'licensed relayers of facts'.

4.3 Objectivity as a Legitimating Principle of Journalism

Without doubt the norm of objectivity has become the most legitimating principle of Anglo-American journalism (Lichtenberg, 2000). Given the colonial interpenetration of cultures and the globalising tendencies driving modern day capitalism, objectivity has permeated most media systems (Hafez, 2006). In fact, 'objectivity, non-partisan and apolitical reporting are

regarded as the cornerstones of ethical journalism' (Shrivastava and Hyde-Clarke, 2004: 208). Founded upon the bedrock of positivism and empirical sciences, the concept of objectivity is the oldest and still the key legitimating professional ethic of liberal journalism. McNair (2001) sees it as a guarantee of quality control, which makes the reader to believe what he reads. As such the claim to journalistic objectivity is essentially an appeal for trust, even in situations where the facts may not be fully known. In short, the two doctrines of 'objectivity and social responsibility' have become the world's 'prevailing press ideology' (Bekken 1998:27). Whenever it is advocated, it is seen as a 'technique' that will ensure that journalism is "balanced" and without bias and, as such, the ideology of objectivity itself is disguised beneath its assumed journalistic function (Bennet, 1982:306).

However, objectivity in recent years has come under fire with some critics arguing that journalism is not objective, others that it cannot be objective; and still others that it should not be objective. Tuchman (1972: 660), Hackett (1984) and Lichtenberg (2000) have provided ground-breaking analysis of early Anglo-American journalism ethics as implicated in the positivist thinking of its day which foregrounds objectivity and empiricism. In a wide-ranging debate on objectivity, which can be situated within the Hegelian trinity of 'thesis-antithesis-synthesis, three camps are identifiable. The thesis in this case is associated which scholars supporting the notion of objectivity, critics of this notion represent an antithesis and a synthesis denotes those advocating for the middle ground.

A thesis is traceable to scholars such as Soloski (1997) who see objectivity as one of the most important professional norm, and from it flow more specific aspects of news professionalism such as news judgment, the selection of sources and the structure of news beats. However, Tuchman (1972) represents an 'antithesis camp' which is associated with the ethnographic turn in social sciences that critiques objectivity from an epistemological and ontological point of view. Her argument is that objectivity as an ethical ideal for journalists may be seen as a strategic ritual protecting them from the risks of their trade. On the other hand, Tuchman (1972) demonstrates that newspapers uses form, content and inter-organisational relationships as arbitrary barometers to claim objectivity. In similar vein, Ward (2004) adds that there is need to reformulate the traditional notion of objectivity because it is no longer indefensible philosophically. His argument is that it has been weakened by criticism inside and outside of journalism. This is no wonder why more and more journalists and newsrooms are now adopting reporting styles that include perspective and interpretation (Ward, 2004).

Corroborating Tuchman (1972)'s earlier point, Hughes (1964) suggests procedures that serve this purpose may be seen as 'rituals' which are defined as routine procedures with relatively little or only tangential relevance to the end sought.

In the same vein, March and Simon (1967:137) observe that inasmuch as newspapermen invoke ritualistic procedures in order to deflect potential criticism and to follow routines bounded by the 'cognitive limits of rationality,' they are also performance 'strategies'. In line with Tuchman (1972)'s reasoning Ward (2004) and Schudson (2001) suggest that objectivity is a strategic ritual used to foster social control, social identity, formalise enculturation and to instil industrial discipline for editors managing complex organisations. As a result, the very practical function of journalism ethics becomes to save journalism from subservience to business and partisan political interests. In addition, Reese (1997) in his ground-breaking treatise, *The News Paradigm and the Ideology of Objectivity: A Socialist at the Wall Street Journal*, argues that objectivity can be conceptualised as part of news paradigm or ideology. His main thesis is that a 'paradigm' is an accepted model or pattern that guides those engaged in complex information-producing tasks. Thus, journalists like scientists rely on a paradigm, which remains of value so long as it provides useful practical guide for them, and they share its underlying assumptions (Reese, 1997: 421). Hall (1985) argues that knowledge is produced as a consequence of the practices that constitute the news paradigm or what Foucault (1980:132) calls the 'ensemble of rules according to which the true and false are separated'. Reese (1997) contends that ethical values such as objectivity allows for self-policing which is essential for the hegemonic effectiveness of the news paradigm. Consequently, critics concur that objectivity is nothing short of 'credibility enhancing tactics' (Weinstein, 1966).

Adding flames to the fire is Hackett (1984) who articulates the emerging methodological, empirical and epistemological challenges to several key assumptions associated with objectivity. Hackett (1984) finds fault with traditional studies of objectivity and news bias which tended to assume that 'news can and ought to be objective, balanced and a reflection of social reality and that the political attitudes of journalists or editorial decision-makers are a major determinant of news bias. Supporting an earlier argument raised by Tuchman and Ward (2004), Hackett (1984) demonstrates that the utility of bias and objectivity as conceptual tools in the analysis of the media's ideological functioning is increasingly being called into question. In short, his argument is that the bias/objectivity studies are caught up in

the positivist epistemological cob-web which discounts phenomenological views of social reality as unscientific and therefore not knowledge. Given a history of concerted criticisms levelled against objectivity, Ward (2004) advises us to reform objectivity to meet valid criticisms and preserve important practices of objective reporting. He is on record as saying: "what we require is a progressive and philosophically sophisticated notion of objectivity that corrects stubborn misconceptions that have deep historical roots. We need a notion of objectivity that reflects our current understandings of knowledge and inquiry".

In view of the preceding argument, those situated within the 'antithesis camp' level the same criticisms that have been directed against positivism in general. Central to their argument is that journalists are not detached observers rather given the organisational features of news work, newspapers inevitably decontextualises and recontextualises them artificially in accordance with 'the news perspective'. It is noteworthy to highlight that critics of objectivity are predominantly anchored within the phenomenological epistemology whose offshoot is cultural studies. It foregrounds the idea that reality is socially constructed, language is political and that the role of ideology to outline the limits of journalistic empiricism (Hackett, 1984). This has led scholars to argue that objectivity is a false and impossible ideal although journalists claim it in some way, 'they are all wrong'. Moreover, the criticism is that journalistic empiricism rests on an outmoded and untenable theory of knowledge. In the same vein, Carey (1989:29) points out that 'reality is not out there', it is a vast production, a staged creation-something humanly produced and humanly maintained. Others see objectivity as a strategy of hegemony used by some members of society to dominate others. In the same vein, Schudson (1978: 160) equates objectivity to the most insidious bias of all while Schiller, (1981:5) characterise it as a cu ltural form with its own set of conventions. Such an epistemological orientation leads Ward (2004) to summarily conclude that "we cannot return, conservatively, to traditional notions of objectivity constructed for other news media in another time. Nor is the abandoning objectivity a viable option. Journalists continue to need a clear vigorous norm of objectivity to guide their practice".

An antithesis and a synthesis in this debate on objectivity has been succinctly summarised by Lichtenberg (2000). Her argument is that despite the cultural turn in media studies and the ascendancy of postmodernism, objectivity remains relevant to news production as an evaluative standard. Although the ideal of objectivity may seem a bit tattered around the edges, but American journalists still embrace it as one of the fundamental notions of their

profession. Lichtenberg (2000: 238) suggests that objectivity is still possible and desirable in order to sift news from opinion. Underlying her argument is the view that objectivity is considered as one of the cornerstone of the professional ideology of journalists in liberal democracies. It is inextricably intertwined with truth, fairness, balance, neutrality, and the absence of value judgements (Lichtenberg, 2000: 238). In defence of objectivity, Lichtenberg (2000) deconstructs the social construction of reality argument by noting that even detractors of objectivity are not abandoning it either. Her synthesis is that the ideal of objectivity should remain as a regulative principle despite the criticisms levelled against journalistic empiricism.

4.4 What is a Code of Ethics?

Codes of ethics are now inseparable from responsible journalism. Codes of ethics are at the core of media self-regulation, as they define the standards that are expected of the media in their reporting (Duncan, 2010). A code of ethics is a document that sets out guidelines aimed at proscribing certain types of conduct deemed unethical, and identifying other types of conduct as being ethical (Retief, 2002). It is not a legal document and can certainly not be enforced. In fact, a code of ethics fall somewhere between societal and personal values on the one hand and law on the other. However, it is not as subjective as personal beliefs, nor as rigid and enforceable as the law (Black et al, 1995). In short, a code is a code is a code (Retief, 2002). At the practical level, codes of ethics espouse a set of standards. Standards are necessary to ensure the highest ethical conduct by the media. As a result, a code of ethics is a stock of knowledge of what these commons standards are. It allows the public to know what behaviour to expect from journalists and further know the standards against which to measure their performance.

As already highlighted in previous sections, the transition from partisan to commercial press in American and British journalism was followed by the institutionalisation of codes of ethics. Gordon (1996) et al traces codes of ethics as far back as the early 1900s, when the state press association in Kansas adopted one. Like in many professions, media organizations and personnel, use codes of ethics as a conventional means for expressing their credo, as well as to maintain a certain normative standards within the profession (Merrill, 1996). It should be noted that the media institution produces varies types of codes of ethics. Some are issued by media organizations, some by non-media organizations, such as journalists unions, and press or news councils. Some codes are local, some national and some international (Limor,

2006). Whereas other codes are formulated by journalists, others by journalists and public representatives together, while there are also codes created by journalists and media owners. However, the variety of codes is expected to reflect both the geo-political characteristics of societies in which codes are formulated as well as the relations between journalists and their employers. This study is concerned with one kind of code of ethics: company codes or institutional codes (Reuss, 1996 in Gordon, 1996 et. al). On the one hand, company codes of ethics support the importance of mass media in a d emocratic society and they articulate standards and practices that members and employees should strive to attain. Company codes also have enforcement power, if management wishes to use it. The company sets and disseminates the policies it expects its employees to maintain, including the procedures for assessing adherence to them and potential sanctions for deviations from them.

4.4.1 Linking Code of Ethics to Professionalism

Codes of ethics are now used by journalistic organizations to express their professional norms and values, which are perceived as the "conscience" of journalism (Limor, 2006). As a result, professionalism ideology undergirds all efforts to come up w ith codes of ethics. Although some scholars point out that the adoption of a journalism code of ethics and professional conduct has not translated into similar journalistic practice. Belsey, (1998: 8) argues that ethics and professionalism in journalism are often seen as co-requisites. However, attempts to marry codes of ethics to the profession have been subjected to a l ong ranging scholarly debate on whether journalism is profession like medicine, law and accounting. The acknowledgement of a code of ethics is often interpreted as a sign of professionalism (Reuss, 1996). Thus although journalism rides under the umbrella of a profession to justify its institutionalisation of code of ethics, sociologists are not satisfied that it meets the prerequisites to lay claim to such a term.

In short, journalism is critiqued for failing to match the traditional image of a profession, due to the altering of the relationship between service-seeker and service-provider by social, economic and technological changes (Limor, 2006). In fact, Belsey (1998) warns us that 'if all occupational groups are code-based professions, professional status no longer points to any significant ethical distinction between one occupation and other'. On the other hand, Belsey and Chadwick (1995: 447), suggest that "Adherence to a code...shows a collective public commitment to acknowledged ethical principles and standards'. Codes of ethics serve a lot functions including: protection, education, public relations and damage limitation. In the

same vein, Frost (2000: 101) adds that "No industry has failed to notice that codes of practice can add an aura of respectability and fairness without necessarily forcing any real need for responsibility".

4.4.2 Codes of Ethics and Professionalism: Can they Co-exist?

There has been considerable debate on the value or lack value of codes of ethics. Arguments for and against media codes have been made in many forums over the years. Usually these arguments have focused on the philosophical implications of codes (Jahannesen, 1990). For some people, formal codes are necessary mark of a true profession (Retief, 2002; Gordon, 1996 et al). Occasionally the arguments have focused on fears that those who adhere to a code may find themselves at a competitive disadvantage to those who ignore it, on specific revisions in a code or on whether any enforcement provisions should be added. However, Retief (2002) supports the existence of codes arguing that they are necessary as guidelines, for accountability, keep the profession on its toes; it defines some potential problems and creates public trust and public relations function. His argument is that the hallmarks of a profession (as distinct from an occupation or trade) are that it has an ethical code, often with teeth to enforce it. In a similar fashion, Gordon (1996) maintains that ethics codes are valuable both to the mass media themselves and to society. Codes of ethics can provide an ideal standard by which the industry can measure its own performance and against which individual practitioners can evaluate their own values and performance (Gordon, 1996). In addition, codes can 'act as the conscience of the professional, of the organisation, of the enterprise' (Black, Barney and Steele, 1995). In short, codes are highly regarded for setting a standard through which the media performance can measured by the audience.

On the other hand, arguments against codes of ethics have been advanced by scholars such as Reuss (1996) and Merrill (1996). From such an epistemological point of view, codes are worthless exercises in vagueness, irrelevance and slick public relations (Johannesen, 1990 qtd in Gordon, 1996 et al). Codes are seen as having no power and unimportant to either the media or the society (Reuss, 1996). Underlying such an argument is the view that handsomely framed copies of codes of ethics that decorate the walls in many media houses are merely impotent facades. In practice, codes of ethics are neither universally applicable nor enforceable they are, at best, of limited importance (Reuss, 1996). In some cases, codes of ethics might even be unethical if they are so stringently applied and monitored as to restrict or constrain autonomous decision making. There are also concerns that codes are laden with

ambiguities-fuzzy, imprecise words and statements that are subject to interpretation. In the end, codes are aspirations that are unattainable in a world where situations change rapidly, where competition forces communications people to make quick decisions about complex subjects, where instant criticism is as prevalent as instant replay and can skew media attention and content (Reuss, 1996: 69).

On the other hand, Merrill (1996) opts for a synthesis which sees codes as an indication of good faith or good will on the part of the media organisations that frame them, but also recognising that they are largely window-dressing technique to enhance trust and credibility. Merrill (1996)'s argument is that ethics like meaningful religion lies within the person, and what really counts for a journalist trying to be ethical are the internalised convictions personally accepted, not someone else's words codified in some document. It is clear from the foregoing argument that those for and against the institutionalisation of codes of ethics pivot their arguments within different epistemological frameworks. For instance, Gordon (1996) reminds us that after all said and done, the bottom line is that ethics codes will never be a total cure for all problems of the news media. In addition, Lebacqz (1985: 83) quoted in Gordon, (1996) et al also reminds us that 'each choice is about what to do, is also a choice about whom to be-or, more accurately, whom to become'. Meyer (1983: 60) quoted in Gordon (1996) et al suggests that although codes cannot be written to cover all situations but "they can surely at least be used to denote a sensitivity to certain values and desires". As a result, there are no water proof standards in ethics, although they remain essential for self-improvement and greater accountability to the public.

4.5 Is Journalism a Profession or a Trade?

There have been intensive debates on the question of whether or not journalism qualifies to be recognized as a profession (Nassanga, 2008). At the centre of the contention is that unlike the established professions such as medicine and law that follow a specific course of study to practice, journalists enter the industry through various routes (Dates, 2006 et al: 144). These debates on (de)professionalisation of journalism and ethics tend to reflect theoretical insights from the sociology of news production and sociology of professions (Glasser and Ettema, 2009). For instance, Soloski (1997:141) argues that professionalism is an efficient and economical method by which news organisations control the behaviour of reporters and editors. In addition to professional norms, news organisations have developed rules-news policies which journalists adhere to (Soloski, 1997). These policies stipulate norms of

conduct, standards of practice and ethical guidelines, some spell out what journalists should do and should not do, and others are inspirational, reflecting expectations of ideal professional behaviour (Black cited in Singer 2003: 145). Although the list of specific attributes that make up an ideal profession varies, there is substantial agreement about general dimensions. A cognitive dimension centres on the body of knowledge and techniques that professionals apply in their work as well as the training needed to master those concepts and skills. A normative dimension covers the service orientation of professionals and their distinctive ethics and code of conduct (Singer, 2003: 141). Journalism has been described as a profession grafted to a business (Goodwin, 1983). News organisations therefore rely on the interplay of codes of ethics and news policies to control behaviour of journalists.

Scholars within the sociology of news paradigm have long wrestled with the fascinating question of whether journalism is a p rofession, a s emi-profession or perhaps only an occupation (Limor, 2006). Generally the classical theory of professions has been influenced by the 'trait approach' (Greenwood, 1957; Millerson, 1964) and the functional analysis of professional systems (Parsons, 1954; Durkheim, 1957). Regardless of the lack of sociological-theoretical agreement, widespread of codes of ethics around the world, suggests that in practice journalism perceives itself as a profession or at least semi-profession. Many quarters of the academy have long dismissed professionalism as a fertile way of thinking about journalistic authority (Zelizer, 2004). In the same vein, Singer (2003) adds that 'while journalists tend to see themselves as skilled, ethical, autonomous and estimable professionals, the public is not convinced. Nor are sociologists'. Larson (1977) corroborates the above view when she says "the ideal typical constructions do not tell us what a profession is, only what it pretends to be." Consequently, from a functionalist and constructive perspective, journalism meets the criteria of a profession. Underlying the functionalists' understanding of professionalism is the assumption that professions offer special socially beneficial services to society and that a unique mutual relationship exists between the professional practitioner and his or her client (McNair, 2001). In short, it could be argued that the functionalist's understanding of journalism professionalism is premised on liberal pluralism's public service model of journalism which assumes that journalists operate as a 'fourth estate', 'watchdog' or autonomous agent for the public good (McNair 2001:). From such a perspective, a profession is analysed according to its abilities to fulfil ideal societal functions.

On the other hand, the question is, if journalism is not a profession but merely an occupation in which anyone who desires to do so may engage, why are media personnel obliged to adhere to professional behavioural and ethical codes and to demonstrate professional responsibility? Scholars such as Abbot (1988) trace the genesis of professions to a period when people started doing full time the thing that needs doing. To him, the notion of exclusivity of a profession and its isolation from other occupations preserves its special social status and the hierarchical relations among it, the public and other occupations. However, the claim that journalism is a profession has been subjected to serious scholarly scrutiny (Zelizer, 1992; 2004). Zelizer (2004) advises us either to view journalism as a 'failed profession' or to abandon the notion entirely. At the root of her advice is realisation that 'unlike classically defined professions, such as medicine or law, journalism has not required the trappings of professionalism: many journalists do not readily read journalism books, attend journalism schools, or enrol in training programmes' (Zelizer, 2004). She adds that journalists are also indifferent to professional associations" and reject licensing procedures. Zelizer (2004) proposes that instead of 'profession', journalism must be seen as an 'interpretive community" whose authority stems from cultural, symbolic, narrative sources operating simultaneously inside and outside the professional sphere.

Most critiques of journalism's claim to the status of a profession point out that it fails to fulfil the markers of a profession such as having handbooks, schools specialising in training future graduates, codes of conduct, licensing procedures (Anderson, 2005: 5). Many of today's sociologists "pass from the false question 'Is this occupation a profession' to the more fundamental one 'what are the circumstances in which people in an occupation attempt to turn it into a profession and themselves in professional people." Thus the structural-functionalist analysis has been replaced in much of sociology by the more Weberian study of professionalisation (Anderson, 2005: 5) and the 'professional project' (Larson, 1977). He argues that despite "wrapping itself in the bunting of professionalism" since the late 19th century, journalists are far removed from any real claim to being professionals. The essential defining quality of a profession, he argues, is "a high degree of control over the fields of their work." The work of journalists, however, is controlled by their employers. As such, business journalists work within an intercalary position, on one end serving their employers and on the other engage with powerful economic players.

4.5.1 Is Journalism Heading Towards the Deprofessionalisation?

The discourse of professional journalism has undergone under enormous revisionism in the last few years as technology-driven globalisation has seen the mushrooming of bloggers, cell phone journalists, webcasters, and citizen reporters. Thus the metamorphosis of the professional project (Larson, 1977), the study of Weberian professionalisation, and the journalistic field (Bourdieu, 1989) have led to new research dimension concerned with the deprofessionalisation of journalism. Singer (2003) has observed that new media technological changes endemic to online journalism are threatening the "general, normative and comparative dimensions" of journalistic professionalism. She sees this as the advent of deprofessionalisation in journalism. As networked amateurs undermine the cultural work once reserved for professional reporters, we are witnessing the broad "deprofessionalisation" of journalism (Anderson, 2005: 16). Bloggers and webcasters are seen as increasingly intruding into the journalistic field.

Anderson (2005) proposes a framework that analyses journalism as a mezzo-level field, one animated by the projects of 'professionalisation' and 'deprofessionalisation', undertaken by a variety of social and occupational groups. He thus calls for a more nuanced understanding of changes in the journalistic field in so far as it relates to de-or re-professionalisation. Additionally, hyper-competition from both professional and amateur content producers is eroding both the structures and stature of professionalism in the field of journalism (Hollifield, 2009). Certainly the deprofessionalisation of journalism is becoming a topic of significant discussion among media experts worldwide, with the consequences of the trend for society a s ubject of significant debate. Specifically, deprofessionalisation raises significant issues for the likelihood that the ethical standards that have governed professional journalists in the past will be widely maintained across the medley of individuals now serving as reporters and commentators in the public sphere (Hollifield, 2009). It is noteworthy to highlight that it is not clear what the impact of deprofessionalisation of journalism will be on ethics. Therefore within the wider journalism ethics discourse, there is need to explore how business journalism ethics are negotiated and strategically appropriated by situated actors.

4.6 Bourdieu and the Journalistic Field Theory

An overview of classic theories of professionalisation shows that there are intellectual affinities with the Bourdieuean approach. I apply this Bourdieusian model to journalism ethics, paying particular attention to this supplementary theoretical stand that helps to

illustrate how social situated actors negotiate occupational and professional structures. In terms of Bourdieu's notion of the journalistic field, journalism is conceptualised as characterised by differentiation into semi-autonomous institutional orders or fields and specialised spheres of action such as business, sports and politics. Field theory asks us to consider journalism ethics in the context of sociology of media, where a field is defined as both a space of production and a structured system of institutions, organisations and social actors (Bourdieu, 1982; 1992). Bourdieu's notion of journalistic field allows one to analyse how the journalistic field and other fields in society such as the economy interact and mutually influence each other.

Bourdieu and Foucault are credited for having coined new terminology for thinking about the role of professional groups in society. Bourdieu prefers the term 'fields' while Foucault implies that we must see professions as 'disciplines'. The ethical dilemma is that when acting in the journalistic field, business journalists are structurally constrained to practice their craft under the limiting economic system. Banda (2009) and Rumney (2009) concur that the business media are structurally and operationally locked into the market which compromises its claims to ethicality. Using a field theory analysis means rigorously investigating journalism's relations to other fields such as the political (the state), economic (the market) and cultural or religious (the church). It enunciates that the field of journalism is largely defined by the interaction of economic pressures and a status competition among journalists and to the news media (Brand, 2010).

The Bourdieusian frame allows researchers to identify and address the ways in which discursive subjects (business journalists) locked up in an intercalary position of the journalistic field and the wider economic context negotiate their normative ethics in practice. Richards (2004) adds that although journalists are ultimately responsible as individuals, it is as individuals in a setting where their powers and duties are at least in part defined by their role in the corporate organisation, and many, perhaps most, of the ethical dilemmas journalists face begin with the inherent conflict between the individual's role as a journalist and his or her employer's quest for profit. Needless to say, African business journalists walk a tight rope in negotiating the delicate balance between reliance on Western systems of journalistic philosophy and practice and their allegiance to their geo-cultural locations and locutions (Banda, 2009). Bourdieu starts from the premise that sociology of the professions is limited in its explanatory power. The Bourdieusian field critique does provide a potential

structural corrective to the actor/agency-dominated professionalisation analysis of the Neo-Weberians, as well as a warning not to overestimate the 'naturalness' of professional journalism. Bourdieu views 'habitus' as a habitual way of being and becoming which forms over time as the agent negotiates their field, and internalizes roles, relationships, and expectations (1991). This study therefore sees journalism ethics as a structure which is internalised as 'habitus' by business journalists within their social field. As a result a business journalist is seen as an essential unit of ethical agency operating within a structured field. Furthermore, it helps one to make sense of how the 'rules' guiding the interaction in the fields or arenas are created, sustained or transformed.

In the Bourdieusian frame, normative ethics are conceived as symbolic capital which allows individual journalists to adhere to ethical codes only insofar as they have a strategic interest in doing so (Markham, 2008). He sees the profession or a field as a space of contradiction and struggle. Moreover, it sees normative ethics as 'common sense discourse' or 'ideology of common sense' (Hall, 1997), which journalists ought to deploy in their news production work. This concurs with Zelizer (2004)'s postulation that an occupation group is held together by internal narratives, political culture of the field, and occupational norms. Larson (1977) adds the success of a professional project will also be influenced by the degree to which the products of the occupational group "exist in the heads of their producers." Hence, the Bourdieusean frame allows us to view business journalists as 'company men' who make 'strategic calculations that getting ahead means' (Brand, 2010). Next is a section on postcolonial normative ethics in Africa and debates on Africanisation of codes of ethics.

4.7 Post-colonial Normative Ethics in Africa

This study also draws on literature dealing with the 'Africanisation' of journalism ethics and postcolonial theory which allows one to illuminate the complexity of journalism as a context-specific social practice in contrast to the 'Anglo-American ideals' against which it is often measured. The history of journalism ethics in Africa is intricately linked to the institutionalisation of mass media during the colonial era (Ndlela, 2009: 58). There is general consensus amongst scholars that journalism is predominantly an 'Anglo-American invention' and as such journalism ethics have been shaped by the ideals of liberalism, social responsibility and debates on the relationship between media and society (Ward, 2005; Schudson, 2001; Chalaby, 1996). Western journalism ethics have come under a barrage of

criticism within the deconstructive age (see White, 1996; Tomaselli, 2003) of postmodernism characterised by decentring, deconstruction and detotalisation of knowledge. For instance, White (1996: 213) has shown how 'the public sphere in the liberal society is idealised as value-free and a-moral' (emphasis mine), which contrasts significantly with what obtains in other media systems. The critique has been both at the ontological and epistemological level; aimed at positivism and the limits of its offshoots such as progress, individualism, objectivity and rationality (Christians, 2000). It is worth noting that just as journalism can propagate Western propaganda (Chomsky, 1997); the promotion of Western journalism ethics can be a form of cultural propaganda.

The quest to deconstruct Western normative journalism ethics has also been informed by some of the following pertinent questions: 'Should we continue to think about the role of the media mainly in terms of the Western-inspired libertarian model in which the freedom of the media and the media's gate-keeping role are supreme? Should we continue to think about this role mainly in terms of the Western-inspired libertarian model in which the freedom of the press and information of a high standard and in terms of a professional ethical code is emphasised' (Fourie, 2007)? In the end, those who favour an African or indigenous approach base their arguments implicitly on some of the main premises of postcolonial media theory. As a result, debates on de-Westernisation or de-de-Westernisation and Africanisation of the media have gathered steam since the 1990s in light of strained state-press relations and surges in ethical violations (see Kasoma, 1994; Karikari, 1996; Senghor in Karikari, 1996, Nyamnjoh, 2005 and Mfumbusa, 2008). Wasserman (2006) proposes what he calls 'postcolonial normative ethics' which rejects the institutions of Western liberal democracy and Western concepts of the state-media confrontation as the normative value for the whole world.

In light of the above, Kupe (2005), citing the colonial ancestry of journalism in Africa, asks whether it is not more accurate to talk about 'media in Africa' instead of 'African media'. Literature on media ethics in Africa is scant compared to that focusing on media ethics in other parts of the world (Kareithi, 2005:3; Mupfurutsa, 1999 and Ukpabi, 2001). Western libertarian theories of the relationship between media and society have to a large extent shaped debates on journalistic ethics in Africa (Kareithi, 2005: 3). However, scholars such as Kasoma (1996) and Nyamnjoh (2005) have advocated a paradigm shift to embrace Afro-centred values in order to answer the key question posed by Francis Kasoma: "Which

journalism ethics for African journalists?" (cited in Karikari, 1996). Banda (2006), Tomaselli (2008) and Wasserman and Rao (2007) advocate an African journalism ethics embedded in 'glocalism' and communitarianism, while Christians (2004) proposes a journalism anchored in 'Ubuntu' as a normative ethical framework. Postulations around communitarianism, 'ubuntu' and 'glocalism' fall within postcolonial theory, which is a reaction to the cultural legacy of colonialism and entails the destabilisation of Western ways of thinking, thereby creating space for alternatives to the dominant discourse (Bhabha, 1994 and Hall, 1996).

Postcolonial theory is relevant to the study of African business journalism ethics because the institution of mass media is implicated in the colonial, postcolonial, and neo-colonial experiences of African countries (Banda, 2009, Mfumbusa, 2008). Ultimately in terms of journalism ethics, Rao and Wasserman (2007) suggest that Western media theories should be revised against the backdrop of indigenous epistemologies and ethical frameworks (Rao and Wasserman, 2007). In short, African scholarship on ethics has not managed to penetrate the academe dominated by Western philosophy. This is no wonder why many African journalists still look to western codes of ethics which may or may not be appropriate to African culture (Ward, 2004). Banda (2009) has extended this argument further by 'locating media ethics in Africa within the strictures of Western ontology and epistemology (or the liberal journalistic epistemic orientation) which privileges dispassionate media work over civically active media practice'. As a result, Wasserman (2006) suggests that a revisionary project of journalism ethics is long over-due and 'should draw on postcolonial theory in order to renegotiate the orthodox media ethical frameworks inherited from western societies and contextualize it within the current historical, (geo) political and cultural juncture in Africa'.

Extending this discussion further, Kariithi (2005) and Mupfurutsa (1999) suggest that Africa should not be borrowing from the Western model of the journalism ethics, particularly at a time when the model and its ideological foundations are in crisis at home in the West. On the other hand, Kasoma (1996) points out that, rather than copying codes drawn from elsewhere, 'African journalists badly need a system of principles and values to ensure that their work attains a high level of ethical predictability'. Fourie (2007: 70) is quick to remind us that 'the expectation that journalists should 'de-Westernise', 'indigenise' and 'decolonise their minds' in order to free themselves intellectually from their colonial past and the influence of their colonial intellectual masters is nothing new'. It is important point out that in the e past such efforts have ended up r einforcing the north-south rhetoric. In the case of Zimbabwe, such anti-West 'hullabaloo' has been used to legitimise a repressive regime, foster undemocratic

practices and justify media strangulation. Inevitably, the search for onto-epistemological justification of African journalism ethics is tinged with many difficulties, with many scholars cautious that 'indigenisation' runs the risk of essentialism given that African culture is and has never been static (Banda, 2009). Sabry (2009) caution us that the discourse of 'de-westernisation' alone without 'de-de-Westernisation' is not enough. By this he means that the discourse of de-Westernisation must operate through a 'double-critique' structure...that is able to oscillate between de-Westernisation and de-de-Westernisation, authentication and de-authentication (2009: 201). Of paramount importance to Sabry (2009) is the view that more intellectual effort should be channelled towards questioning and subverting of the claims that come with westernisation rather than towards authentication.

It is difficult to extricate debates on Africanisation from parallel efforts to 'globalise' and 'glocalise' journalism ethics which are permeating the academe in the era of globalisation. Attempts are increasingly being made to globalise media ethics on the basis of a search for universal ethics (Ward, 2004; Christians, 2004; Wasserman, 2006: 71). However, the idea of global media ethics has raised tough theoretical and practical questions within the academe (Ward, 2004). Questions that are asked in this quest include whether moral principles can be identified that hold true within the variety of cultures globally and whether theoretical models may be developed that could function across cultures to replace dominant 'North Atlantic and patriarchal' ethical frameworks (Christians and Traber, 1997: viii)? Thus far the search for global journalism ethics has been dominated by scholarship emerging from the West (Rao and Wasserman, 2005). Despite disagreements, there is an overarching understanding that some of the elements of global journalism ethics appear to exist. There is agreement on basic principles such as to report the truth, to avoid bias, to distinguish news and opinion, and to serve the public (Ward, 2004; Wasserman, 2007).

Advocates of global ethics justify them on the basis that facts are transnational and transboundary, global impact of media presupposes global responsibilities, and that in a global village standardise journalistic practices. However, the apparent linearity inherent in globalisation has been critiqued in recent years by Robertson (1992)'s glocalisation thesis which foregrounds the notions of interpenetration, creolisation and hybridisation. Banda (2007), Nyamnjoh (2005) and Merrill (2004) in reflecting on the concept of 'glocalisation', see it as the best phrase to define the interpenetration of cultural influences since the advent of colonialism and globalisation. In view of this interpenetration, Banda (2007) proposes a

'glocal' journalism ethical framework which taps into different moral philosophies and cultures. In this study, the analysis of codes of ethics in African newsrooms draw on theories that were developed by postcolonial scholars such as Kasoma (1994), Christians (2004) and Fourie (2008), and arguably provide a less comfortable fit. These include 'Afriethics', Ubuntuism and Communitarianism. There is space here to give only a brief overview of the basic tenets of these Afrocentric moral philosophies relevant for this study.

4.7.1 Afriethics

In his book *Journalism ethics in Africa* published in 1994, Kasoma argued that, "The tragedy facing African journalism of the 1990s and beyond, however is that the continent's journalists have closely imitated the professional norms of the North . . . which they see as the epitome of good journalism. It is clear from the foregoing that Kasoma advocating for indigenisation of journalism ethics. His view was that African journalism ethics would lead to a more humane and liberatory journalism contrary to the oppositional one driven by western philosophy. Kasoma rejected 'received journalism ethics' which he saw as 'blue-prints of the media in the industrialised societies of the North'. Moreover, Kasoma suggests a move away from money and power-centred journalism to a society-centred journalism that is grounded on traditional African communal values. Kasoma urged African journalists to revere and canonise their own journalism ethics and practices instead of leaving the North to do it for them (Kasoma, 1996, Banda, 2009, Tomaselli, 2003). Underlying his Afriethical philosophy, was the view that journalism should be practised according to the ethical tenets of the society of origin of the journalist (Nyamnjoh, 2005: 90). Interestingly, there seems to be an underlying assumption in Kasoma's theorisation that African morality is discernible and recoverable even after years of colonialism and global cultural interpenetration (Banda, 2007).

Importantly, it is noteworthy to highlight that Kasoma's Afriethics have been subjected to scholarly scrutiny by Tomaselli (2003), Nyamnjoh (2005) and Banda (2009). As part of their critique, Nyamnjoh (2005) and Tomaselli (2003) observe that Afriethics seems to downplay Africa's complex media history and its appropriation as praxis seems to disregard the interpenetrated nature of African and western media cultures. Wiredu (2001: 183) concurs with Banda (2009) while adding that one must recognise that such traditional values have become 'fractured' in the midst of such cultural encroachments as colonialism and globalization. Banda (2009) suggests that Kasoma's Afriethics could be enlivened if it

acknowledges the contemporary interpenetrated cultural realities of African countries, and thus making its politico-cultural praxis more realistic.

In relation to the study of business journalism ethics in African newsrooms, Francis Kasoma's Afriethics theorisation lists indicators of African values and worldviews that codes of ethics ought to embrace. Afriethics informed codes of ethics are expected to emphasise on community and society, the fulfilment of obligations to society and to the journalistic corps, participatory and dialogical journalism, contrary to the individualistic emphasis of Western liberal journalism, Afriethics treat journalism as 'a communal profession in which the wrongs of an individual journalist have a capacity to tarnish the image of everyone who practices it, ethicality of the individual acts of the journalist should be first and foremost measured against whether or not they serve the wider community and the journalism profession, erring journalists or media houses should, in the true African spirit, be counselled by the other journalists to behave well and not be immediately condemned as misfits in the 'family' of African journalism, a deep sense of solidarity and oneness of voice instead of competitive spirit and polarisation immanent in Western liberal journalism should be nurtured. Afriethics has been seen as belonging to the particularistic traits of Afrocentric communitarianism which contrasts sharply with the universalistic tendencies of Euro-American utilitarianism (Wasserman and de Beer, 2004). The next section discusses communitarianism.

4.7.2 Communitarianism

A different set of postcolonial scholars foreground communitarianism, proposing that its basic tenets can serve as an alternative ethical framework for African journalism practice. Unlike Afriethics developed in Africa, communitarianism cuts across the Western and African philosophical divide. In its common usage within the discourse of media ethics, communitarianism associated with the writings of Christians (2004) and Etzioni (2003). However, it is important to highlight that it shares resonances with *ubuntu* and Afriethics in its critique of contemporary Anglo-American liberalism (Bell, 2005). As a result, some media ethicists are comfortable to knead African ethical norms, values and principles into the dough of communitarianism (Christians, 2004). Because of its affinities to African humanism, Afriethics and ubuntuism, what I consider useful to my discussion of business journalism ethics in African newsrooms are basic tenets which underscore the importance of multiple actors or publics' responsibility in ethical decision-making and enforcement, respect of common good, social fairness and participation guided not by social contracts but by social

obligations (Etzioni, 2003; White, 1996); communitarian journalism ethics remove autonomy from the media actors per se and place it within the context of the community (Christians, 2004), self regulation, community appreciation of good conduct, and gentle chiding of those who do not do what is considered right (Etzioni, 2008); careful balance between autonomy and the common good, and common good should trump individual rights (Etzioni, 2008). In the same vein, White (1996: 217) has gone a step further by proposing 'a kind of deontological code that spells out quite clearly what professionals should and should not do in concrete circumstances'. He sees communitarian ethics as not only allowing the 'voice of the periphery to be heard in public debate, but also that peripheral subcultures gain 'cultural capital' within the overarching cultural matrix of a nation' (1996: 214).

However, communitarianism has not been immune to academic scrutiny. I need not belabour the criticism advanced by some scholars against communitarianism. Suffice to note, for instance, most critics of this approach have suggested that those who long for community ignore the darker side of traditional communities. Communitarians "want us to live in Salem" (Gutmann 1985: 319), a community of strong shared values that went so far as to accuse non-conformist members of witchcraft during the seventeenth century. However, scholars point out that communities use their moral voice to oppress people, are authoritarian by nature, and push people to conform. Phillips (1993:183) adds that "communitarian thinking . . . obliterates individual autonomy entirely and dissolves the self into whatever roles are imposed by one's position in society".

4.7.3 Ubuntu

As one of the secondary objectives of this study is to explore how the financial press have responded in their newsroom policies and practices to the debates on the Africanisation of journalism ethics, in this section i discuss the notion of 'ubuntu' which provides an alternative ethical framework to make sense of codes of ethics in non-western societies. Emanating from within the ambit of African scholarship, *ubuntuism* or *ubuntu communitarianism* (Fourie, 2008; Christians, 2004; Van Binsbergen, 2001) assumes that threads of underlying affinity do run through the beliefs, customs, value systems, and socio-political institutions and practices of the various African societies. Because of this belief,

ubuntu has been described as a key indigenised aspect of the African ethical nomenclature (Ramose, 2002).

As such *ubuntu* is seen as constituting an inspiring blue-print for shaping journalism practice in Africa (Van Binsbergen, 2001). However, from the outset it needs to be said that the *ubuntu* discourse about the media cannot, at this stage, be seen as an organised or focused academic endeavour to develop an African normative theory on the basis of which media practice and performance could be measured (Fourie, 2008). Underlying the *ubuntu* ethic, is the view that African culture is embedded upon compassion, reciprocity, dignity, harmony and humanity in the interest of building and maintaining a community with justice and mutual caring; which can be investigated as a foundation for an African conceptualisation of key journalistic topics and concepts in normative media theory and ethics.

It is in light of all these pleas that the issue of 'Africanisation' arises, particularly with respect to the African media, its structure, its values, its form and its content (Blankenberg, 1999: 42). Moreover, *ubuntuism*'s communal values are thought to be more in line with African society than a Western stress on a free and individualistic press (Fourie, 2007). In terms of journalism practice, Khaba Mkhize has popularised the term: *'sxaxa mbij',* ('pulling together') as the governing concept for a brand of journalism that is not only normative in theory, but that actually works actively towards bettering the conditions of 'the people' (van Binsbergen, 2001). According to the discourse of *ubuntu* ethics, the media exist first and foremost, to ensure the well-being of the collective, rather than the protection of individual rights. Moreover, *ubuntuism* moves beyond an emphasis on the individual and individual rights, and places the emphasis on sharing and individual participation in a collective life (Fourie, 2008: 64). More broadly, the discourse of *ubuntuism* therefore places a high premium on negotiation, inclusiveness, transparency and tolerance (Blankenberg, 1999). In terms of media operations, *ubuntuism* promotes journalism practice that foregrounds citizen and community participation, and obtaining consensus based on widespread consultation with the community. Fourie (2007), on the other hand, is cautious on the viability of an *ubuntu* framework in the context of normative theory in a globalised world, given that African society and the media demonstrate more characteristics of the postmodern world and media environment than of a traditional society.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter has looked at some of the theoretical frameworks which influence the study in question. It has looked at scholarly works on sociology of news production, sociology of professions and illuminated the link between Bourdieu's journalistic fields and ethics. It has also teased out the postcolonial normative ethics undergirding debates on Africanisation of codes of ethics. It has singled out Afriethics, *ubuntu* and communitarianism as conceptual lens for this study. The next chapter outlines the methodological concerns of this research beginning with the research design and then proceeding to enunciate the methods used to gather data and the data analysis strategy.

CHAPTER 5

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DATA ANALYSIS PROCEDURES

5. Introduction

Previous chapters have provided the theoretical influences and overall context of business journalism, professionalism and deprofessionalisation and Africanisation of journalism ethics within the ambit of glocalism and postcolonial theoretical debates within which this research takes place. The study uses the case study and comparative research designs, highlights the use of documentation in the form of codes of ethics and news policies as the basis of the comparative research and also outlines sample selection and sampling procedures. Thus the methodological approach of this study is broadly qualitative. In order to answer the three-pronged research objectives, data for this study was gathered in three phases, the first of which relied on a qualitative document analysis of codes of ethics and editorial policies was used to identify not only the ethics governing business journalism, but also the themes that were interrogated via semi-structured questionnaire which accounted for the second phase. In-depth interviews were also used as the third phase to probe issues that emerged from the previous two stages. The chapter starts with a brief discussion of goals of the study, purposive sampling, case study and comparative research designs, and justification for triangulation. This is followed by some clarifications and assumptions concerning the qualitative research approach taken in this study. The next section provides an outline of the research methods, data analysis and a discussion concerning the selection of business journalists for interviews. A concluding statement then sums up the chapter.

5.1. Research design and procedure

5.1.2 Purposive Sampling

Purposive sampling was used to identify the units of study. Purposive sampling is simply selecting groups or categories to study on the basis of their relevance to the research questions and the theoretical position and most importantly the explanation or account which one is developing (Mason in Silverman, 2004:130). The study is situated in three former British colonies: Zimbabwe, South Africa and Kenya. Kenya gained independence in 1967, Zimbabwe in 1980, and South Africa nominally in 1910 before finally becoming a non-racial

democracy in 1994. All three countries have experienced steady economic growth and development since independence, although the longer-term trend has reversed in Zimbabwe since 2000 as a result of an economic crisis born out of the disputed elections, a fast-track land reform process and the steady erosion of rule of law (Chiumbu and Moyo, 2009). Even so, Zimbabwe, as the other two countries, has developed a relatively sophisticated financial services sector, including a vibrant stock exchange. As a result, business journalism in the three chosen countries has blossomed compared with more underdeveloped countries in Africa. It is also clear from these countries that despite the diversity in media systems, there are enduring similarities, many of them rooted in the shared experiences of the legacy of colonial rule, the unsettled politics of the postcolonial era, and the interpenetration of global influences (Banda, 2009: 3). Common colonial experiences presuppose similar threads of journalistic ethics informed by libertarian philosophical underpinnings rooted in Anglo-American journalism may or may not obtain in the three media systems, which is the basis for this comparative study. Moreover, business journalism has a long history in the three countries compared to any other African state (Kariithi and Kareithi, 2005).

The *Business Day* is the most influential business newspaper in South Africa with a readership estimated at 168 000 while the print circulation is estimated at 41 078. It was one of the few publications which specialises in business journalism in the country. Brand (2009) has pointed out that *Business Day*, in addition, possesses its own internal code of ethics although it is rarely enforced. On the other hand, The *Financial Gazette* is Zimbabwe's oldest business newspaper (Zaffiro in Tomaselli and Dunn, 2001). It was established in 1969 which means it has operated in colonial and postcolonial Zimbabwe. The *Financial Gazette* has had a fair share of journalistic ethical violations in recent years. An independent media survey conducted by ZAMPS (2002) puts the newspaper's weekly readership of its printed edition at about 400 000, far ahead of its nearest competitor which has 260 000 readers. Finally, the *Business Daily* is East Africa's one of the most influential business newspaper, published by the Nation Media group (www.bdafrica.com). The choice of the *Business Day, Financial Gazette* and the *Business Daily* is defined by the fact that all the news organisations engage in specialised business reporting, operate in countries with vibrant stock exchanges and are market leaders in terms of readership figures in their respective countries. For instance, the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (JSE) is the biggest stock market in Africa (www.sa2010.gov.za) and is also ranked 15th in the world in terms of market capitalisation. On the other hand, the Zimbabwe Stock Exchange (ZSE) and the Nairobi Stock Exchange are

both in the top ten stock markets in Africa. Moreover, all three newspapers are considered prominent publications in terms of circulation; content and readership in their respective contexts (see allAfrica.com 2009).

5.1.3 The Case Study Approach

Case studies are generally associated with a qualitative methodology, and have become a common way to conduct qualitative enquiry (Stake, 2003), despite certain criticisms aimed at its validity as a research method (see Flyvbjerg, 2001 and Stake, 2003). They also allow the researcher to provide description, test theory and generate theory (Eisenhardt, 2002: 9). The case study is undertaken to provide insight into an issue or phenomenon in its context this is new (Silverman, 2005: 126; Wimmer and Dominick, 1987: 155). It allows researchers to obtain 'thick descriptions'. Case studies are used when there is a desire to understand complex social phenomena which is usually contemporary. It helps establish a sociological description of the organization, programme, event or process under study (Hamel *et al*, 1993: 1). The case study is preferred in examining contemporary events when the relevant behaviour cannot be manipulated as in an experiment (Yin, 1994: 8).

Moreover, case studies can be undertaken as being of intrinsic interest in themselves, or in order to illuminate a wider issue and provide insight into an external interest. I argue that three newsrooms selected here form similar cases which can illuminate a snapshot of business journalism ethics in Africa. Regarding intrinsic interest, the case samples that I chose in Africa allowed me to raise questions and points of interest concerning business journalism ethics. I acknowledge that merit of case study depends on it being able to create plausible interpretations for what is found, to construct a worthwhile story or argument and to convey this convincingly to an audience (Basey, 1999: 65). I was not motivated by the desire to arrive at a predictive theory or universal statement. Instead I subscribe to the argument that concrete, content-dependent knowledge is more valuable than a vain search for elusive generalisations, and have chosen 'to keep (my) eyes open and look carefully at individual cases-not in the hope of proving anything, but rather in the hope of learning something' (Flyvbjerg, 2001: 73).

5.1.4 Advantages and Disadvantages of the Case Study Approach

The case study's strength is the ability to deal with a full variety of evidence and as such it is usually preferred in examining contemporary events when the relevant behaviour cannot be

manipulated as in an experiment (Yin, 1994: 8). It also helps in the gathering of descriptive and explanatory data as it allows for a number of research techniques to be used in the same study. It permits 'the ability to deal with a wide spectrum of evidence such as documents and interviews' (Wimmer and Dominick, 1987: 156). It allows for the combination of qualitative and quantitative research methods in a study (Yin, 1984: 15). However the disadvantage of the case study is that the findings cannot be generalised (Wimmer and Dominick, 1987: 156). The findings may only apply to the case under study at times but it does not mean that the results are always unique to that particular case. As Yin, (1984:10) observes "case studies, like experiments, can be generalised to theoretical propositions and not to populations or universes". A case study is however a methodological approach; a research strategy that needs methods for data gathering for empirical inquiry (Hamel *et al*, 1993: 1), which in this study are that of qualitative content analysis and semi-structured interviews.

5.1.5 Comparative Research Design

A comparative research design study compares two or more groups on one variable (Hantrais and Letablier, 1996). A study is considered to be cross-national and comparative, when individuals or teams set out to examine particular issues or phenomena in two or more countries with the express intention of comparing their manifestations in different socio-cultural settings (institutions, customs, traditions, value systems, lifestyles, language, thought patterns), using the same research instruments either to carry out secondary analysis of national data or to conduct new empirical work (Smelser, 1976). In this research the three cases are compared on the level of Africanisation of their ethical policies. Hantrais and Letablier (1996) notes that comparative research methods have long been used in cross-cultural studies to identify, analyse and explain similarities and differences across societies. An advantage of this design is that it takes account of socio-cultural settings (Smelser, 1976). Comparative research approach allows one to seek explanations for similarities and differences, to generalise from them or to gain a greater awareness and a deeper understanding of social reality in different national contexts (Ragin, 1991).

However, it suffers from problems arising in managing and funding cross-national projects, in gaining access to comparable datasets and in achieving agreement over conceptual and functional equivalence and research parameters. The solution to the problem of defining the unit of observation was overcame in this study by carrying out research in specific news organisations rather than whole media systems. The benefits to be gained from cross-national

work include a deeper understanding of other cultures and of their research processes (Kohn, 1989). For researchers, comparisons serve as a tool for developing classifications of social phenomena and for establishing whether shared phenomena can be explained by the same causes (Ragin, 1991). Cross-national studies give researchers a means of confronting findings in an attempt to identify and illuminate similarities and differences, not only in the observed characteristics of particular institutions, systems or practices, but also in the search for possible explanations in terms of national likeness and unlikeness (Hantrais and Letablier, 1996). The research methodology for all the studies in the three countries were standardised in order to allow for comparison.

5.1.6 The use of Triangulation

This research employed triangulation through the use of document analysis, in-depth interviews and semi-structured questionnaires which enabled the researcher to analyse the problem from different vantage points. Cohen and Manion (1986) define triangulation[2] as an "attempt to map out, or explain more fully, the richness and complexity of human behaviour by studying it from more than one standpoint". From such a perspective, triangulation is a powerful technique that facilitates validation of data through cross verification from more than two observers, theories, methods and empirical materials. In this research, methods triangulation, which occurred at the level data collection, was undertaken. It involved using more than one research method to gather data, such as interviews, questionnaires, and documents. Methods triangulation at the data collection level has been called within-method triangulation (Denzin, 1989). The purpose of combining the data collection methods was to provide a more holistic and better understanding of the phenomenon under study. Triangulation helps to overcome the weakness or intrinsic biases and the problems that come from single data collection methods. By combining different strategies, researchers confirm findings by overcoming the limitations of a single strategy. It provides several ways of approaching a r esearch problem and helps improve the reliability of the data (Silverman, 2005: 121).

5.1.7 Qualitative research: philosophical underpinnings

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[2] According O'Donoghue and Punch (2003), triangulation is a "method of cross-checking data from multiple sources to search for regularities in the research data".

The methodological approach for this study is mainly qualitative. Q ualitative research foregrounds the idea of accessing the "insider" perspective on a particular issue (Babbie and Mouton, 2001: 103). To say one is doing "qualitative research" infers an assortment of philosophical positions, methodological tactics, and analytical procedures. The term 'qualitative' implies an emphasis on examination of the processes and meanings, but not measured in terms of quantity, amount, or frequency (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994:3). Qualitative research paradigm is rooted in phenomenology or the interpretivist tradition (Bryman, 1984: 77). Whereas positivism interprets the aim of the social sciences against the background of the bio-medical analogy and the success story of the natural sciences, the phenomenological paradigm is based on a p redominantly "mental" metaphor, i.e. the centrality of human consciousness (Babbie and Mouton, 2001: 28). The reason for this 'marriage' between phenomenology and qualitative methodology is based on the insistence on an interpretative understanding of the meanings and self-descriptions of individual, which privileges unstructured observation and open interviewing. According to Taylor and Bogdan (1984:5), "qualitative research refers in the broadest sense to research that produces descriptive data, people's own written or spoken words and observable behaviour". This research preferred qualitative research methodology because the data that would be collected is rich in description of business journalism ethics in African newsrooms, which cannot be easily handled by statistical data and procedure. In fact, the aims and goals of the study are what eventually determined the research methods and design elements that are deployed (see Bryman 1988).

Advocates of qualitative[3] research place particular emphasis on the ethnographic practices developed by anthropologists, where the researcher immerses himself in a particular social setting, getting to know people intimately , observing how they organise their everyday lives and talking to them at length about how they see the world and themselves. This approach is appropriate for this study because it allows the researcher the opportunity to assess how business journalists negotiate codes of ethics within different newsrooms. Moreover, the appropriateness of this methodology is based on the epistemological foundations of qualitative research methods, which allows the researcher to understand perspectives of social actors, to retrieve experiences from the

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[3] According to Priest (1996: 106-107), when the goal of research is to understand the "insider's" perspective, a quantitative design is just not the way to go, one requires a holistic and inductive approach which provides the opportunity to develop a descriptive, rich understanding and insight into the individual's beliefs, concerns, motivations, aspirations, lifestyles, culture, behaviour and preferences.

past, to gain expert insight or information, to obtain descriptions of events or scenes that are unavailable for observation, to foster trust or to analyse certain kinds of discourse (Lindlof, 1995: 5).

Bogdan and Biklen (1992) suggest that while researchers conducting qualitative research may develop a focus as they collect data, they do not approach the research with rigid specific questions to answer. The open-ended questions were used to allow the editors and business journalists to answer and express their feelings, attitudes, and perspectives freely on how they negotiate ethical policies in their day-to-day news production practices, instead of the structured ones that may limit their response. Qualitative research uses the natural setting as the direct source of data, the researcher felt that conducting research at the news organisations' boardroom was ideal for the research in being influenced and shaped by the structures that are over and above business journalists. Mertz (1978) cited in Bogdan and Biklen (1992:29) argue that, "human behaviour is significantly influenced by the setting in which it occurs". So, what business journalists say is likely to be influenced by the environment in which they work. Strauss (1987) notes that because of the relatively smaller sample size, qualitative approaches encourage the delicate probing necessary in order to move to the more complex reality that underlies the subjects' initial response. It is noteworthy to highlight that qualitative studies foregrounds the idea of understanding social behaviour in its social context. The isolation of particulars in qualitative research is fundamental for the case study methodology to be employed in this study.

The goals of qualitative research are the usual point of departure from traditional quantitative methods. Qualitative researchers acknowledge that the analytical process involves interpreting the meanings, values, experiences, opinions and behaviours of other people (Jaye, 2002: 559). This process is described as descriptive-inductive to distinguish it from the hypothetico-deductive means of drawing results in quantitative research. The interpretive and interactive quality of research is a reflection of ontological and epistemological assumptions that often differ from those of traditional quantitative research (Jaye, 2002: 560). However, in terms of the critique of validity that is often advanced against qualitative studies, Maxwell (1992) argues that there is a place for the issue of validity in qualitative research if one applies the concept primarily to accounts, not to methods. He observes: "The applicability of the concept of validity...does not depend on the existence of some absolute truth or reality to which an account can be compared, but only on the fact that there exist ways of assessing accounts that do not depend entirely on features of the account itself, but in some way relate to those things that the account claims to be about" (cited in Strelitz 2005: 65).

5.2 Research procedure and sampling

The research employs a three-stage design which allows inferences to drawn from one data collection tool to be supplemented by another tool. The section that follows discusses three stages of the research process and the sampling procedures in the following order:

i). *Document analysis*: Codes of ethics governing newsroom conduct and business journalism practice will be collected and analysed.

ii). *Semi-Structured Questionnaire*; to explore the knowledge, attitudes and perceptions of business journalists' on ethics of their trade and ethical dilemmas involved.

iii). *Individual in-depth interviews*; this will involve business editors and business journalist purposively identified during the focus group interviews.

5.2.1 Document Analysis

Since qualitative research is concerned with finding out how social actors make sense of their world, this research analysed the codes of ethics and editorial policies governing business journalism, in order to be able to probe the preferred ethical practices in different newsrooms. Typically, a code of ethics is a qualitative, detailed, and unambiguous declaration of intent by journalists or the employers or regulators of a particular media organ (Splichal and Sparks 1994, 50). It is a constitution, written by employers or journalists, to set norms regarding their freedom in light of responsibilities, and it represents an act of self-reflection about the profession and its basic activities (Poler, 1996: 108). As a constitution, it codifies the values that shape newsroom conduct and also provides a framework within which those decisions can be implemented and evaluated. A document analysis was carried out to identify and compare salient policy features, while semi-structured interviews were conducted with business editors and journalists to examine how journalists negotiate ethical concerns and guidelines in their everyday practice. Document analysis is the systematic exploration of written documents or other artefacts such as films, videos and photographs (Altheide, 1996). As such it allows for the scientific analysis of documents such as codes of ethics and editorial policies. In simple terms, document analysis is a type of qualitative content analysis that goes beyond the manifest content of media, by focusing on the underlying ideological and cultural assumptions of the text (Pryor, 2003). It has been influenced by theoretical and methodological positions advanced by Herbert Blumer, George Herbert Mead and Alfred Schultz who postulated that the effective environment is intricately linked to individual perspectives, patterns of meaning and the symbolic ordering of understanding (Altheide, 1996).

Consequently, document analysis relies on the researcher's interaction and involvement with documents selected for their relevance to a research topic (Altheide, 1996: 24). In this study, this took the form of comparative document analysis where the aim was to extract meaning out of codes of ethics in order to explain and categorise them into meaningful themes. The analysis was therefore confined to the institutional codes of ethics. The objective was to assess the inclusion and exclusion of business journalism ethics in these codes. However, Mason (2002: 110) suggests that documents are `constructed in particular contexts, by particular people, with particular purposes, and with consequences – intended and unintended'. In short, documents need to be approached as texts. Document analysis has been seen to be very rich when triangulated with other data collection tools. Many other research techniques produce reactive effects on the subjects which lead to 'distortion, lying or colouring of responses in particular ways' when they are conscious of being studied (Adams and Schvaneveldt, 1985: 305). As a result, document analysis yields insights that would otherwise be impossible to obtain through questioning.

Document analysis was employed as the aim of the research was to go beyond mere counting, to establish and examine themes and patterns business journalism codes of ethics in Africa. The researcher was cognisant of the advise offered by Schroder et al (2003: 126) that one must abstain from a detailed preliminary textual analysis, and just familiarise oneself with the text sufficiently enough to be able to pursue cultural research that motivates the research. In line with this requirement, codes of ethics of the three news organisations were analysed in terms of the preferred ethical practices they propose for business journalists. My focus with regard to these documents was on their significance and meanings in relation to their textually inscribed-subject positions – that is, on their preferred reading positions in relation to the prescribed ethical virtues that should be deployed by business journalists (see Althusser 2000; Fairclough 2001; Hay 1996). In this context, text[4] is understood as a complex set of discursive strategies that is situated in a special cultural context (Fink, 1998). This approach typically results in a strategic selection and presentation of analysed text as the evidence for the overall argument. In this case, I transformed Hall's semiotic concept of 'preferred reader' to 'preferred ethical practices' to highlight the conduct that is prescribed in newsroom codes of ethics. This research stage of the study also explored the extent to which codes of ethics have embraced the notion of Africanisation of journalism ethics by incorporating traces of communitarianism, *ubuntu*, and Afriethics as they

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[4] In this study, text is also conceptualised in its broader, post-structural sense as any cultural practice or object that can be ''read'' (Scott, 1990). Thus, every text (code of ethics) produces its unique reader (Fursich and Robins, 2004: 146).

were conceptualised in chapter 4 in terms of the postcolonial theory and debates on de-Westernisation. The aforementioned indigenised approaches to ethical questions in Africa enabled me to compare and contrast them with some of the major Western ethical paradigms inscribed in codes of ethics.

Robson, (2002: 358) discusses the advantages and disadvantages of document analysis. Advantages of documents are that they are unobtrusive and can be used without imposing reality on participants; they can be checked and re-checked for reliability. A major disadvantage is that documents may not have been written for the same purposes as the research and therefore conclusions will not usually be possible from document analysis alone. The other problem with document analysis is that it only focuses on an examination of recorded communication and other aspects might be missed. Wimmer & Dominick, (1994:170) also note that the findings of a particular document analysis are limited to the framework of the categories and definitions used in that analysis. Hence, document analysis in this study was triangulated with other research techniques such interviews and semi-structured questionnaires in order to build up a wider picture of business journalism ethics in African newsrooms.

5.2.2 Semi-Structured Questionnaire

I developed a semi-structured questionnaire with a set of core questions based on my theoretical readings and with help of my supervisor, Mr Robert Brand, which I hoped would elicit information concerning my respondents' views and understandings of business journalism ethics in Africa (see appendix 1 & 2). A standard set of questions asked of all respondents allows for comparison across and between groups (Hansen et al. 1998: 274). Semi-structured interviews have the ability to solicit more information from respondents as they direct them to express their views around a theme thus leaving the respondent to decide on what is vital for inclusion. While a structured interview has formalised, limited set questions, a semi-structured interview is flexible, allowing new questions to be brought up during the interview as a result of what the interviewee says (Deacon et al, 1999). As Lindlof & Taylor, (2002: 195) advise us that it is beneficial for interviewers to have an interview guide prepared, which is an informal "grouping of topics and questions that the interviewer can ask in different ways for different participants". The interviewer in a semi-structured interview generally has a framework of themes to be explored. This freedom help interviewers to tailor their questions to the interview context/situation, and to the people they are interviewing (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). Although it is prepared to insure that basically the same information is obtained from each person, there are no predetermined responses, and in

semi-structured interviews the interviewer is free to probe and explore within these predetermined inquiry areas (Lofland & Lofland, 1984). Interview guides ensure good use of limited interview time; they make interviewing multiple subjects more systematic and comprehensive; and they help to keep interactions focused.

A total of nine journalists were asked to answer a set of related questions about business journalism ethics, negotiation of business journalism ethics in everyday life, causes of ethical transgressions, Africanisation of journalism ethics and monitoring and enforcement of codes of ethics within newsroom contexts. One editor per newsroom agreed to answer the semi-structured questionnaires dealing the above mentioned thematic areas. Overall, semi-structured questions used by the researcher helped to provide a source of thick data for the research as this is what qualitative research aims to achieve. The respondents for the semi-structured interviews were conveniently sampled from a mix of senior and junior reporters drawn from the three news organisations. Convenience sample is a sampling technique involving the selection of the most accessible subjects (Marshall, 1996). The researcher with the help of the editors in the three organisations actively selected the most productive sample to answer the research question. This can involve developing a framework of the variables that might influence an individual's contribution and will be based on the researcher's practical knowledge of the research area, the available literature and evidence from the study itself (Marshall, 1996). It was less costly to the researcher, in terms of time, effort and money. The researcher requested respondents' permission to participate in the research by properly introducing and stating the purpose of the research. The researcher also assured respondents of confidentiality in the research.

5.2.3 Individual in-depth interviews

Silverman (1998) points out that semi-structured questionnaire as a data collection tool on its own often leave out certain issues unexplored due to its structured format. Thus individual in-depth interviews were used to follow up and supplement the other data collection tools. Individual in-depth interviews are essentially a hybrid of the one-on-one interview approach, a commonsensical justification for their wide usage in media studies being that "the best way to find out what people think about something is to ask them" (Bower in Jensen 1982: 240). This research technique was used to fill up gaps identified while using document analysis and semi-structured questionnaire in order to sufficiently capture how business journalists' negotiated ethical decision-making in their day-to-day news processing practices. As a result, business news editors of the *Business Day* in South Africa, the *Financial Gazette* in Zimbabwe, and the *Business Daily* in Kenya were

interviewed, as well as three business journalists from each newsroom based on an availability sampling technique. A total of nine journalists and three editors were interviewed for this study. Strauss (1987) reminds us that because of the relatively smaller sample size, qualitative approaches encourage the delicate probing necessary in order to move to the more complex reality that underlies the subjects' initial response.

Interviews in Kenya were carried face-to-face, while those in South Africa were conducted by telephone and in Zimbabwe by a combination of telephone, face-to-face and e-mail. Telephonic and email interviews enabled the researcher to complement information obtained from the semi-structured questionnaires with business journalists' own experiences of and perceptions arising from putting those ethical guidelines into practice. These interviews were wide ranging, though motivated by probing business journalism ethics in detail. Participants were encouraged to express their views at length. One particularly useful technique for this research was the critical incident study, in which business journalists were asked to comment on real events rather than giving generalisations. This proved handy in revealing more information about respondents' encounter with ethical dilemmas. Schroder et al (2003: 153) make an interesting statement on individual in-depth interviews when they say: "the individual interview also avoids the 'spiral of silence' effect that may prevent...controversial views and experiences from being expressed in a group context. The individual interview may thus be the best choice for a researcher who wishes to illuminate a sensitive issue, located beyond the discursive range of the socially acceptable or the politically correct-or an issue that is felt by the individual to be too sensitive to talk about in the presence of others, other than a researcher who grants the informant full anonymity". Interviewees were promised anonymity in the belief that that would allow them to respond more freely.

Bogdan and Biklen, (1992:33) observe that getting into a setting involves a process of managing your identity, projecting an image of yourself and self-confidence that will maximize the chances of gaining access. Because naturalistic researchers are asking participants to "grant access to their lives, their minds, and their emotions," it is also important to provide respondents with a straightforward description of the goals of the research (Lofland & Lofland, 1984:25). Respondents were thus debriefed beforehand of the objectives and purpose of the research. The researcher was able tap into his social network of business journalism journalists working in the three African countries. Access to organisations was enhanced by the fact that, some news organisations had existing relationship with Highway Africa and Rhodes University's JMS and had employed graduates from the School of Journalism and Media Studies. During the research process, notes and recording were used to capture views verbatim. Patton (1990: 348) suggests

that a tape recorder is 'indispensable', while Lincoln and Guba (1985: 241) 'do not recommend recording except for unusual reasons'. However, recordings have the advantage of capturing data more faithfully than hurriedly written notes might, and can make it easier for the researcher to focus on the interview. On the other hand, interviews were tape-recorded after I had explained in more detail my research agenda, and had asked permission to record. In addition, I made notes on my general impressions of the interview immediately after leaving, which proved of help when I needed to recall the particular details of the interview settings and tone. The interview tapes were transcribed in their entirety and initially coded according to the interview schedule.

5.3 Data Analysis

Bogdan and Biklen (1982: 145) define qualitative data analysis as "working with data, organizing it, breaking it into manageable units, synthesizing it, searching for patterns, discovering what is important and what is to be learned, and deciding what you will tell others". Qualitative researchers tend to use inductive analysis of data, meaning that the critical themes emerge out of the data (Patton, 1990). Qualitative data analysis requires some creativity, for the challenge is to place the raw data into logical, meaningful categories; to examine them in a holistic fashion; and to find a way to communicate this interpretation to others. Analysis began with identification of the themes emerging from the raw data, a process sometimes referred to as 'open coding' (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). During open coding, the researcher identified and tentatively named the conceptual categories into which the phenomena observed would be grouped. The goal was to create descriptive, multi-dimensional categories which form a preliminary framework for analysis. Themes, verbal responses and texts that appeared to be similar were grouped into the same category. These categories were gradually modified during the subsequent stages of analysis that followed.

As the raw data was broken down into manageable chunks, the researcher also devised an 'audit trail'-that is, a scheme for identifying these data chunks according to their speaker and the context. The next stage of analysis involved the re-examination of the categories identified to determine how they are linked, a co mplex process sometimes called 'axial coding' (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). The discrete categories identified in open coding were compared and combined in new ways as the researcher began to assemble the 'big picture'. The purpose of coding was to not only describe but, more importantly, to acquire new understanding of a phenomenon of interest. On the other hand, interviews were tape-recorded after I had explained in more detail my research agenda, and had asked permission to record. In addition, I made notes on my general impressions

of the interview immediately after leaving, which proved of help when I needed to recall the particular details of the interview settings and tone. The interview tapes were transcribed in their entirety and initially coded according to the interview schedule. Finally, the researcher translated the conceptual model into the story line that is presented in chapter six and seven.

5.4 Conclusion

This paper has presented the research methodology to be employed in the study. It also established the reason for using the qualitative research paradigm in the study and went on to explain why it used document analysis as a procedure for data collection. It also went on to map out the use of semi-structured questionnaires and individual in-depth interviews in finding out the perceptions of business journalists on ethics of their trade. The paper has also discussed the statement of the problem, objectives and the sampling procedures to be employed in the study. Thus the discussion of findings chapter represents a rich, tightly woven account that "closely approximates the reality it represents" (Strauss and Corbin, 1990: 57).

CHAPTER 6

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

6.0 Introduction

In this Chapter, I present and discuss findings of the study under the headings: document analysis of the three institutional codes; negotiating ethical issues in business journalism practice; and the Africanisation of business journalism codes of ethics. Divided into five sections, the first section discusses the three case studies unpacking salient features such as accuracy, bribery, conflict of interest and pressure or influence. The second section compares the three institutional codes on a range of common ethical breaches in business journalism. The third section deals with the negotiation of ethical issues in business journalism practice. It compares how business journalists perceive and deal with the following ethical dilemmas: pressure from advertisers, pressure from news sources, insider trading, market manipulation, conflicts of interest, disclosure, brown envelopes and others gifts, moonlighting and embedded business journalism. In the same section, enforcement and monitoring mechanisms of codes in the three newsrooms are explored in detail. The fourth section discusses the Africanisation of business journalism codes of ethics in the three newsrooms. The chapter combines findings from the document analysis, semi-structured and in-depth (individual) interviews. By relying on the journalists' own words, this research sets out to provide a qualitative understanding of how business journalists from the three purposively selected newsrooms in Africa perceive and negotiate prescribed ethical virtues in practice. The fifth section outlines conclusions of this chapter. The first section of this chapter unfolds by presenting data from the document analysis of the three institutional codes of ethics looking at each organisation in turn before embarking on a co mparative analysis of emerging preferred ethical practices.

6.1 Document analysis of institutional codes

This section presents data from the qualitative document analysis of the three business journalism codes of ethics used by the organisations under study. Although the qualitative document analysis did not engage in a comprehensive textual analysis, this section captures the most salient features inscribed in the codes of ethics. It will begin by teasing out the

Business Day, the *Business Daily* and *Financial Gazette*'s codes before embarking on a comparative analysis.

6.1.2 Case study 1: Business Day's Code of Ethics

Business Day of South Africa subscribes to a group code of ethics which applies to all publications within the BDFM group and is not specific to business journalism. The short and precise code addresses journalism ethics at the general level, gifts and favours, extra-curricular activities and credit (see attached appendix 3 for the full copy of the code). Besides enunciating the basic principles of journalism, the code only briefly mentions business journalism moral dilemmas in section 2.2, which speaks to issues around affecting investor sentiment and responsible business journalism. Business journalists are called upon to act ethically all given the sensitive nature of their beat. Section 2 of their code, further highlights role of business journalism towards employees and investors. It exhorts business journalists to desist from deception and acceptance of payment for favours which has the potential to harm the financial foundations of media organisations.

On the issue of corruption and sponsored trips, the code exhorts business journalists not publish any material in exchange for favours of any description. It also calls upon business journalists never to commit the paper to publishing a story about a company or any other organisation in return for a trip. To avoid conflicts of interest, business journalists are expected to accept paid accommodation and transport while on assignment only on condition that it benefits the publication. It further states that all invitations to cover public events must be routed in writing to the editor or any other superior with delegation powers. In cases where a business journalist attends a sponsored event, the resultant article must carry a note at the bottom detailing the sponsors.

The *Business Day's* code goes a step further by requiring its employees to desist from offering payment or favours in exchange for information from sources. Business journalists are advised to inform the editor in cases where potential conflict exists. Failure to do so is categorised as breaching the code. The code of ethics prescribes a general ban on any outside work that engenders a conflict of interest with journalistic activity or is liable to do so. For instance, section 5 of the code is so explicit on moonlighting. It calls upon all business journalists to get clearance from the editor before undertaking any freelance work.

6.1.3 Case study 2: Business Daily's Code of Ethics

The *Business Daily* of Kenya's voluminous group code of conduct outlines the editorial guidelines and objectives. The character and philosophy of the Nation Media Group's news and information outlets are shaped by these editorial guidelines and objectives. Divided into four parts, they deal with broad and specific issues of policy, professional, operational and administrative guidelines as well as journalistic conduct in the sourcing and compilation of news, features, documentaries as well as editorials and commentaries. The code goes at length to elucidate the following traditional ethical principles and norms: accuracy and fairness, opportunity to reply, letters to the editor, unnamed sources, confidentiality, misrepresentation, obscenity, taste and tone in reporting, paying for news and articles, plagiarism, discrimination, recording interviews and telephone conversations, privacy, intrusion into grief or shock, financial journalism conflict of interest and unfair advantage, etc (see attached appendix 4 for the full copy of the code).

The code is explicit on the importance of accuracy and fairness. It notes that the fundamental objective of a business journalist is to report fairly, accurately and without bias on matters of public interest. It calls upon business journalists to present all sides of a story through obtaining comments from anyone mentioned in an unfavourable context. On the issue of opportunity to reply, it states that a fair opportunity to reply to inaccuracies should be given to individuals or organisations when reasonably called for. In the event, the request to correct inaccuracies in a story is in the form of a letter, the editor is expected to publish it in full or its abridged and edited version, particularly when it is too long. Another issue relates to letters to the editor, the code says that an editor who decides to open his columns on a controversial subject is not obliged to publish all the letters received in regard to that subject. He/she is expected to publish them either in their entirety or the gist of them. However, a fair balance between the pros and cons of the principal issue must be published.

The code also outlines the issue of unnamed sources. It stipulates that unnamed sources should not be used unless the pursuit of truth will best be served by not naming the source. All material used in a report from sources other than the reporter's should be indicated in the story. On the issue of confidentiality, business journalists have a moral obligation to protect confidential sources of information in line with the existing legal framework. It proceeds to call upon all business journalists to identify themselves and not to obtain or seek to obtain information or pictures through misrepresentation or subterfuge. Business journalists are also exhorted not publish anything that is obscene, vulgar or offensive to public good taste. Thus any story, photograph or drawing/cartoon of questionable taste should have significant news

value to justify its usage. It goes further note that, generally, what is in good taste is to be determined by the prevailing social norms. In principle, business journalists at the *Business Daily* are expected to avoid pay for information. Paying for news and articles is seen as affecting the credibility of information. Another ethical issue discussed in the code relates to plagiarism. Business journalists should attribute whenever someone's work has been cited. Attribution is considered fair journalistic practice so long as the source is acknowledged.

On the issue of discrimination, business journalists are expected to avoid prejudicial or pejorative references to a person's race, tribe, clan, religion, sex or sexual orientation or to any physical or mental illness, handicap or political orientation. In line with the constitution of the land, the code stipulates that everyone should be accorded equal treatment as news subjects or sources and business journalists should not deliberately deny the right of any group to exposure in the media. Another ethical breach outlined in the code is the recording of interviews and telephone conversations. The code explicitly directs business journalists to desist from tapping anyone in the course of an interview without the person's knowledge and agreement except in rare and justifiable cases. Such exception includes a situation where the recording is necessary to protect the journalist in a legal action. On the contentious issue of privacy, the code states that the public's right to know needs to be weighed vis-a-vis the privacy rights of people in the news. Intrusion and enquiries into an individual's private life without their consent are simply not tolerated unless public interest is indisputably involved. The code also addresses the issue of intrusion into grief. Business journalists are expected to act ethically by deploying sympathy, empathy and discretion.

The *Business Daily* is more concerned about share ownership by its employees. Their code has a semblance of a business journalism ethical regime. Of particular note about the code, is that it bears hallmarks of Anglo-American business journalism ethical traditions in so far as it addresses issues of disclosure, conflict of interest and share ownership. The code requires business journalists not to write about shares in whose performance they know that they, their close families or associates have significant financial interest, without disclosing the interest to the editor. This preferred ethical behaviour as espoused in the code shows the conduct that the *Business Daily* is serious about business journalism ethics. However like in other media systems, it raises the problem of voluntary disclosure and measuring what is meant by 'significant interest'. It is a porous situation which facilitates ethical lapses.

On share ownership, the code exhorts business journalists not to buy or sell, either directly or through nominees or agents, shares or securities which they intend to write in the future. Similarly, it calls upon business journalists to give due diligence to financial information when interpreting it. One can argue that in line with these business journalism ethical breaches, the *Business Daily*'s code has semblances with extracts on a similar subject on the codes of the *American Business Journal*, *Wall Street Journal*, the *Financial Times* and *Bloomberg*. However, vagueness shrouds its implementation in practice given the working conditions of most journalists in African newsrooms. For instance, the *Nation Media Group* code of ethics is blunt on gifts and freebies underlying its policy of zero-tolerance of corrupt practices. It lists gifts, bribes, brown envelopes, favours, free travel, free meals or drinks, special treatment and privileges as compromising the integrity of journalists, editors and their employers. Business journalists are advised to conduct themselves in a manner that protects them from 'real or apparent' conflicts of interest. All situations capable of creating undue familiarity are expected to be avoided or handled cautiously.

6.1.4 Case study 3: Financial Gazette's Code of Ethics

The *Financial Gazette* of Zimbabwe does not have its own code, but relies on the industry-wide code subscribed to by the Voluntary Media Council of Zimbabwe in conjunction with the Zimbabwe Union of Journalists. The industry-wide code used by the *Financial Gazette* is silent on duties and responsibilities expected from business reporters. The code is broad though general in its prescription. It emphasises elements such as general standards, accuracy and fairness, plagiarism, protection of sources, national security, right of reply, correction of inaccuracy or distortion, comment, bribes and inducements, pressure or influence, payment for information, hatred or violence, reporting of elections, privacy, interviewing or photographing children, surreptitious gathering of information etc (see attached appendix 5 for the full copy of the code).

There is space here to briefly outline the aforementioned ethical values as espoused in the industry-wide code. On the issue of accuracy and fairness, journalists are exhorted to report and interpret the news with scrupulous honesty, avoid distortions and take all reasonable steps to ensure that they disseminate accurate information. In the event of distortions or inaccuracies being published, the paper is expected to publish a correction at the earliest possible opportunity and with comparable prominence. Another ethical value relates to right of reply. The code calls upon media organisations to ensure that a 'wronged' person or

organisation be given a fair opportunity to reply so as to enable that person or organisation to correct any inaccuracies and to respond to the criticism. On comment, newspapers are advised to maintain a clear separation between comment and opinion in a news article.

Another contentious ethical requirement deals with reporting of hatred or violence. The code explicitly warns journalists against publishing material that is intended or is likely to engender hostility or hatred towards persons on the grounds of their race, ethnic origin, nationality, gender, sexual orientation, physical disability, religion or political affiliation. Media practitioners are exhorted to report on elections in a fair and balanced manner. On privacy, journalists can only report on a person's private life when it is in the public interest to so. Intrusion into privacy is justifiable when detecting or exposing criminal conduct, exposing seriously anti-social conduct, protecting public health and safety and preventing the public from being misled by a statement or action. Journalists are advised to desist from surreptitious gathering of information. Plagiarism is strictly prohibited. In line with the ethic of confidentiality, journalists are supposed to protect their news sources unless the identity is required in a court of law to expose serious criminal conduct.

On close scrutiny, the code of conduct for Zimbabwean media practitioners reads like a wish list of general values but fails to allude to business journalism peculiarities. For instance, the issue of stock ownership, moonlighting, insider trading and 'share punting' which are serious ethical violations in specialised business journalism is never mentioned. They don't speak to the particularities of business journalism as a specialised news genre with its own narrative conventions, assumptions and routines (Brand, 2010). In fact one can adduce that the code operates within the traditional normative framework which sees the media as functional in society insofar as it educates, informs and entertains as put forward by Sir John Reith, the first Director General for British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). In section 8, the code also outlines the course of action in the event of sponsored trips, bribes and gifts. It prescribes that journalists must desist from publishing or suppressing or altering newsworthy information in return for payment of money or other gifts. Reading through the code, one gets the feeling that it does not explicitly address the issue of moonlighting although it deals with cheque book journalism. The fact that the news organisation does not have an internal code highlights the complexity in which business journalists are expected to work in an ethical vacuum. The ethical vacuum does not augur well in a context of political and economic crisis (Chari, 2007; Mano, 20007). The content of the code of ethics which Fingaz subscribes to, although relevant to cover other journalistic genres, it falls short in providing guidance to

business reporters on stocks ownership, insider trading, moonlighting and 'share punting' amongst other ethical dilemmas.

6.2 Comparative analysis of institutional codes of ethics

Rosenstiel (2004) reminds us that 'journalists fulfil the role of gatekeepers while there are no fences linked to the gates. Rumours graze over the place because they slip past the gates. An ethical code plays the role of fence to prevent this'. This section looks at how the three institutional codes compare in tackling pertinent business journalism ethical dilemmas.

A range of themes recurred in the three codes of ethics, and they referred to similar journalistic responsibilities and duties, corroborating Limor's (2006: p. 168) observation that journalistic codes the world over display "remarkable similarities in the ideas, or standards of conduct and the basic tenets which are advocated". Common principles among the three codes include: the importance of accuracy; the duty to refuse bribes; avoidance of plagiarism; the obligation to honour confidentiality of sources; respect for people's right to privacy; the imperative to avoid conflicts of interest; fairness in news gathering processes; integrity of the source and the journalist, the primacy of freedom of expression and comment; and the duty to correct mistakes. While these principles apply to journalism in general, this article analyses and compares the treatment in the codes of those principles which have a particular relevance for business journalism. They are: accuracy/truthfulness, the duty to refuse bribes, avoiding conflicts of interest, and resisting pressure from advertisers or sources of information. Although at the general level, the three codes are similar, on the level of individual principles there are qualitative differences. For example, although both *Business Day's* and *Business Daily's* codes contain sections on conflicts of interest, the former focuses on acceptance of gifts and the latter on share ownership by journalists.

6.2.1 Accuracy

The three codes are remarkably similar in the way they address business journalists' fundamental obligation to be truthful and report the news accurately, and what should be done in the event of inaccurate reporting. There is a clear recognition of the importance of accuracy in business journalism, where news can have an immediate impact on markets by moving the prices of securities. All three codes also recognise the importance of fairness in reporting, and include the responsibility to correct mistakes promptly. The *Business Daily's* code of conduct and ethics states the following with regard to accuracy:

The fundamental objective of a journalist is to report fairly, accurately and without bias on matters of public interest. All sides of a story should be reported. It is important to obtain comments from anyone mentioned in an unfavourable context. Whenever it is recognised that an inaccurate, misleading or distorted report has been published, it should be corrected promptly. Corrections should report the correct information and not restate the error except when clarity demands.

The *Financial Gazette*'s code of ethics echoes the above sentiments:

Media practitioners and media institutions must report and interpret the news with scrupulous honesty and must take all reasonable steps to ensure that they disseminate accurate information and that they depict events fairly and without distortions... Before a media institution publishes a report, the reporter and the editor must ensure that all the steps that a reasonable, competent media practitioner would take to check its accuracy have in fact been taken (**Section 4**).

Business Day's code operationalises the quest for accuracy and fairness as follows:

Take every possible step to ensure that both praise and criticism are backed up by knowledgeable, independent sources, ensure that anyone who is criticised is given an opportunity to respond, make an active attempt to seek out and highlight the independent view, and written editorial policy for each publication that is distributed to all employees (**Section 1**).

It is clear that the codes regard accuracy, honesty and fairness as foundational journalistic issues, and underscore the need to ensure fair and balanced reports of events. Distortion of information by exaggeration, by giving only one side of a story, by placing improper emphasis on one aspect of a story, by reporting the facts out of the context in which they occurred or by suppressing relevant available facts are marked as ethical violations. The three codes share a common understanding of the core values of journalism such as integrity, balance, accuracy, right of reply, correction of inaccuracies, payment for information, bribery, confidentiality, respect for others and fairness. This is so because journalism has been described as a d iscipline of verification (Kovach and Rosenstiel, 2001: 70), where accuracy, honesty, transparency and originality are the cornerstones.

6.2.2 Bribery

Bribery of journalists has become ubiquitous in some African countries (Ndangam, 2006; Chari, 2007), and business journalists are not immune to temptation. It was clear that all three codes consider bribery as a threat to journalistic integrity which compromises the credibility of the media organisation. The codes also recognise that the corrupting effect of bribery does not depend on a *quid pro quo* by the journalist, but that a gift or "freebie" may also

compromise the independence and integrity of a journalist. The *Nation Media Group* code of ethics exemplifies the zero-tolerance approach to bribery:

> Gifts, bribes, brown envelopes, favours, free travel, free meals or drinks, special treatment or privileges can compromise the integrity of journalists, editors and their employers. Journalists, editors and their employers should conduct themselves in a manner that protects them from conflicts of interest, real or apparent.

This extract reflects that the organisation would like its business journalists not only to avoid conflicts of interest but also the appearances of such conflicts. All situations capable of creating undue familiarity are expected to be avoided or handled cautiously. The *BDFM* code of ethics calls upon business journalists to desist from accepting gifts and bribes. It cautions:

> BDFM employees should not accept gifts from companies, sources, suppliers or customers in excess of R200. All gifts of whatever value should be declared to the editor or his/her representative and the recipients are encouraged to hand them over to the editor/representative for the annual Christmas raffle (**Section 3**).

On direct bribery – where a *quid pro quo* is expected - the section 3 of the code continues:

> Journalists should never undertake to publish or not publish any material in exchange for favours of any description.

It also includes a reference to a ubiquitous feature of South African journalism: corporate-sponsored travel:

> Journalists must under no circumstances commit the paper to publishing a story about a company or other organisation in return for a trip. Any story based on a sponsored journey must be as balanced and well-researched as any story written in the newsroom. As with any other story, anyone taking a trip should make a point of seeking out opinions other than those of the sponsor, e.g., competitors, analysts, other governments. Paid accommodation and transport while on assignment may be accepted on the sole criterion of whether it benefits the publication. All invitations must be routed in writing through the editor or whoever the editor delegates (**Section 3**).

The *Financial Gazette*'s code is also explicit about bribery:

> Media practitioners...must not publish or suppress a report or omit or alter vital facts in that report in return for payment of money or for any other gift or reward (**Section 8**).

6.2.3 Conflicts of Interest

Two of the codes - those applying at the *Business Daily* and the *Business Day* - include rules regulating coverage of companies in which the journalist owns shares. Such rules are a near-universal feature of business journalism ethics codes in the Anglo-American tradition

(Tambini, 2010), and are instituted in addition to legislative measures designed to prevent insider trading or market manipulation. However, while recognising the need to regulate share ownership by business journalists, ethics codes deal with the issue differently. Some require share ownership to be disclosed to editors or to readers, while others prohibit journalists from owning shares in companies they cover. The *Business Daily* code requires business journalists not to write about shares in whose performance they know that they, their close families or associates have significant financial interest, without disclosing the interest to the editor:

> Even where the law does not prohibit it, journalists should not use for their own profit financial information they receive in advance of its general publication nor should they pass that information to others. They should not buy or sell, either directly or through nominees or agents, shares or securities about which they intend to write in the near future. Utmost care should be exercised by journalists in giving any interpretation to financial information

Business Day's code of ethics, on the other hand, does not restrict share ownership by its journalists, but requires disclosure:

> Where a journalist has an interest and/or is a p layer in an industry, he/she should request the newsdesk to disclose this at the bottom of the article, or to assign the story elsewhere (**Section 2.8**).

Another potential conflict of interest occurs where journalists do paid work outside their news organisation, known as "moonlighting". The *Business Daily* and *Business Day's* codes of ethics address the potential conflict of interest created by accepting outside work. *Business Day's* code states:

> All freelance work conducted must be cleared first with the editor or his representative (**Section 5**).

Business Day's Code also recognises the potential of conflicts of interest arising out of membership of civic, political or lobby organisations:

> Journalists should avoid any activity that could impair their impartiality. Journalists' civic duty or political beliefs could very well entail support for or membership of an organisation or a movement. But if the organisation forms part of their reporting responsibility, they should not accept payment from the organisation concerned or hold an executive post. Where potential conflict exists journalists have a duty to inform the editor. Failure to do so will be construed as a breach of this code (**Section 3**).

6.2.4 Pressure or influence

Pressure refers to any force or influence which causes a journalist to feel strongly compelled to act in a manner desirable to the source of the force or influence (Oluruntola, 2007). Proprietary demands codified through formal and informal editorial policies in the Zimbabwean press manifest themselves in the editorial content (Mano, 2005). The three codes address this ethical dilemma in different ways. The *Financial Gazette*'s code caution journalists to be wary of advertisers and politicians' influence on news reports:

> Media practitioners and media institutions must not suppress or distort information which the public has a r ight to know because of pressure or influence from their advertisers or others who have a corporate, political or advocacy interest in the media institution concerned (**Section 9**).

The *Business Daily*'s policy guidelines specifically address advertisements and public relations material use:

> All stories based on PR material so used will, however, be re-written in the news style of the Group, any self indulgence removed and its inclusions judged solely on its news value. Special care will be taken, however, not to alter or misrepresent the essential factual content of the PR communication. The media will not allow any advertisement or commercial that is contrary to these ethical principles.

Despite small differences evident in the three codes, it is clear that pressure is acknowledged as impairing journalists' judgement and compromising objectivity. Pressure is conceptualised as anything exerting influence from politicians, to public relations firms and advertisers. McManus (1997) reminds us that issues such as pressure from advertisers should not be treated as individual responsibility because such misplaced conceptualisation fails to acknowledge the conflict of interest inherent in all media organisations. His argument is that many codes of ethics call on journalists to resist pressures from advertisers, thereby making the individual journalist responsible for withstanding such pressures, when generally, most of the power to stand up to advertisers lies with senior management.

In light of document analysis of the preferred ethical practices discussed in this section, it can be adduced that the three codes have commonalities and differences. In terms of commonalities, all the codes are explicit on the importance of the following journalistic values: accuracy, fairness, corruption, conflict of interest, and confidentiality, payment for information, and pressure from news sources, sponsored trips and misrepresentation. However, it is also equally clear that the *Business Daily* and *Business Day* have codes that explicitly outline ethical dilemmas facing business journalists such as conflict of interest, share ownership and market manipulation. On the other hand, their codes are silent on insider

trading, market abuse and disclosure. The *Financial Gazette's* code addresses general journalistic ethical breaches.

6.3 Negotiating ethical issues in business journalism practice

Research in different media systems has shown that the mere existence of a code of ethics is no guarantee for professional behaviour. In fact, Simper (1995: 17) cautions us that: "If doing the right thing relies on rules, then the right thing won't happen." He adds that because journalists are individuals who make their own choices, it would be impossible to force ethical standards on unwilling journalists. Similarly, Hulteng and Nelson (1971:239) have shown that codes of ethics can benefit only those who understand the meaning behind them. Their argument is that codes of ethics generally have a "moral rather than a tangible force".

The findings in this section highlights that although the previous section shows that the three news organisations have clear ethical guidelines in place, and editors and journalists recognised the importance of ethical behaviour, ethical practice did not always follow. It discusses how business journalists and editors negotiate ethical issues in their day-to-day news processing practices. It also highlights the problems inherent in putting into practice codified business journalism ethics in African contexts. The discussion constitutes the background for understanding not only the business journalists' coping strategies when dealing with the 'murky' world of business and financial markets, but also the way in which they 'rationalise' and 'balance-off' the responsibilities and duties circumscribed in their institutional codes of ethics.

It is within the theoretical expositions by Bourdieu that this study takes cognisance of the fact that the journalistic field (including business journalism) is structurally and operationally locked into other fields (for instance the market in the case of business journalism) which compromises its claims to ethicality (see Banda, 2010; Rumney, 2010; Tambini, 2010 and Roush, 2008). In this light, the business journalists' perceptions and opinions are quoted verbatim in order to underscore the intercalary nature of the business media in relation to other sub-systems (fields). However, business journalists are called upon to maintain their credibility by ensuring the 'so what' question is addressed in all news articles involving powerful social actors such as advocacy or political groups. Kasoma (1996) observes that two assumptions can be made about the need for journalism ethics in Africa. In the first place ethics is necessary for the media to retain respectability and credibility and for journalists to

perform objectively in their roles in society. And secondly that journalism ethics are not enforceable by law or codes but was an attitude of mind, a conviction that manifests itself in behaviour-thus an ability to make moral decisions on journalism performance.

The above statement reinforces Brand (2010)'s argument that the financial media are a vital cog in the market mechanism; the price system and market economy cannot function without an information network. Most interviewees acknowledged the centrality of business journalism ethics in Africa, but were quick to note that working conditions are not favourable at times to allow for professional conduct. Financial journalists operate within a framework of rights and duties which institutionalises a particular ethical approach defined by their role in the market system (Tambini, 2010). Business news can have direct and powerful impacts on markets (Thompson, 2006; Roush, 2008; Tambini, 2010). This raises fundamental questions about the responsibilities of financial journalists.

Business journalists are caught up in an intercalary position which on the one hand, requires them to play a watchdog role in the system of corporate governance; and on the other, to be ethical when dealing with the reflexive nature of their relationship with markets (Tambini, 2010: 162). Journalists interviewed appreciated the centrality of business journalism ethics in this position. A reporter at the *Financial Gazette* put it thus:

> "We as business journalists have enormous power to influence business decisions (…) hence ethicality is of paramount importance."

There was consensus among interviewees in this study about the importance of codes of ethics in relation to the coverage of markets and business corporations. Business journalists interviewed also tended to agree on the key challenges they face, although they were less unanimous on how to respond to them. Some of these will be discussed in turn.

6.3.1 Pressure from Advertisers

Advertising and public relations has probably had the biggest impact among the outside forces acting on the development of business journalism (Roush 2006:72). Although the pressures usually work in subtle ways, editors and reporters are increasingly coming under pressure from senior management to 'increase advertising and subscription rates, to introduce cosmetic alterations of page design and makeup to give impression of modernity' (Badgikian, 1997: 83) and to quietly tone down on damaging stories involving major advertisers. Lewin (2002: 19) adds that it is no wonder that business pages of many newspapers are often little

more than extensions of corporate public relations departments and this constitutes nothing less than an abrogation of editorial responsibility. During interviews with business journalists, pressures from or on behalf of advertisers were cited as major impediments to ethical news production. Pressure may come from external sources, but often also from within the newspaper management. This was evident to a greater extent at the newspapers in Zimbabwe and Kenya than in South Africa:

> In the case of Nation Media Group, bribery cases have been rare, but threats to cut advertising if the story is not toned down are rampant. There are companies which, if they threaten to pull out advertisements, even editors are forced to kill stories in order to protect the lifeline of media companies. *(Business Reporter, Business Daily).*

Advertising is a major artery in the existence of media organisations hence 'those who pay the piper call the tune'. At times, you can get a call from the CEO or editor to kill certain stories in order to safeguard advertising revenue. The message is: don't endanger the flow of the stream lest we are not able to pay you at the end of the month. *(Business Reporter, Business Daily)*.

> I was once faced by a predicament, where I was supposed to kill a story because it was stepping on the toes of one of our major advertisers. In fact, the boss phoned me to drop the story and focus on other newsworthy stories. *(Business Reporter, Financial Gazette).*

It is clear from the foregoing that businesses like to see stories in the media about themselves, particularly positive stories about their new products and new initiatives because they create a positive image about the company (Roush, 2006: 71). Respondents in Zimbabwe noted that they have mastered 'survival tactics' when dealing with powerful advertisers. These tactics include toeing the editorial line (unwritten institutional conventions) and self-censorship in order to safeguard the advertising revenue stream. However respondents in Kenya and South Africa were not forthcoming on how they deal with pressure from advertisers. The corporatisation of the newsroom and the corresponding extension of influence of corporate pressures on business journalists have amplified ethical moral dilemmas as the above extracts have demonstrated. It is also clear from the above extracts that the intercalary position that business journalists occupy makes it difficult for them to act ethically as newspapers are driven by the quest to make profits. This observation finds support in Richards' (2004) view that the forces of corporatism are eroding business journalism's claims, advanced under the umbrella of social responsibility theory, to service the economic system by providing information, discussion and debate on financial and economic issues; enlighten the public so

as to make it capable of self-government; and safeguard the rights of the individual by serving as a watchdog against business corporations and government.

6.3.2 Pressure from news sources

Bourdieu (1984) has shown that the journalistic field is characterised by the strategic deployment of power by different social actors. Business reporters' ethical agency is severely affected by their relative 'powerless positions' as employees dealing with wealthy businesspeople and influential organisations. It could be argued that the central ethical dilemma of the individual business journalist caught at the boundary of corporate responsibility is 'analogous to the individual soldier caught at the boundary of the evil military act' (Richards, 2004: 123). In the end, business journalists become timid, meaning that certain issues, views or situations that rest uneasily on the corporate line will not be reported, exposed or aired. This sub-section examines how business journalists negotiate pressures from news sources.

News sources exert control through selective granting or denying of access, the threat or actuality of lawsuits, or by relying on personal relationships with media executives who have the power to shape the news agenda. Interviews with business journalists in the three media organisations confirm that businesses exert enormous pressure on the business press, partly due to the "embedded" nature of the relationship between the business press and the market. Pressure from news sources appeared to be more pronounced in Zimbabwe and Kenya than in South Africa. In the case of Kenya, Mudhai (2007) characterises it as a country deeply immersed in corruption and patron-client networks, where politicians and businesspeople rely on the media to cover up their misdemeanours and for good publicity. Whereas in Zimbabwe pressure from news sources has been amplified by the political and economic crisis (Chari, 2007, Mabweazara, 2010), which has rendered positive media coverage the most prized resource amongst politicians and businesspeople. South Africa seems to fairing well due to its well developed media sector and active Press Ombudsman when compared to other sites. It is important to note that pressure from news sources was cited by business journalists at all the three sites:

> At times you meet cunning CEOs who try by all means to push their corporate news angles. In this work of ours, if you refuse to budge then he or she will approach the next guy on the line. He can be strategically located above you, which means if he manages to influence that one you have no choice but to run the story. The whole process of news production is infested with power dynamics which CEOs know how

to manipulate to their advantage. Some CEOs bargain at the top level with your CEO before you are assigned to cover the story. Most of these executives have honed these social capital and networks over the years; hence they can always scratch each other's backs without you understanding the dynamics of source cultivation. They won't endanger their social relations for anything" (Business Reporter, *Business Daily*).

The above extract from a journalist in Kenya reinforces Grattan (1998)'s observation that 'the bottom line has become hungrier and hungrier and more and more the imperative by which performance of editors, is judged'. On the other hand, respondents in Zimbabwe seem to suggest that pressure from news sources can be latent or manifest depending on the kind of information requiring attention. Respondents described pressure from news sources particularly public relations departments as a daily occurrence:

> Every day we receive loads of press releases and other public relations materials through our fax machines and in our email accounts. At times, some daring news sources visit our newsrooms to push their news agenda (Business Reporter, *Financial Gazette*).

In South Africa, such pressure from news sources was described as emanating from financial analysts, stockbrokers and PR firms:

> Because we depend on financial analysts and stockbrokers to analyse company statements for us, they usually abuse that dependency relationship to advance their own stories. Some even coerce to send them stories before we publish them (Business Reporter, *Business Day*).

In light of the above extracts, it is clear that the mere existence of codes of ethics is not enough because 'the most important 'effects' of ethics codes are symbolic, rather than behavioural, in nature (Pritchard and Morgan, 1989: 941). There is a significant difference between what is written in a code of ethics and what business journalists practice in Kenya and Zimbabwe. Although business journalists seem to know ethical principles governing their profession, they are quick to cite pressures which make it difficult to uphold them. As seen Chapter 3 and 4, Mabweazara (2010: 1) clearly articulates this position, arguing that the claim that professional journalists subscribe to the generic normative ideals of objectivity and associated journalistic notions perhaps generalises what in fact are differentiated newsmaking cultures.

6.3.3 Insider Trading

Most codes of ethics on business journalism, especially in America and Europe, include strict rules to prevent insider trading (Tambini, 2010). Insider trading refers to the practice of using

information that is not in the public domain to invest in securities such as shares for individual gain. In many countries, including South Africa, this is against the law and in breach of stock exchange regulations. Respondents in this study stated that insider trading cannot be ruled out, even where ethics codes have rules on share ownership and trading by journalists. An interesting case is that of the *Business Daily* in Kenya, which is situated in the same building six floors above the Nairobi Stock Exchange. Journalists are well aware of the potential for unethical behaviour created by this close physical proximity with the market they cover:

> We have not received any complaints thus far. However, I can say there is no concerted programme group-wide to monitor business journalists. I must hasten to say that not receiving complaints doesn't mean it's not happening and will not happen in future. (Business Editor, *Business Daily*).

> The Nairobi Stock Exchange is located in the first floor of the Nation Media Centre. We know the results ahead of everyone because we are strategically located close to the stock exchange and also due to our journalistic privileges. (Business Reporter, *Business Daily*).

Reporting on companies in which the journalist owns shares was seen as a conflict of interest, though respondents differed on how newspapers should deal with the issue:

> I know of some business editors who own shares on the local bourse and they still write editorials and stories on the performance of those counters. It defeats the whole notion of conflict of interest, but business journalism is still underdeveloped in this country and the issue of ethics exists in theory but not in practice. (Business Reporter, *Financial Gazette*).

> It is difficult to stop business journalists from owning shares on the local bourse, although we have not received any complaints of insider trading thus far. I must hasten to say that not receiving complaints doesn't mean it's not happening and will not happen in future (Business Editor, *Business Day*.

Against this background, it is clear that there are no water tight rules on share ownership and insider trading as evidenced by quotations cited above. Although business journalists in Kenya and Zimbabwe seem to point to the existence of the practice, some journalists when probed further professed ignorance. Interestingly, the editor of the *Business Day* noted that it was difficult to stop business journalists from engaging in share ownership schemes and insider trading. Insider trading remains a grey area in all the three newsrooms with no firm ethical rules in place.

6.3.4 Market Manipulation

Market manipulation, also known as ''share ramping'', is one of the strands of business journalism ethics which is not specifically addressed in the codes of ethics from the three media organisations. Financial journalists can have impact on share prices through recommendation and thereby profit by selling shares on in the short term. During interviews with business journalists, it was clear that most of them are aware about the influence financial media can have on the prices of stocks and bonds:

> Business information is very sensitive and valuable hence we as business reporters are at an advantage to influence the market (Business Reporter, *Business Day*).

> We cannot run away from the fact that business journalism is a very sensitive genre, where the impacts of news reports are far too great. One story can turn the whole business organisation up-side-down in a split of hours. It requires rigorous balance, more caution and higher level of ethical judgment and integrity" (Business Editor, *Business Daily*).

> In Zimbabwe, given the economic crisis which saw the stock exchange being closed on a number of occasions, it would be difficult to measure the impact of news writing on share performance. All i can say is that business journalists write news articles on behalf of their paymasters (Business Reporter, *Financial Gazette*).

One important theme that emerged from the interviews is that business journalists know that news reports can influence the market. In the case of Zimbabwe, respondents noted that it is difficult to establish whether news reports are influencing share performances because of the closure of the local bourse in 2008. Respondents in Kenya also acknowledged the 'power' of business news in moving stock prices but were mum when probed further on the existence of market manipulation. On the other hand, respondents in South Africa also acknowledged the potential of news reports to trigger a 'bullish' and 'bearish' sentiment on the market. Since, market manipulation is still a grey area in the three codes of ethics, respondents in all the sites could not ascertain whether the practice existed and did not have solutions for it. There is nothing that is being done to nip market manipulation in the bud in the three newsrooms.

6.3.5 Conflicts of Interest

While all genres of journalism face issues of conflict of interest, research has shown that such issues are more pronounced in relation to financial journalism (see Banda, 2010; Rumney, 2009; Tambini, 2010). The intercalary position of a business journalist in relation to the interest of the reader, investor or market makes such conflicts unavoidable. On the one hand, business journalists see themselves as information providers for market participants; and on other hand they have a watchdog role over those very market participants (Tambini, 2010).

One such conflict, already mentioned, concerns ownership of shares of companies which a journalist covers, a situation which may nurture the temptation to withhold information that could hurt the company or publish information that favours it, or engage in profit-driven market manipulation (Tambini, 2010).

While respondents were aware of the potential conflict of interest created by owning shares, some thought it did not constitute a serious problem. The economic condition of journalists in Africa was cited as a justification for investing in shares and profiting from inside information:

> The paradox which business journalists are faced with everyday is whether to give market intelligence to others to benefit while I remain mired in poverty? (Business Reporter, *Business Daily*)

Other respondents, however, believed that the poor salaries of journalists eliminated the possibility of market manipulation and insider trading:

> Most of us have access to market intelligence in terms of the local stock exchange, but lack the capital base to use that information to our advantage" (Business Reporter, *Financial Gazette*).

At *Business Day*, respondents were not forthcoming on share ownership although they could not rule out the practice.

> We are closest to the fence which separates everyone from the green pastures. Although i don't own any shares at the moment i cannot say that is true of anyone in the newsroom (Business Reporter, *Business Day*).

Statements from reporters at the *Business Day* and *Financial Gazette* cited above reinforces the fact conflicts of interest are difficult to police since one can own shares through their friends, spouses or even family members. Respondents at *Financial Gazette* seem not to violate the conflict of interest ethic due to their constrained financial position. Others under normal circumstances they would buy shares and still write about them. 'Economic capital' disenfranchisement is one of the reasons keeping reporters in Zimbabwe and Kenya away from stock market investment. It is apparent in business journalists' words that suffer from status-inconsistency which results from amassing 'symbolic capital' in a profession that pays little. Although interviewed business journalists (agents) underscore the importance of shunning conflicts of interest situations in order to draw the attention and recognition in the journalistic field (Bourdieu, 1984), they are quick to point out that status (symbolic capital) without money (economic capital) is meaningless.

6.3.6 Disclosure

A related question is whether journalists should disclose their financial interests, for example ownership of shares in a company they cover. Most business journalism ethics codes, if not banning share ownership outright, require that journalists disclose their interests either to editors or, in some cases, to their audience (Tambini, 2010). In the case of codes of ethics analysed for this study, journalists are expected to declare only gifts received at corporate functions. Most codes are silent on the issue of share ownership except the *Business Daily,* which bans share ownership. *Business Day* requires journalists to disclose share ownership to readers at the bottom of an article. Respondents felt, however, that disclosure rules would be ineffective because they are difficult to police:

> How do we ensure business journalists are not trading in shares via their spouses or families? Share ownership is a private issue which is difficult to police. Investment decisions are private issues where disclosure is difficult to inculcate. (Business Reporter, *Business Daily*).

At the *Financial Gazette,* a respondent stated that disclosure rules were not policed because executives simply assumed journalists' relative poverty precluded share ownership:

> Disclosure of share ownership is not an issue at all. No one bothers you because they assume you cannot afford shares in the first place" (Business Reporter, *Financial Gazette*).

In contrast, respondents at the *Business Day* revealed that no one is forced to disclose share ownership when joining the paper and undertaking an assignment. For instance, the business editor noted that:

> It is difficult to stop business journalists from owning shares on the local bourse, although we have not received any complaints thus far. However, i can confirm that there is no concerted programme Group-wide to monitor business journalists.

6.3.7 "Brown envelopes" and other gifts

The causes for corruption in African newsrooms are varied and multiple. In most cases where it occurs, corruption is fuelled by poor working conditions, greed, materialism and hunger for media coverage by business enterprises (see Mudhai, 2007; Kruger, 2007; Chari, 2007; Lodamo and Skjerdal, 2009 and Harber, 2010). In such contexts, the role of the media as espoused under the social responsibility theory of holding the corporate organisations or the government accountable becomes highly idealized and may not be applicable in places where journalists don't have the resources and skills necessary to perform this function (Ndangam,

2006). In the absence of checks and balances due to the vulnerable status of poorly paid business journalists, it is possible for corporate organisations may get away with murder. As Harber (2010), succinctly puts it: "…the path to brown envelopes is strewn with gifts and freebies.

Many reporters interviewed conceded that the practice of receiving gifts from sources was unavoidable because their media organisations did not have enough resources such as vehicles to deploy reporters for news coverage. They said the allowance was a mere incentive for their subsistence while on the reporting duty. Although no reporter specifically accepted having taken money or any gift from sources either to positively publish or kill a story. In Zimbabwe and Kenya, some respondents in this study claimed personal knowledge of corrupt practices:

> "There is a saying here that says: "*mbudzi inodya payakasungirirwa*" (which literally means a goat grazes only at a place where it is tied). Most Zimbabwean journalists make a living through getting kickbacks from news sources whom they interact with on a day-to-day basis (Business Reporter, *Financial Gazette*).

In Kenya, inducements take place in times where information is being hidden and malpractices are being concealed.

> In cases, where a business organisation is trying to hide something, then you expect brown envelope journalism to be the last resort (Business Reporter, *Business Daily*).

Ethically speaking, the journalists appear to make little distinction between freebies and brown envelopes as extraterritorial journalistic practices. Although they tend to agree on the problematic sides of the practice, they justify it by referring to low salary and poor journalistic training. In South Africa, one respondent, while not having personal knowledge of bribery, did not rule it out:

> Not hearing about complaints related to ethical violations does not mean nothing is happening … It may be happening behind our backs (Business Reporter, *Business Day*).

In light of the above, it is arguable that 'brown envelopes' thrives even in media rich environments 'as long as media houses are poor--circulations are small, and the advertising cake is very limited and divided among too many hungry mouths' (Kruger, 2010). For instance, at *Fingaz* reporters take home around USD400 whereas at the *Nation Media Group*, reporters earn an average of USD1000 per month and finally at *Business Day*, curb reporters earn an average of R10 000 per month. Thus the above extracts from interviews with business

journalists buttresses Pritchard and Morgan (1989: 941)'s argument that if 'there is a link between the content of newspaper ethics codes and the behaviour of journalists faced with ethical decisions, the link is almost certainly indirect and mediated by a wide variety of other factors'. For instance, involvement in bribery appears to be driven by economic circumstances and supported by a pervasive culture of unethical behaviour, even amongst senior executives:

> I cannot afford to be ethical, when everyone including our bosses are accepting sponsored trips abroad and kick-backs in order to accommodate certain stories in the newspaper. At the end of the day, someone would say who would I harm if I accept a bribe for a story that is truthful? (Business Reporter, *Financial Gazette*).

> Tipping of journalists cannot be ruled out in this profession. Rules maybe set but when managers are not leading by example then curb reporters can also accept freebies. It's difficult to control (Business Reporter, *Business Day*).

> To tell you the truth, journalism in Zimbabwe does not pay adequately to live comfortably despite the status associated with journalism. We are seen as celebrities by our readers but the truth is that we still have bills to pay like anyone else, we have families to take care of and needs to meet. Yet we earn peanuts (Business Reporter, *Financial Gazette*).

> At the end of the day, low income condemns you to accepting sponsored trips for stories and other gift exchanges. In most cases, inducements take place in times where information is being hidden and malpractices are being concealed. In cases, where a business organisation is trying to hide something, then you expect brown envelope journalism to be the last resort (Business Reporter, *Business Daily*).

It is clear from the foregoing that brown envelope journalism manifests itself in different shades in different contexts. For instance, sponsored tours, corporate gifts such as t-shirts, diaries and cash inducements are all part of the 'media gift exchange'. Hyden (2006, p.73) refers to this as 'the economy of affection', that is, 'investing in reciprocal relations with other individual as a means of achieving seemingly impossible goals'. There is a very thin line separating sponsored visits from cash inducements because both strategies are meant to elicit positive media coverage. The above extracts corroborate Ndangam (2006)'s conclusions journalists in Africa pay lip-service to objectivity and autonomy while remaining committed to corrupt practices. Although editors mentioned that they take issue of bribery seriously, it seems that gifts and bribes exchange hands in newsrooms in Kenya and Zimbabwe. A study into the Ethiopian state media has shown that freebies and brown envelopes are widespread among journalists, although the management discourages and to some extent prohibits the practice (Lodamo and Skjerdal (2009). Interviews confirmed that some business journalists have relationships with politicians and business people (see White,

2010), which violate their institutional codes of ethics and foundational principles of journalism. In the end, most media organisations thrive and sustain themselves through an institutionalised culture of bribes, self-censorship and compromised integrity (Ndangam, 2006).

In Zimbabwe and Kenya, '*gombo journalism*' can be systematically explained by the prevailing material conditions and also as a socio-cultural phenomenon associated with moral bankruptcy or human factor decay (Mararike, 1998). In a context of normlessness or anomie (Durkheim, 1897), immoral journalistic behaviour takes root. In Zimbabwe and Kenya, bribery is prevalent to the point that: the police take '*chioko muhomwe*,' when they harass motorists and public transport users at road checkpoints; journalists take '*yemusana*' when they go out to cover events; civil servants take '*kutonyora*' in return for speeding up t he processing of documentation at government ministries; while ministers and ruling-party officials hand out 'electoral gifts' in return for votes during election campaigns. Bribery in Kenya can be explained by the fact that the country is ranked 146th out of 180 on the corruption index (Transparency International Index, 2009). Clearly, hand-outs to business journalists are commonplace, although the three codes concur that it affects media content credibility, respondents noted that there are no 'hard and fast' rules and practices on how to deal with them. Despite the rationalisations by business journalists in different media contexts, Colon (2003) has revised St Paul's first letter to Corinthians, Chapter 13 t o underscore the importance of credibility in journalism: "if i can write like the best writer in the news business, edit like the best editor, or gather news like the best reporter of news, but do not have credibility, i have nothing; i am clanging cymbal, a noisy gong (2003: 4).

6.3.8 Moonlighting

Pervasive moonlighting activities amongst business journalists especially within the Zimbabwe media context has corroborated Nyamnjoh (2005)'s conclusions that the adoption of codes of conduct has not necessarily resulted in better professional standards in Africa. The political and economic environment in Zimbabwe has also nurtured an environment in which journalists illicitly incorporate extra paid work into their daily work as a way of surviving the economic challenges facing the country by supplementing their poor salaries (Mabweazara, 2010). Some respondents justified "moonlighting", or outside work, by referring to their poor salaries, even though they recognised the potential for conflicts of

interest. In Zimbabwe, a respondent said, taking two jobs was now the norm among journalists.

> Since the dawn of the Zimbabwean crisis, it has been easier to sell our stories to pirate radio stations, online newspapers and other news agencies throughout the world. A good story fetches something like USD50, which means if someone can submit 10 articles per month you can pocket a cool USD500. This contrasts with my 8-5pm job which pays an average of USD300 (Business Reporter, *Financial Gazette*).

The above quotation finds support in Mabweazara (2010: 13) and Moyo (2007)'s observations that the Internet plays a central role in sustaining this extra work because the news organisations that the journalists ''moonlight'' for mainly comprise foreign-based media houses and online newspapers dedicated to Zimbabwean issues. On the other hand, business journalists noted that they retain their contractual obligations with their formal employers for a number of reasons: for financial security in case their part-time jobs fail them; to protect themselves from surveillance forces; to safeguard their legitimacy and maintain visibility to prospective foreign media houses; and to ensure guaranteed and regular access to the technologies that sustain their part-time work, particularly the Internet (Mabweazara, 2010: 14). To avoid being caught, business journalists revealed that there is widespread of use of pseudonyms and by-lines such as 'correspondents'. Another business reporter discusses freelancing as follows:

> Freelancing is more lucrative than real work. In fact, freelancing pays per story while full-time work pays a low flat salary which means the more stories one files the better the returns" (Business Reporter, *Financial Gazette*).

The above extract chimes with Mabweazara's (2010: 14) interview with a senior reporter in Harare who described 'moonlighting' in Zimbabwe as follows:

> ...The Internet has economically empowered a lot of journalists in Zimbabwe. There are people right here in this very press club who are doing jobs for Reuters, BBC, The Washington Post and The New York Times: some of the biggest news organisations in the world. It has all been made possible by the Internet. I can say 90 per cent of the journalists operating in Zimbabwe survive through the Internet because these are the guys that feed the outside world with stories.

In light of the above extracts, particularly in the context of the economic crisis, that there is a convergence of opinion by those both inside and outside the profession that journalistic standards in the country are deteriorating (Chari, 2007:17). *City Press* (SA) news editor and Zimbabwean journalist Japhet Ncube (2007) chastises his Zimbabwean colleagues for

impartial, unbalanced reporting, fabrication of stories and 'double standards'. He complains that:

> 'Finding a Zimbabwean journalist whose writing is impartial is like finding a virgin in Hillbrow and that [is] very worrying for me.' In light of the above, it is imperative that newsrooms ensure the urgent restoration of an ethical culture in the Zimbabwean media.

In the case of Zimbabwe, it is clear that when journalists are struggling to make ends meet, they are susceptible to bribes especially if there is no strong tradition of ethics. In an environment of severe economic crisis and rampant corruption, journalists have come to rely on a patronage system (Ndangham, 2006).

Interviews with business journalists in South Africa and Kenya also show that 'moonlighting' does exist although it is difficult to locate. Moonlighting from interviews with business journalists seem to thrive in a media system characterised by low remuneration as discussed in the previous sub-section. For instance, in Kenya rampant corruption and unscrupulous dealings seems to provide fertile ground for 'moonlighting'. Consider the following from a business reporter in Kenya:

> All you see is that someone drives an expensive car and dresses in designer labels which his or her salary cannot buy. That is evidence enough that some guys are hustling. We work in the same newsroom but we go home with different payslips. It happens but it's difficult to tell.

At the *Business Day*, moonlighting was described as unacceptable despite recent revelations at *Cape Argus* of a political journalist who doubled as a public relations consultant for a political party. An extract from one of the interviews sums up the mood amongst respondents in South Africa;

> Moonlighting is never acceptable as long as it complicates conflict of interest. As long as freelance work compromises one's conflict of interest, it is considered unethical. Business journalists are urged to declare their freelance work in advance.

In the light of the above extracts, it is noticeable that moonlighting produces business journalists who exhibit what Nyamnjoh (2005: 70) describes as a 'Jekyll-and-Hyde personality' that allows them to accommodate the interests of both their regular employers and their ''underground'' employers. In short, business journalists who practice it can be characterised as 'prostitutes' (Nyamnjoh, 2005: 73) or 'hand-to-mouth journalists' (Mabweazara, 2010: 15). Taking the argument further, Ibelema (2008: 29) posits that 'even with increasing professionalisation and professionalism, African journalists are compromised

when they are forced to seek subsistence [elsewhere]' because of poor salaries. In view of the above, one is forced to conclude that socio-economic realities of working business journalists in Africa are creating a fertile ground for the sprouting of 'briefcase news agencies' and 'underground foreign correspondents'. Business journalists end up using their right to free speech to speak and print in favour of their patrons. In fact, practice in the field deconstructs the notions of professional ethics and reconstructs notions of survival. Adelusi (2000: 43) warns that "until the problem of poverty is seriously addressed with concrete solutions, no constitution or code of ethics or any other body or association for that matter can adequately discipline or regulate the conduct of journalists".

6.3.9 Embedded Business Journalism

Although interviewees were not asked explicit questions about the "embedded" nature of business journalism, some pointers to the existence of the practice did emerge. The concept of 'embedded journalism' enjoyed widespread usage during the recent war in Iraq is also applicable to everyday practices of business journalists in Zimbabwe, South Africa and Kenya. Embedded journalists were described as those reporters travelling with, and under, the protection of coalition forces (Tuosto, 2008). It is noteworthy to highlight the similarities and differences between conflict and financial embedded reporting. In the case of financial journalism, reporters become 'appendages' of business corporations serving the role of reproducing financial hegemony.

In the interviews, business journalists, however, often made comments that point to the existence of 'embeds' such as financial pundits and analysts who are paid to fan the flames of neoliberal populism. Respondents noted that due to cosy relationship between business and business journalists, their everyday practices and understandings of business journalism have become 'locked-in' into common industry practices. The existence of 'embedded business journalism' shows that ethical fitness measured at the level of substance (media content) without interrogating the methods of news gathering misses out on subtle ethical transgressions. In the context of business journalism ethics, 'embedded reporting' defies the legitimating principles of the profession such as objectivity, independence and conflict of interest. The following quote sums up the causes of embedded financial journalism in African newsrooms:

> "We depend on the business sector for stories and market analysis. Some business organisations take advantage of their privileged positions to push through recruit

embeds who work as proxy public relations officers. Over-reliance on economists and stockbrokers for news analysis has allowed for the sprouting of embedded business journalists" (*Business Day*, Business Reporter).

"For some of us business journalism is a stepping stone into corporate public relations hence nurturing good working relations with executives is of paramount importance. This is done through positive coverage in order to court the attention of CEOs so that we can be roped us into the PR department. Who doesn't want to own a nice house, fancy car and have numerous fringe benefits? We wine and dine with the 'who is who' in the economy" (*Financial Gazette*, Business Reporter).

It is perhaps in this light that Schechter (2009) argues that the business media can be characterised as having 'gone to bed with the business corporations'. It is arguable that the dependency relationship between business journalists and financial analysts has created a situation where 'embeddedness' where 'gatekeeping' of undesirable information can be done over 'lunch or dinner' by concerned parties. This chimes with Benson (1998: 467)'s observation that 'as an agent (business journalist) works their way into and through the field they are on a trajectory which is a path of neither "submission to, nor freedom from, the field'. The dearth of financial and economic literacy amongst business journalists interviewed in this study, seem to give financial analysts comparative advantage in determining the direction of business news in Zimbabwe, South Africa and Kenya. Instead of plugging gaps in the system of corporate oversight, embedded business journalism ends up hiding toxic financial products from the public. This supports Tuosto (2008)'s argument that 'embeddedness' creates a deadly "a mix of cooperation and tension". As discussed in Chapter 2, cooperation between business corporations and financial press deconstructs the Anglo-American journalism, calling into question the platonic separation of industry and press which lies at the heart of business journalism. It is clear from respondents that 'embeddedness' is used as a strategic means to access sensitive financial information, source cultivation and also for economic survival in a profession described as 'journalism of misery' by Mabweazara (2010). Such a cosy relationship between business and business journalists institutionalises 'manufacturing consent' on a predetermined economic ideology and setting parameters of debate and economic issues (Brand, 2010).

6.3. 10 Enforcement and monitoring of code of ethics

Concerns about monitoring and enforcement of codes of ethics were raised by all interviewed editors. They revealed that there are many challenges associated with enforcing and monitoring individual business reporters' conduct in the field. Business editors mentioned that it is difficult to keep a hard line stance against ethical transgressions due to peculiar

challenges facing African newsrooms such as lack of transport, low advertising revenue and massive labour turnover. Editors sometimes allow journalists to indulge in unethical behaviour – such as accepting sponsored travel opportunities – because their publications do not have the resources to pay for travel. In other cases, editors simply rely on the integrity of journalists, with no active monitoring of behaviour or policing of the ethics codes:

> We operate on shoe-string budgets which makes it difficult for us to provide transport to our reporters for fieldwork. At times, we allow journalists to go for sponsored trips because without such support, news gathering may ground to a halt. In end, monitoring journalists in the field is difficult (Business Editor, *Business Day*).

> It's difficult to keep track of business journalists' conduct while covering their beat; we therefore rely on their goodwill and honesty. Otherwise, it is difficult to monitor human behaviour. It is complex to police (Business Editor, *Financial Gazette*).

> The best way of going about it is to remain vigilant; however, the issue of resources especially in Africa makes monitoring a daunting challenge. We don't have resources to employ compliance officers so rely on trust (Business Editor, *Business Day*).

> We tell our journalists that the integrity of an individual is as good as the integrity of the organisation. In fact, you cannot build an organisation of integrity with unethical individuals. It's a two-way process. It is difficult anyway to monitor reporters because as an organisation we don't have such intelligence gathering mechanisms. We have no capacity hence we rely on goodwill. (Business Editor, *Business Daily*)

Although it may be difficult to generalise it seems apparent from the above extracts that business editors acknowledge that monitoring and enforcement of codes is an impossible task which transcends human resources policies to embrace what White (2010) calls 'ethics of system awareness' and respect for the 'ethos of professionalism'. It has emerged from the interviews that the mere existence of a code of ethics is no guarantee for ethical conduct, as the following extract confirms:

> Ethics is a living entity, which like constitutions and laws require constant refinement with changing times in order to cope with peculiarities of business news gathering. Ethical challenges keep on becoming more complex and sophisticated as economies evolve. Having a code of ethics is not an end in itself but a start of a journey towards promoting professional behaviour in the newsroom. (Business Editor, *Business Daily*).

> Within the South African context, stretched financial resources make it difficult for us to come up with structures for enforcement. If we are serious about enforcement, it means we need to employ monitors (compliance officers) and this has a knock-on effect our budgets. At the moment we rely on goodwill and trust that we have invested in our staff. (Business Editor, *Business Day*)

Neither can a co de provide a co mprehensive "road map" for ethical behaviour in any circumstance:

> There is no document that can address all the eventualities in the field. At the end of the day, ethical guidelines continuously evolve on a day-to-day basis, as business journalists interact with editors. It's about instantaneous reactions to moral dilemmas in the field (Business Editor, *Business Day*).

At *Business Daily*, a system (an integrity questionnaire) was implemented that relies on readers to alert the newspaper to ethical lapses. Although this resulted in a number of complaints from readers, the system wasn't wholly effective:

> When we began, we received a lot of complaints from readers. However upon investigation, we realised that most complaints were personal fights between the accused reporters and complaints. Most complainants when called upon to come and substantiate their claims, they chickened out (Business Editor, *Business Daily)*.

The industry-wide code used by the *Financial Gazette* is applied and enforced by the Media Complaints Committee. In contrast, the Board of NMG's Editorial Committee is mandated to meet regularly to monitor progress in the achievement of the editorial objectives and the policy guidelines. On the other hand, the *Business Day* relies on journalists' goodwill as it does not have any monitoring and enforcement mechanisms. In light of the above, it is clear that only one newspaper (*Business Daily*) has monitoring and enforcement mechanisms at the newsroom level whereas the other two papers rely on voluntary and statutory media accountability systems. It is important to reiterate an important finding of this study that possessing a co de of ethics, although, it is a k ey condition for the professional practice of journalism in western contexts, it is clear from the disconnect between words and actions that they are not sufficient to meet the requirements of ethics in professionalising business journalism in Africa. After discussing the negotiation of business journalism ethics in the three newsrooms, it is proper then, to briefly discuss how the three media organisations perceive debates on Africanisation of business journalism ethics.

6. 4 Africanisation of business journalism codes of ethics

In line with the third objective of this study, this section considers attempts to Africanise business journalism ethics by the news organisations under consideration. A comparative analysis of the three codes of ethics reveals that Africanisation is still a nascent project. Although debates on Africanisation have gathered steam within academic corridors, gleaning through the three codes of ethics shows that there is still a long way to go. The roles of

journalists are also still informed by Siebert, Peterson and Schramm's normative libertarian and social responsibility theories (Kanyegirire, 2006:161). This is despite consensus amongst African journalism scholars and professionals that journalism ethics in Africa are too dependent on Western systems of philosophy (see Banda, 2010; White 2010). This dependency has led to ever increasing calls from some journalism scholars to 'de-Westernise' or 'Africanise' journalism ethics in the continent so as to make it relevant to the African context (Kasoma, 1996; Nyamnjoh, 2005; Mfumbusa, 2008; Banda, 2007). It is important to note that respondents in this study concur with post-colonial media ethicists that de-Westernisation should not amount to the complete removal of Western philosophies and epistemologies from the business journalism ethics rather Africa's diversity in terms of culture, values and norms should inform the Africanisation process.

6.4.1 Document analysis of institutional codes

Document analysis of the three codes of ethics shows that they do not support an Afro-centric view of ethics as far as communitarianism, *ubuntu* and Afriethics are concerned. On the declarative and normative levels, the three codes of ethics remain firmly anchored within the strictures of Western moral philosophy. As already discussed above, the three codes speaks to issues such as accuracy, accuracy and fairness, opportunity to reply, letters to the editor, unnamed sources, confidentiality, misrepresentation, obscenity, taste and tone in reporting, paying for news and articles, plagiarism, discrimination, recording interviews and telephone conversations, privacy, intrusion into grief or shock, conflict of interest and unfair advantage. These ethical breaches are generally recognised as informed by Western moral philosophy although some of them can be considered transnational and trans-cultural. A lot of Western moral philosophy-inspired ethical principles discernible in the three codes confirm Nyamnjoh (cited in Mano, 2009:279)'s insight that 'codes of ethics and professional values used by journalists in Africa are heavily inspired by Western or Western derived international codes'. It is reasonable to argue that on close scrutiny all the three codes read like 'cut and paste' documents especially when one looks at contentious issues such as conflict of interest, share ownership, paying for news, sponsored trips, accuracy and fairness and confidentiality. This chimes with Nyamnjoh (2007)'s contention that 'codes of ethics that have been adopted have shown little creativity on the part of African journalists, in terms of having codes that reflect the concerns and interests of the majority of Africans'.

For instance, despite Nation Media Group's emphasis that it is a regional media organisation in its mission statement, the code only says the following guiding principles:

> Its vision will not be confined to its immediate market within East Africa but will be driven by the objective of establishing itself as the media of Africa for Africa. In its coverage of African continent, the Group's outlets will originate original Africa content positioning NMG as the Media of Africa for Africa and thereby counterbalancing editors' potential excessive reliance on international news agencies for news about the continent. We aim to prime the African continent for economic take-off (*Business Daily's Mission Statement*)

The above extract shows that Nation Media Group situates itself within New World Information Order (NWICO) debates, where it positions itself as the 'media of Africa for Africa'. Instead of overreliance on international news agencies for news about the continent as revealed in the MacBride Commission Report—*Many Voices, One World* (1980), it constructs itself as offering an alternative news source of original African stories. Such a positioning is consistent with Africanisation of journalism ethics debates, although, it falls into the trap of trying to undo 'subjectivity, inequality and unfairness inherent in international communication flows' without transforming the newsmaking practices at the newsroom level. However in the above extract, there is an underlying *ubuntu* moral philosophy in so far as respect for community (Africa in this case) is concerned.

Importantly, the *Business Daily*'s code of conduct underscores the importance of publishing information that is in the public domain and on what goes on in society. Central to this ethical requirement is the argument that all information published must be done in 'keeping with the universally acknowledged principle that the media's primary responsibility is to the people'. Interestingly the code positions the *Business Daily* as the 'vanguard of the people' against injustices:

> It is the duty of the Press to protect individuals against injustices or neglect committed by public authorities and institutions, private concerns and others (*Part 1 of the policy guidelines*).

The above extract from *Business Daily*'s code has resonances with White (1996: 17)'s proposal on communitarian ethics that "the professional communicator must be committed to articulating the sense of alienation and injustice experienced by publics so that these injustices can be dealt with and the public cultural truth can be reformulated in a more just manner". On the other hand, the same interview extract supports claims by advocates of global ethics that some journalistic principles are transnational and trans-cultural. In fact, by

positioning itself as the 'vanguard of the people', the *Business Daily* embraces one of the cardinal tenets of Western journalism ethics which is to take on the role of the 'fourth estate'. Such a role entails impartiality, objectivity, truth-telling and playing the role of checks and balances as espoused in the social responsibility discussed in Chapters 2 and 4. At the same time, the role of 'vanguard of the people' chimes with *ubuntu*'s notion of '*umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*' which means 'a person is a person through others'. It presupposes an orientation to community building and maintenance through justice and mutual caring.

In line with Afriethics, communitarianism and ubuntu moral philosophies, the code calls upon all its media outlets to stand for racial, ethnic, religious and communal harmony and political/party tolerance as well as other forms of pluralism. On the other hand, the code in line Anglo-American journalism ethics constructs the *Business Daily* as a 'supporter' of the principles of democracy such as good governance, transparency and accountability, regular, free and fair elections as well as social equity.

> It supports and promotes public debate on matters of national importance with a view to bringing about behavioural and policy change for the common good.

The above extract supports White's insight that 'at the heart of the 'professional construct of Western journalism', journalists are expected to discover the important information, needs, desires of the public and to find a source who has this information and who wishes to communicate it to the public' (2010: 45, emphasis mine). The code also recognises the intricate relationship between business (media organisations) and society as seen in its corporate social responsibility agenda. The concept of corporate social responsibility which is based on the argument that business is sanctioned and promoted by society is evident in the *Business Daily*'s code. It outlines that the Nation Media Group supports and promotes the protection and conservation of the environment whilst promoting sustainable development.

> In this regard, the Group deliberately promotes and encourages environmental journalism, appropriate research and adoption of new technologies aimed at enhancing the quality of human life.

Comparatively, the *Business Day*'s code of ethics is also silent on Afro-centric ethical values governing business journalism. Instead, the code only makes mention of the importance of working within the confines of the South African constitution:

> Journalists are expected to respect the basic tenets of natural justice, to which South Africa's constitution is an exemplary guide. It is also the standard against which actions might ultimately be judged (*Section 1*).

It is clear from the foregoing that institutional codes are subservient to the constitution of a country. In the case of South Africa, it is important to note that the constitution is anchored in the liberal-democratic view (see White, 2010) which supports professional ethics. Of importance within the context of Africanisation, the *Business Day*'s code makes mention of the need to respect the basic tenets of natural justice such as dignity, privacy and personal well being of people with whom they deal.

> One of our responsibilities as journalists is to expose injustice and corruption, and if we are to perform this function effectively, we cannot ourselves be guilty of unethical behaviour (*Section 2.1*).

The analysis of *Business Day*'s code shows that it calls upon its journalists to balance conflicting interests of exposing injustices and corruption while remaining 'untainted' by the same corrupt practices. It positions itself as a 'fourth estate' which plays checks and balances role in line with the Western social responsibility model. This supports White (2010:63)'s argument that 'journalist in Africa tend to see their obligations in the socio-political world through the lenses of their occupational role of trustee journalism, that is, a duty to inform the public events which concerns the public's welfare and to represent the plight of the ordinary people'.

In contrast, the *Financial Gazette*'s industry-wide code does not exhibit any effort towards Afro-centric views of ethics. Rather, it speaks of the intricate relationship between news organisations and society which requires 'responsible journalism' in the context of national security.

> "Media institutions must not prejudice the legitimate national security interests of Zimbabwe and place at risk members of the Defence Forces who are on active military duty".

The above extract underscores the argument used by politicians in most African countries when strangulating press freedom that the media exists to protect and uphold national interest and security. The problem with such argumentation is that at most national security is elastically defined to the point where it is difficult to sift 'private interest' from 'public interest. There is a tendency to conflate public interest with 'national interests'. Except for disparate 'words' and 'sentences' in codes understudy here, there is little evidence that media practice is related to abstract formulations of African values (see White, 2010).

The findings indicate that the three codes do not explicitly support Afro-centred views of ethics. However, at the connotative level, one can argue that there are instances where Anglo-American and Afro-centred journalistic values merge in the codes of ethics. For instance, there is consensus on the issues such as truth, social responsibility, human dignity, intrusion into grief and shock and public interest. For instance this extract from NMG code of conduct and ethics summarises the assumed global nature of journalism ethics;

> "It is the duty of the Press to publish information that should be in the public domain, on what goes on in society and to uncover and disclose matters that ought to be subjected to public debate, analysis, scrutiny or criticism in keeping with the universally acknowledged principle that the media's primary responsibility is to the people".

As discussed in Chapter 4, this scenario generally supports advocates of glocal journalism ethics' argument that certain cultural values are transnational and trans-cultural. Overall the findings from the three codes support White (2010: 42)'s insight that "...there is little evidence that media practice in actually related to these [African moral philosophy] abstract formulations of African values".

6.4.2 Interviews with business journalists on Africanisation of codes of ethics

Although it is difficult to take a broad view from the limited interviews conducted, a crucial point that emerged from the study is that business journalism ethics informed by the social responsibility theory are universal. This is despite a concerted argument posed by Christians (1989:16) that Anglo-American journalism lacks clear normative ethics such as 'justice, compassion, reciprocity, stewardship' which are at the epicentre of ubuntu, Afriethics and communitarianism. For instance, the Managing Editor of the *Business Daily* questioned the notion of Africanisation. He argued:

> I do not really believe in Africanisation which i suspect is used as a smokescreen to promote racism. Corruption is simply corruption; there is no African or American corruption. For me, the principles of journalism are universal although contexts differ.

> In our code of ethics, there is no section that addresses Africanisation issues because we believe that the practice of journalism is guided by the same principles; to educate, to entertain, to inform, in the public interest. Be it in Africa or America, I think the fundamental principles that guide the practice of journalism are the same".

Interviews with editors highlight that there is no specific attempt to Africanise their approach to/negotiation of codes of ethics, despite ample evidence pointing to alienative nature of

Anglo-American journalism ethics. However respondents concurred that western ethical norms have limited efficacy in African contexts. For instance, the business editor of the *Business Day* stated that in South Africa, unlike in Europe or America, the shortage of resources makes it difficult for them to religiously enforce hard and fast rules on our journalists. It is clear from the foregoing argument that professionalism as espoused in Anglo-American journalism is difficult to replicate in a context characterised by scarce resources. Attempts to bring African philosophies and values to bear on business journalism practices remain cocooned in academic debates as editors see nothing wrong with the prevailing journalistic ethics.

> There is massive shortage of resources in our newsrooms. Unlike in America, where adherence to ethics is a serious issue, here if you do that then you may end up closing shop. Naturally there are differences between the African and American media markets. There are no resources to ensure the media is independent from the business sector which they cover. That's why we rely on paid-travel by some of our news sources to cover events far away from the newsroom. We don't have budgets to support all our journalists' travel to sources news articles" *(Business Editor, Business Day).*

As was illustrated in chapter 4, the proposal to Africanise journalism codes of ethics represents one of the most recent attempts to bring African values and philosophies to bear on journalistic practices. Yet, some of the informants had an aversion to what they saw as an attempt romanticise Africa's past. Consider the following questioning assessments:

> It is difficult to transplant African philosophies into journalism ethics now given that due to our colonial experiences some of these glorified values have been polluted. For instance, *ubuntu* as a moral philosophy is difficult to codify, it's something we as Africans are socialised into as we grown up and expected to manifest in our human conduct. Failure to manifest such time-honoured human attributes '*unhu*' or '*humanness*' leads to social ostracism even within the context of journalism practice (Business Reporter, *Financial Gazette*).

> I believe there is nothing African or American about business journalistic ethical transgressions. I don't see the need to Africanise business journalism ethics because such claims bring confusion and tend to foster new forms of political correctness which brackets western philosophy as 'bad' and flags African philosophy as 'good'. I think journalism ethics are universal and the ones in operation captures the nitty gritties of our practice. Probably what we need to emphasize the importance of common good, compassion, reciprocity, dignity, harmony, widespread consultation with the community, working actively towards bettering the conditions of 'the people' as part of our Africanisation agenda (*Business Editor, Business Daily*).

> Africanisation or indigenisation has carried negative connotations especially within the Zimbabwean context where for instance the government has used such discourses to justify the constriction of the public sphere. Notable manifestations of this

discourse are the implementation of 100 per cent local content policy within the broadcasting sector and the introduction of compulsory post-colonial history and national strategic studies in state run tertiary institutions. Hence, indigenisation of journalism ethics at an organisational level is far better as it enables journalists to privilege common good at the expense of individual gratification (Business Editor, *Financial Gazette*).

There are notable differences between American and African business journalism practices which justify groundswell debates on Africanisation of journalism ethics. However thus far there are no model codes of ethics based on ubuntu which newsrooms tap into hence the tendency in most organisations to 'cut and paste' Western models that are freely available on the Internet (Business Editor, *Business Day*).

I think *ubuntu* cannot be taught at journalism schools. It is a sum of personality characteristics which we (Africans) are expected to perform during social interaction. It encapsulates dignity, respect, empathy, caring, personal integrity, accountability and responsibility which we acquire via socialisation hence organisational orientation can only add to what journalists have already amassed through other socialising agents. For me Africanisation presupposes teaching journalists how to perform 'Africanness' in their day to day news gathering work (Business Reporter, *Business Daily*).

Of importance here is the way in which many of the respondents exhibit scepticism around the emotive subject of 'Africanisation' which in some quarters has been taken to mean the total removal of all western philosophies such as objectivity, professionalism, balance and privacy which inform journalism practice in most post-colonial societies. Interestingly, comments by business editors generally tend to confirm that they actually see debates on Africanisation as of less importance compared to having adequate financial budgets for news gathering purposes. In their comments, they are at some level ambivalent about how Africanisation will lead to professional journalistic behaviour and enhance media performance. The respondents appear to prefer time-tested Anglo-American journalism ethics which they glorify as predictable, universal and water-proof. There is a deep-seated consensus thread of argument shared by the three editors in which they flag their newsrooms as adhering to Anglo-American ideals of journalism. It is important to note that the correlation between self-presentation and ethical practices is always hazy. This confirms de Burgh (2005: 9)'s insight that 'journalists may characterise themselves using the discourses of Anglophone journalism studies, yet, in practice, they are very distant from them'.

It is clear from the foregoing that business journalists are uncomfortable with changing what they consider to be 'universal/global journalism ethics' opting to 'glocalise' rather than deleting all Western philosophies from journalism practice. Respondents also raise critical

questions with regards to the hijacking of the Africanisation agenda by statutory accountability bodies as is the case in Zimbabwe to the point of promoting 'selective political correctness' which promotes media strangulation. Another key point of consideration here is the ways in which business journalists are sceptical about the strategy to be used to codify Afro-centred moral philosophies. Respondents can be categorised as 'pessimists' and 'optimists' or those who argue for 'global ethics' and those who prefer 'glocal ethics'. Others prefer the 'status quo'. Business journalists do not deny the efficacy of African moral philosophies in minimising ethical transgressions, but raise questions on the problems associated with 'teaching old dogs new tricks'.

Questions concerning the Africanisation of codes of ethics were designed to help tease out any recognisable differences in the informants' perceptions of African moral philosophies as alternative ethical frameworks. When asked more specifically whether it is realistic for business journalism ethics to appeal to Afriethics, *ubuntu* and communitarian principles of mutual trust, shared benefits and the idea that journalists are responsible for bettering the conditions of the people in their communities, many of the informants identified with these principles. Editors interviewed for this study acknowledged that when deciding which news stories gets to see the light of the day, they usually try to balance what is in the public interest against values such objectivity, human dignity, social responsibility, non-racialism and non-intrusion into grief. The editor of the *Business Day* noted that 'editing' always entails a delicate balancing of the principle of freedom of speech as enshrined in the country's constitution against values such as balance, fairness, social justice, confidentiality and human dignity. However structural factors such as operating within an intercalary position, adverse working conditions, and tight deadlines were cited as hampering the institutionalisation of what Mkhize (1998) calls 'liberatory journalism'. Media organisations were characterised as business corporations founded upon a profit motive. As a result, community-consensus or dialogical journalism was seen as costly hence the selective overreliance on 'financial experts, economic analysts and academics' as news sources.

An over-arching finding in this section is that 'Africanisation of code of ethics' remains steeped in academic debates divorced from the practicalities of newsroom management. Similarly Banda (2009) adds that debates on 'Africanisation' of journalism are still confined to the trenches of civil society groups. It is no wonder Nyamnjoh reminds us that:

"For a viable and meaningful ethic of journalism to come about in Africa, there is need for a conscious, conscientious effort that draws not only from the experiences and concerns of journalists and politicians, but also from those of the wider society, especially the silent majorities who are still in touch with the often marginalised mainstream cultures and values of Africa" (2007: 12).

It is important for academic debates to come up with model African journalism codes of ethics which are based on local cultures and values as evidenced by Kasoma (1996)'s Afriethics and White (1996)'s communitarian ethics. Such models ought to acknowledge the cultural interpenetration brought to Africa by colonialism, globalisation and neo-colonialism. It will produce an ethical code that does not see the desire to Africanise journalism ethics in Africa as meaning that African journalism practice "would cease to recognize some universal fundamentals of journalism, like the pursuit of truth the question of social responsibility and recognition of the right of the people to know in a democracy" (Mogekwu, 2005:16).

6.5 Conclusion

Based on the findings in this chapter it can be posited that while all three newspapers had clear ethical guidelines in place, and editors and journalists recognised the importance of ethical behaviour, ethical practice did not always follow. This is largely due to the precarious economic basis of news organisations, lack of effective monitoring, and a pervasive culture of unethical behaviour at some sites. Business journalists in these countries use journalism ethics as 'field strategies' (see Markham, 2008) where they adhere to ethical codes only insofar as they have a strategic interest in doing so. The argument is ethical considerations notwithstanding, people need to survive. The study also shows that there is an on-going tussle between journalistic agency and institutional factors such as advertisers, powerful news sources and interference from senior management which affects business journalism newsmaking practices in non-western contexts. It has shown that the quest to Africanise codes of ethics remains an academic issue with little movement towards that direction in most newsrooms studied. The findings of this study demonstrate that business editors in African newsrooms are confused on what 'Africanisation' entails especially given their shared view that journalism practices are universal. Therefore there is need for media houses to devise ethics enforcement strategies to counter the institutionalisation of unethical journalism if business journalists are to play their rightful role in society. The next chapter gives a broad conclusion to the whole study.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

This Chapter sums up the key issues that arose out of the study. The study focused on gaining insight into the state of business journalism ethics in Africa through, firstly, a comparative examination of newsroom ethical policies, and secondly, an exploration of how business journalists within different African media organisations negotiate ethical decision-making in their day-to-day news processing practices. It did so by examining three different African media organisations focusing on how these institutions have responded in their newsroom policies and practices to the debates on the Africanisation of journalism ethics. In order to answer sufficiently the afore-mentioned research questions, I have used qualitative research methods such as document analysis, in-depth individual and semi-structured interviews. In-depth individual and semi-structured interviews have led me to appreciate the complex manner in which business journalists within a specific journalistic 'habitus' negotiate the socially proscribed ethical guidelines in their day-to-day news production work. On the other hand, document analysis has allowed me to tease out the preferred ethical practices which business journalists ought to deploy in the news processing work. These include ethical duties such as market manipulation, insider trading, disclosure, conflict of interest, pressure from news sources, pressure from advertisers and bribery.

Clearly, the study has established that while each of the financial newspapers had ethical policies in place, and journalists and editors recognised the importance of ethical behaviour in the field of business journalism, there was, in some respects, a disconnect between policy and practice. Ethics codes reflect the aspirations of newspaper publishers and journalists, rather than actual practices. While journalists were aware of the existence of ethical policies, they were not always familiar with the details of those policies, and in some cases, such as restrictions on share ownership, not always in agreement with them. All three ethics codes included measures to prevent bribe-taking, but in two of the countries – Zimbabwe and Kenya – it seemed that "brown envelope" journalism is an accepted practice, and in South Africa, related practices such as "freebies" and sponsored travel are ubiquitous. This is due to the precarious economic basis of the news organisations, which do not have the resources to

pay journalists competitive salaries or to fund travel for journalistic purposes. The link between economic circumstances and ethical behaviour is illustrated by the fact that journalists in Zimbabwe and Kenya seemed more tolerant of "brown envelope" journalism and related practices than their counterparts in South Africa, where media organisations are far more profitable and journalists, as a consequence, better remunerated. This study argues that unethical journalism cannot be justified by economic circumstances, but neither can it be addressed without addressing the economic basis and status of news organisations and journalists.

 A second aspect that needs to be addressed in order to improve ethical behaviour in the business media is monitoring and policing of ethics rules. At all three newspapers in this study, respondents admitted that monitoring was not taking place and that editors relied on the integrity and honesty of journalists. Experience has shown, however, that unethical practices thrive when ethics rules are not monitored and enforced (see Chari, 2009; Ndangham, 2006). Lack of resources was again cited as the main reason for the absence of effective monitoring mechanisms. This was evident to some extent from responses of journalists in Kenya and Zimbabwe, and to a lesser extent in South Africa. Incidents were cited, for example, of pressure being brought to bear by senior editorial executives on behalf of advertisers; share ownership rules being disregarded; and "freebies" and sponsored travel being tolerated. While such a culture persists, improvements in ethical behaviour will obviously be difficult to effect. This study recommends that employing news ombudsman (someone who receives and investigates complaints from newspaper readers or listeners or viewers of radio and television about accuracy, fairness, balance and good in news coverage) or the use 'integrity checklists' as the case with the *Business Daily* is a noble initiative.

The financial media need to continuously update their codes to ensure that they move with the times while at the same time maintaining the core values of professional business journalism. As Kruger (2010) reminds us 'professional standards and ethics -- quality, in a word -- cost money', it is imperative that capitalisation and professionalisation of media houses are taken seriously. In the same vein, in-house courses which act as a constant reminder on the importance of observing professional ethics and also help journalists navigate ethical challenges occasioned by the ever changing financial sector and technological environment should be mainstreamed in training and development programmes. It also emerged from the study that three media organisations have no

systematic approach in place to 'Africanise' their codes of ethics. A disconnect exists between debates on Africanisation of journalism ethics which have largely been confined in academic corridors without permeating into newsrooms. Editors believe that universal journalism ethics (global journalism ethics) exist and any talk of 'glocalisation' and 'de-Westernisation' is far-fetched.

Despite the business press in Africa's efforts to professionalise its activities, to submit only to intellectual imperatives and techniques of information production – 'evinced, among other things, institutionalisation of codes of ethics' (Garman, 2010) – this study has demonstrated that business journalists' search for autonomy is constrained by political and economic factors. It is clear from this study that the economic and journalistic fields are closely intertwined. This proximity compromises the role of the business press to undertake its 'mediation role' among all other fields. Of paramount importance to note here is that most business press in Africa are profit oriented concerns and this makes competition for advertising and advertisers a 'life and death' issue. Failure to sell advertising space spells doom for newspapers operating on shoe-string budgets and ultimately affects compliance and non-compliance to journalistic ethics.

Importantly, the study has shown that business journalists as units of ethical agency do not operate in social vacuum. Although business journalists are ultimately responsible as individuals, it is as individuals in a setting where their powers and duties at least in part are defined by the role in the corporate organisation, and many, perhaps most, 'of the ethical dilemmas business journalists face begin with the inherent conflict between the individual's role as a journalist and his or her employer's quest for profit' (Richards, 2004:119). Bourdieu (2005:6) has aptly captured this situation: 'As the journalistic field has become more commercialised and thus more homologous with the economic field, it increases the power of the heteronomous pole within each of the fields, producing a convergence among all the fields and pulling them closer to the commercial pole in the larger field of power'. In short, economic and political imperatives continue to have increasingly determinative effects in the journalistic field thereby affecting business journalists' capacity to operate with autonomy. In other words, 'journalists are structurally condemned to produce… under political and/or economic constraints' (Champagne, 2005: 49-50).

Although, it is easy to judge unethical business journalists from outside, negotiating business journalism ethics in a context punctuated by 'human factor decay' and poor working conditions seem to promote unethical behaviour. Thus the notion of professionalism which is a legitimating norm in Anglo-American contexts is difficult to apply in other contexts where journalism is not a 'profession'. The cases of Kenya and Zimbabwe revise and repudiate some foundational premises undergirding the notion of profession. Unethical practices such as embedded business journalism, moonlighting and 'brown envelopes' identified in the two countries is a tip of the ice-berg in terms of the 'survival strategies' being deployed by under-paid journalists. Against this background, this study finds that prevailing socio-economic conditions and socio-cultural values play an instrumental role in the normalisation and naturalisation of unethical journalistic practices. Secondary socialisation into this naturalised journalistic 'habitus' characterised by institutionalised bribery reproduces embedded journalists who only write after being paid. The overreliance of economic analysts and stockbrokers has heightened the emergence of 'embedded financial journalism' in Africa. In the case of South Africa, advertorials were described as a survival strategy by the financial press.

7.2 Summary

In summary, this comparative study of three African newsrooms has shown that the institutionalisation of business journalism ethics is still a nascent process. Most financial newspapers are still using codes of ethics meant for traditional journalism. Although the *Business Daily* and the *Business Day* have addressed duties and rights of business journalists such as insider trading, share ownership, market manipulation, conflict of interest and disclosure, there is still more to be done. Business journalism is a 'specialised news genre with its own conventions and practices' (see, Brand, 2010), hence African media organisations urgently needs to come up with specific codes of ethics. It is essential to ensure that the resultant codes bring African values to bear on the practice of business journalism in order to minimise alienation of journalists.

Against this backdrop, it is hoped that this study will contribute to scholarly debates on business journalism ethics and Africanisation of journalism ethics in light of calls for globalisation and glocalisation. This is important in light of the fact that until recently business journalism ethics have been subsumed under journalism ethics in most African newsrooms codes of ethics. Moreover, the recent global financial crisis has shown that

business journalism is a powerful genre in an attempt to make corporate organisations accountable to their clients. Although interviews with editors have demonstrated that upholding ethical standards and abiding with the code of principles of business journalism are major imperatives for promoting professional journalism practise, it is also clear that individual journalists operate in the context of media institutional, national and international regimes (Tehranian, 2002). Importantly, this study argues that there a host of factors which affect or influence ethical compliance or non-compliance. These include: poor living and working conditions of journalists, self-censorship occasioned by proprietary political and business interests, dearth of resources for investigative journalism, stringent media laws, weak regulatory institutions, and commercial 'colonisation' of newspapers.

This study has deconstructed the view of professional business journalism in African newsrooms. It has shown that such a notion is more of an ideal, more of a consummation of social responsibility theory undergirding the Westminster model of a perfected democracy. It is difficult to replicate in media systems punctuated by editorial interferences by news sources, public relations firms and advertisers as well as the influence of economic interests. Although in 'perfect' media systems, the business press is expected to be watch-dogs of business organisations and financial markets, this study has shown that 'embeddedness' and other unethical practices undermine investigative business reporting. Instead of acting in the interest of the public good and affirm their importance in civil society, some business journalists have gone to 'bed with business corporations'.

However, this study has shown that business journalists are corruptible and vulnerable to pressures from within and outside the newsroom. It has argued that some business journalists especially in Kenya and Zimbabwe are pet-dogs of influential business corporations, politicians and the wealthy. They offer nothing but praise for their masters. This is how we do not want business journalism to be, but more often than not, this is how it has become. On seldom occasions, the business media has acted as 'fighting dogs', similar to 'pit-bull terriers' especially in the South African context. It has shown that the on-going ethical transgressions in Zimbabwe and Kenya 'raise questions on the efficacy of the media as pillars and the mainstay of democratic principles and on the media as a link connecting people across various issues' (Maimbodei, 2007:9). The business press in Africa needs to appreciate the cardinal tenets of business journalism ethics on share ownership, disclosure, market abuse (market manipulation), insider trading and brown envelopes. Importantly, although profit

maximisation and adherence to ethics seem to be 'bedfellows', it is crucial for business journalists to understand that 'media responsibility recognises that individuals live in community that they rely on others for their very physical and social life' (Christians *et al* (1993: px).

7.3 Scope for further research

Although this study was largely exploratory in its approach, it opens an array of possible areas for further investigation on business journalism ethics in African newsrooms. As enunciated above, the study undertook the research to explore the negotiation of business journalism ethics and to ascertain the extent of Africanisation of codes of ethics in selected financial newspapers in Africa. The study focused on gaining insight into the state of business journalism ethics in Africa through, firstly, a comparative examination of newsroom ethical policies. Secondly, it explored how business journalists within different African media organisations negotiate ethical decision-making in their day-to-day news processing practices. Thirdly, it examined how the three media organisations have responded in their newsroom policies and practices to debates on the Africanisation of journalism ethics. In this way, it was able to elucidate the tensions between Western and Afrocentric epistemologies, on the one hand, global versus glocal forces on the other obtaining in African settings.

Given that this comparative research and analysis has established the causes of corruption in newsrooms and business journalists' rationalisations of ethical transgressions as rooted in socio-economic and socio-cultural factors, it is important for further research to investigate the socio-cultural factors that drive brown envelope journalism in Africa. It is vital for further research to explore brown envelope practices as a semi-institutionalised contract between media and society (Skjerdal, 2008) in contexts where the discourse of professionalisation has not taken root. This entails analysing the brown envelope phenomenon as an exemplar of contestations in the formulation of professionalism within African journalism. This emerges from the observation that business journalists seem not to know their expected roles and responsibilities within the economic system (Tambini, 2010). It goes without saying that research on the perceptions of business journalists on their roles and responsibilities in different African economic systems is long overdue. It is important to investigate stock exchange laws and regulations governing the coverage of financial markets in Africa, as these complement newsroom codes of ethics. Central to such context specific research are ethnographic studies around everyday business journalism practices in different

131

organisational cultures. Ethnographic studies have the potential to uncover 'unwritten codes of ethics' used by business journalists to navigate the moral dilemmas of their profession. Such a study needs to 'observe [business] journalists in action and understand their reasons for choosing one set of news stories rather than others or their reasons for interpreting a public event in a particular way' (White, 2010: 43).

Closely related to the foregoing research direction, is the critical need to develop a model code of ethics informed by Afro-centred moral philosophies. Kasoma (1996)'s Afriethics and White (1996)'s communitarian ethics models are a starting point. Such an initiative will be able to close the gap between theory and practice that continues to dog debates around Africanisation. Furthermore, research can still explore how business journalism ethics are addressed within media ethics courses in different journalism training institutions in Africa. This is important given the fact that business journalism as a course is still missing within mainstream curricula used by most journalism training schools within the continent. Insights gleaned from this study are instructive in so far as they exhort the business journalism fraternity to think critically and reflect on the substance of their work in the context of the cosy relationship between their profession and economic and financial markets. I will end with the following quote:

'Financial journalists face a difficult balancing act. Penetrating the finances of corrupt companies, such as Enron, and crooked accountants, such as Arthur Andersen, is daunting enough. If these journalists shout too loudly, they can be accused of scaremongering and blamed for torpedoing the stock of outwardly healthy companies' (Howard Kurtz, 6 October, 2008).

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Appendix 1: Interview guide for Business Reporters

Dear Respondent, many thanks for your willingness to help me in this research on business journalism ethics in African newsrooms. I will not make direct reference to your name or institutional affiliation; rather (with your permission) I will only make reference to your title (only if this does not lead to your direct identification).

YOUR POSITION (TITLE)……………………………………………………………………

ORGANISATIONAL AFFILIATION……………………………………………………………

YOUR 'BEAT' SPECIALITY…………………………………………………………………..

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE……………………………………………………………….

i. Does your newspaper have a code of ethics on business journalism? If yes, what are its most salient features?

ii. Did you receive training in business journalism ethics upon joining your current media organisation? If yes, which ethical issues were addressed during the course?

ii. In short, can you describe the major ethical dilemmas facing business journalists within your country?

iii. How do business journalism ethics differ from traditional journalism ethical norms?

iv. Which ethical principles inform business journalists conduct at your newspaper?

v. List the major ethical transgressions committed by business journalists in your country?

vi. How prevalent is the phenomenon of business journalists writing about companies whom they own shares?

vi. Based on your experience in business journalism, how powerful are business journalists in influencing stock prices through news reporting?

vii. List the factors that are driving business journalists to engage in unethical practices in your country?

viii. Recent research in Europe by Tambini (2010) has shown that business journalism is implicated in the global financial crisis. How do you characterise the ethical conduct of business journalists in your country?

ix. How prevalent are moonlighting practices amongst business journalists in your country? And what drives it if it exists?

ix. Based on research done in African newsrooms, brown envelope journalism has been singled as the major threat to the practice of responsible journalism. In your experiences what drives this practice? How does it manifest itself in your beat?

x. In your line of duty, explain the importance of business journalism codes of ethics given the prevalence of ethical transgressions?

xi. In recent years, postcolonial scholars have called upon newsrooms to 'Africanise' their codes of ethics. Does your newsroom code of ethics reflect some of the normative values such as 'ubuntu' or Afriethics which are considered trans-cultural values in most African societies?

xi. Do you think Anglo-American journalism ethics currently in operation in most post-colonial societies are still relevant in your day-to-day news production practices?

xii. In your opinion which normative values should be considered when codifying African business journalism ethics?

xiii. At your media organisation, how do you ensure that codes of ethics are enforced and monitored? How effective are your monitoring mechanisms given challenges associated with policing human behaviour?

xiv. Based on your experiences with codes of ethics, would you say there is a disconnect between words inscribed in codes and actual journalistic actions in the field?

xv. Write anything that you think needs to be done to promote ethical business journalism practice in your country

Many thanks for your time, God Bless!

Appendix 2: Interview guide for Business News Editors

Dear Respondent, many thanks for your willingness to help me in this research on business journalism ethics in African newsrooms. I will not make direct reference to your name or institutional affiliation; rather (with your permission) I will only make reference to your title (only if this does not lead to your direct identification).

YOUR POSITION (TITLE)…………………………………………………………………

ORGANISATIONAL AFFILIATION………………………………………………………

YOUR 'BEAT' SPECIALITY………………………………………………………………..

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE…………………………………………………………….

i. Does your newspaper have a code of ethics on business journalism? If yes, what are its most salient features?

ii. Did you offer training in business journalism ethics to your employees? If yes, what does the curriculum entail?

ii. In short, can you describe the major ethical dilemmas facing business journalists within your country?

iii. How do business journalism ethics differ from traditional journalism ethical norms?

iv. Which ethical principles inform business journalists conduct at your newspaper?

v. List the major ethical transgressions committed by business journalists in your country?

vi. How prevalent is the phenomenon of business journalists writing about companies whom they own shares?

vi. Based on your experience as a business news editor, how powerful are business journalists in influencing stock prices through news reporting?

vii. Can you cite factors that are driving business journalists to engage in unethical practices in your country?

viii. Recent research in Europe by Tambini (2010) has shown that business journalism is implicated in the global financial crisis. How do you characterise the ethical conduct of business journalists in your country?

ix. How prevalent are moonlighting practices amongst business journalists in your country? And what drives it if it exists?

ix. Based on research done in African newsrooms, brown envelope journalism has been singled as the major threat to the practice of responsible journalism. In your experiences what drives this practice? How does it manifest itself in your beat?

x. In your line of duty, explain the importance of business journalism codes of ethics given the prevalence of ethical transgressions in some newsrooms?

xi. In recent years, postcolonial scholars have called upon newsrooms to 'Africanise' their codes of ethics. Does your newsroom code of ethics reflect some of the normative values such as 'ubuntu' or Afriethics which are considered trans-cultural values in most African societies?

xi. Do you think Anglo-American journalism ethics currently in operation in most post-colonial societies are still relevant in your day-to-day news production practices?

xii. In your opinion which normative values should be considered when codifying African business journalism ethics?

xiii. At your media organisation, how do you ensure that codes of ethics are enforced and monitored? How effective are your monitoring mechanisms given challenges associated with policing human behaviour?

xiv. Based on your experiences with codes of ethics, would you say there is a disconnect between words inscribed in codes and actual journalistic actions in the field?

xv. Write anything that you think needs to be done to promote ethical business journalism practice in your country.

Many thanks for your time, God Bless!

Appendix 3: BDFM Code of Ethics

Additional Policy Guidelines: BDFM Editorial Code of Conduct and Ethics

In addition to the provisions made in the Johncom's Code of Conduct and Ethics the following will apply to BDFM editorial employees:

1. Basic principles:
Journalists are expected to respect the basic tenets of natural justice, to which SA's constitution is an exemplary guide. It is also the standard against which actions might ultimately be judged. Our constitution relies heavily on two simple principles that exist in almost all written constitutions. These are:

- hear all sides and
- ensure that decision-making is independent.

Practically, in the journalistic profession, this amounts to the following:

- First, take every possible step to ensure that both praise and criticism are backed up by knowledgeable, independent sources.
- second, ensure that anyone who is criticised is given an opportunity to respond.
- third, make an active attempt to seek out and highlight the independent view, and
- fourth, written editorial policy for each publication that is distributed to all employees.

2. Ethics

1. One of our responsibilities as journalists is to expose injustice and corruption, and if we are to perform this function effectively, we cannot ourselves be guilty of unethical behaviour. Our jobs often entail balancing conflicting interests and consequently we need to be clear about what we should and should not do in the process of collecting and distributing news.
2. As journalists working for the financial press in particular, we have to be unusually conscious of these ethical questions because our reports can dramatically affect investor sentiment. Journalists who work for the financial press make decisions daily which can affect thousands of employees and investors. In short, dishonest journalism or deceitful journalists can do immense harm to the publication, undermining its credibility and, ultimately, driving away readers and advertisers.
3. Hence, BDFM journalists are expected to maintain the highest ethical standards and preserve the publication's reputation for independence and integrity. With a view to maintaining the highest possible standards, these guidelines will form an integral part of BDFM's performance management procedures and each journalist will be required to sign the code of conduct and ethics, thereby agreeing to its terms and spirit.
4. BDFM journalists should never represent themselves as anything other than a journalist or editor of the publication, even when doing so could result in them not receiving information that readers might find valuable. Any exceptions to this rule require the explicit permission of the editor.
5. BDFM employees should never offer payment or favours in exchange for information from sources. Journalists should carefully weigh up offers of exclusivity in exchange for information. However journalists should not cut deals with their sources to present information in a certain way in exchange for exclusivity.
6. Journalists should avoid any activity that could impair their impartiality. Journalists' civic duty or political beliefs could very well entail support for or membership of an organisation or a movement. But if the organisation forms part of their reporting responsibility, they should not accept payment from the organisation concerned or hold an executive post. Where potential conflict exists journalists have a duty to inform the editor. Failure to do so will be construed as a breach of this code.
7. Journalists should respect the dignity, privacy and personal well being of people with whom they deal.
8. Where a journalist has an interest and/or is a player in an industry, he/she should request the newsdesk to disclose THIS at the bottom of the article, or to assign the story elsewhere.
9. Errors must be promptly acknowledged and corrected.

3. More on Gifts, Hospitality, Favours & Free (Sponsored) Trips

BDFM employees should not accept gifts from companies, sources, suppliers or customers in excess of R200. All gifts of whatever value should be declared to the editor or his/her representative and the recipients are encouraged to

hand them over to the editor/representative for the annual Christmas raffle.

Journalists should never undertake to publish or not publish any material in exchange for favours of any description.

Journalists must under no circumstances commit the paper to publishing a story about a company or other organisation in return for a trip. Any story based on a sponsored journey must be as balanced and well-researched as any story written in the newsroom. As with any other story, anyone taking a trip should make a point of seeking out opinions other than those of the sponsor, e.g., competitors, analysts, other governments. Paid accommodation and transport while on assignment may be accepted on the sole criterion of whether it benefits the publication. All invitations must be routed in writing through the editor or whoever the editor delegates.

If an article is written during or following a journey, a note will appear at the bottom of the article detailing who sponsored it.

4. Credit
Acknowledge news produced by other news gathering mediums. After a time, facts might become general knowledge, but until then, the publication that broke the news must be credited. Presenting wire copy as your own work amounts to plagiarism. The practice of simply rewriting press releases and taking credit for their contents should be avoided -the normal disciplines of newswriting must apply.

5. Extra-curricular activities
All freelance work conducted must be cleared first with the editor or his representative (where appropriate).
Last Updated (Monday, 06 November 2006)

Appendix 4: Business Daily Code of Ethics

NATION MEDIA GROUP
EDITORIAL POLICY GUIDELINES & OBJECTIVES
General
The character and philosophy of the Nation Media Group's news and information outlets are shaped by the editorial guidelines and objectives outlined below. These have been discussed

and adopted by the shareholders of Nation Media Group, and comprise the broad rules governing all editorial content in our media platforms.

Divided into four parts, they deal with broad and specific issues of policy, professional, operational and administrative guidelines as well as journalistic conduct in the sourcing and compilation of news, features, documentaries as well as editorials and commentaries. While placing obligations on the Group and every member of the editorial staff, they require the unmitigated personal and philosophical commitment of all editorial executives and staff.

The Board of NMG's Editorial Committee, as well as the respective boards of the Group's subsidiary media companies, are mandated to meet regularly to monitor progress in the achievement of these objectives and the policy guidelines as established and required by both the Group's Board and shareholders.

PART I
(A) POLICY GUIDELINES

The Nation Media Group believes its news and information outlets (See Schedule "A" for list of these outlets) have a vital role to play in the development of Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda and Burundi (the countries of East Africa and elsewhere in Africa where the Group might be present)

This belief is based on the acknowledged responsibilities and influential power of a free Press in a modern society. The Group recognises that: Freedoms of Speech and of the Press are basic elements of any democracy or an emerging democracy. A free, independent Press is among the most important institutions in a democratic country.

As a social institution, the Press discharges crucial duties by carrying information, debates, analytical and critical comments on society. The Press is, therefore, particularly responsible for allowing different views to be expressed.

The Press protects the Freedom of Speech and of the media and it should not yield to any pressure from anybody or any institution that might want to prevent the free flow of accurate factual information, free access to sources and open debate on any matter of importance to society.

It is the duty of the Press to publish information that should be in the public domain, on what goes on in society and to uncover and disclose matters that ought to be subjected to public debate, analysis, scrutiny or criticism in keeping with the universally acknowledged principle that the media's primary responsibility is to the people.

It is the duty of the Press to protect individuals against injustices or neglect committed by public authorities and institutions, private concerns and others.

Core values

1. The Group's news and information outlets must remain independent of vested interests or external influences. NMG is publicly quoted, its structure, ownership and editorial policies known to all. Its news and information outlets are committed to being comprehensive and accurate in content and their commentaries fair and considered. Their constant objective is to ascertain and verify the truth of what they publish insofar as this can be established.

2. Veracity and accuracy in reporting are an integral part of editorial policy and editors will only publish that which they believe to be true, fair and accurate. Every effort will be made to ascertain the factual accuracy of articles through, for instance, cross-checking of facts and the mandatory use of tape-recorders or other recording devices.

3. All editorial content will be selected for its inherent news value and not to appease, augment or respond to political, commercial or any other interests. In this respect, all advertisements and advertising-related material will be signposted as such. Editors and journalists must test the value of each story, report or article by interrogating the extent to which it satisfies the "so what?" element.

4. The Group's news and information outlets will differentiate clearly between views and opinion on the one hand and news and reportage on the other. The former, whether they are the opinions of external/guest contributors or of the Group itself, will be clearly identified in designated columns or programmes. In the case of contributors, articles will carry a biographical line setting out their qualifications and, where appropriate, political stance and affiliation. For broadcast, programmes will carry a disclaimer where the views expressed do not reflect those of the Group. In general, though, the trend must be towards a wise mix and balance of reporting, analysis and interpretative journalism to help our audiences and readers better understand the issues that are part of their everyday lives.

5. The Group's outlets stand for racial, ethnic, religious and communal harmony and political/party tolerance as well as other forms of pluralism: They aim to help audiences of all races, faiths and nations to see events in perspective, and to understand their interrelationships.

6. The Group supports the principles of democracy as they are most widely understood, that is, good governance, transparency and accountability, regular, free and fair elections as well as social equity. The Group also supports the role of responsible and credible Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) in the promotion of democracy and good governance. It supports and promotes the protection and promotion of human rights and civil liberties.

8. It supports and promotes public debate on matters of national importance with a view to bringing about behavioural and policy change for the common good.

9. As part of its Corporate Social Responsibility, the Group supports and promotes the protection and conservation of the environment whilst promoting sustainable development.

The Group also supports the most economically vulnerable members of the society through its various Corporate Social Responsibility Programmes. In this regard, the Group deliberately promotes and encourages environmental journalism, appropriate research and adoption of new technologies aimed at enhancing the quality of human life.

10. It will promote media freedom in the nations where it operates, balancing this value with a well developed sense of responsibility.

11. It will promote the national efforts of the people of East Africa to develop and harmonise their institutions for the common good and will encourage regional integration where this is practicable and demonstrably to the advantage of the peoples of those countries involved. It should bring, where possible, first hand and independent news coverage and views and not exclusively a repetition of articles published by others and agencies.

12. Its vision will not be confined to its immediate market within East Africa but will be driven by the objective of establishing itself as the media of Africa for Africa.

13. The Group's news outlets in their commentary pages and programmes will vigorously support the interests of the underprivileged and disadvantaged groups or persons and will work to combat injustice without fear or favour; they will seek to be sensitive to gender issues, the interests of the rural populations and of all forms of minority.

Role of editors

Editors shall not shy away from objective and generally constructive criticism of any group or person, action or policy where such criticism is considered in conscience to be well founded, based on a full and accurate assessment of the factual realities, and offered in the interests of the public at large.

Social obligations

1. The Group supports a free enterprise, market-driven approach to economic development, but its editors will encourage discussion and debate on alternative ideas. Its news and information outlets aim to appeal to wide audiences within the context of their editorial and marketing parameters and no one sector, community, profession or editorial objective will dominate the media platforms. In this regard, any planned editorial campaigns or crusades on

any issue will be referred to the NMG or respective Board editorial committee(s) for prior discussion.

2. Public awareness is an essential ingredient for national mobilisation. In that regard, the Group will support society's efforts to deal with national disasters such as flooding, drought, famine, outbreak of epidemics like the HIV/Aids epidemic, and other forms of humanitarian crises.

Professional obligations

The Group's news and information outlets will be authoritative without being didactic; they will be intelligent and broad in their coverage. They will encourage the intelligent expression of African thought and perspectives by way of regular contributions from outsiders able to offer unique professional expertise and reasoned diverse opinions on topical issues about the continent. They will avoid generalisations where the specific is more accurately appropriate. By their coverage and style, they will maintain a national and international flavour.

A constant search is required for higher literary, fluency and grammatical standards among editorial staff, pre-eminently in the pursuit of legibility, comprehension, accuracy and balance. Specific consideration is given in this area to the question of phrasing of headlines and captions. Constant care will be taken to ensure that headlines accurately reflect the theme and tone of the article they are based on.

Format and design

The typographical layout of the Group's news platforms, including the online editions, must of necessity change from time to time, but the fundamental principle, which applies to print, broadcasting and to online presentations, is to present editorial content in an attractive but disciplined, sober, consistent and non-sensationalist format.

Staff development

The Group is committed to training and developing its editorial staff to internationally recognised best practice standards. Staff recruitment is, therefore, rigorous, the policy being to seek qualified journalists or trainees of proven quality with good educational and professional attainments, who will undergo structured training programmes, including, whenever possible, exposure overseas. Every effort will be made to maintain geographical, ethnic and gender balance among those employed in whatever capacity in the Group.

PART 11

(A) EDITORIAL OBJECTIVES

This section deals with specific objectives, which place obligations on each member of the editorial staff. They should be treated as mandatory expectations in the individual's day-to-day editorial work. Their application will be reviewed regularly with the Group Editorial Director.

1. It is the company's objective to make the Group's outlets comparable in authority, balance, credibility and presentation with leading media platforms in other parts of the world. In this regard, it will provide the expertise necessary for a general and marked uplift in professional skills and standards. To pursue this objective, its training editors will assist staff in improving their professional performance. Staff are required to consult their training editor in any area of doubt. They are equally required to take seriously any weakness identified by the training editor in their day-to-day work and make every effort to rectify such weaknesses. The group will seek reciprocal arrangements with other media houses to facilitate limited exchange visits between the journalists of both groups for purposes of improving our and their staffs' professional skills, standards and areas of specialised knowledge.

2. Our media platforms will avoid such "non-news" content as empty statements of a general nature, occasions or releases where publicity for individuals, groups or organisations is the sole dominant objective.

3. Our news outlets must reflect a bias against routine assignments and political or charitable functions that are known to have little or no news value. The outlets will be dominated by evidence of enterprising news management.

4. News stories which come from sources outside the Group will not be accepted at their face value. Background information, names, ages, titles, contrary points of view (if appropriate) will be thoroughly ascertained before a story is submitted for publication. Where further depth is required – either explanation or history – this will always be provided so that news coverage is never untruthful, wilfully misleading, superficial, unbalanced or incomplete. In this regard, the library and the Internet facilities will be used extensively and intelligently.

5. Specialised language and expressions (e.g. such as in medicine, economics, religion, court cases) must be accurately and carefully interpreted into English and Kiswahili usage.

6. Normally, lists of names at official functions should be eliminated from the text of stories.

7. Stories must concentrate on events themselves, not on the names of officials associated with them. A magistrate's name and title, for example, should not be published unless his/her actions, remarks or other involvement are pertinent to the case or the story.

8. Pedantic facts, whose publication is unnecessary, for example, car registration numbers in court and theft stories, lists of minor personal effects, funeral arrangements, etc, should be avoided.

9. Indisputable and straightforward facts should not be attributed to spokespersons. Indirect speech will not be attributed, sentence-by-sentence, to the speaker. One attribution should cover several paragraphs, provided the correct tense is used.

10. Outdated clichés will not be used. Examples: hike, for rise or increase; hail for praise; nab for arrest; probe (in text) for investigate or inquire into, jetting in for flying in. Equally, words such as lash, fire, bash, roast and rap for criticise will not be used in text except in direct speech, and not at all in headlines. Likewise, standard language will be used on the Kiswahili platforms.

11. Except for regional or provincial editions/broadcasts, coverage must avoid the strictly parochial and concentrate on news of national interest. Selection of news will be done with this goal in mind and correspondents will be conscious that their contributions should interest audiences all over the particular country or region. Similarly, non-news events like street and bar brawls, except where they result in large scale violence or involve newsworthy individuals will be avoided.

12. The Group's editorials will base their conclusions on demonstrable and comprehensive research. They will be balanced, constructive and informative and will represent the authoritative voice of the Group and not only that of the writers. Like all other editorial content, leaders will justify the space they occupy in cogent, unrepetitive and reasoned arguments. Editorials will be regarded as the flagship of the various media platforms and planned with appropriate care. Except in rare circumstances, they will comment on the most significant events of the day. Like news stories, they should contain facts not generally known. They will not be spiteful, prejudiced, propagandist or extremist; they will avoid the bizarre and offensive and will always maintain standards of decency and good taste. Wording should be temperate and non-inflammatory. Where an editorial is based on an issue in any of the East African countries, efforts must be made to verify the facts with the appropriate officials in the respective countries and not unnecessarily or gratuitously contribute to inter-country tensions.

13. Features, except those clearly identified as those of contributors whose views have been solicited by the newspapers on the basis of their specialist value, will be informative, solidly researched, balanced, simply written and will present facts. "Essay-type" features are forbidden. Features writers and other writers will avoid the assumption that they are participants rather than observers.

14. Feature "fillers" are forbidden. These are categorised as irrelevant space takers, used in the absence of worthwhile material and generally provided by external services. All features must earn the space they occupy. Acceptable articles in that category will include topical world backgrounders, human-interest features of special appeal to the readership and those with particular relevance to East Africa.

15. Special attention must be paid to the activities of the East African Community and the institutions related to it to enable citizens of member countries – Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda and Burundi – to understand their place in and contribution to the wider community of nations.

16. In its coverage of African continent, the Group's outlets will originate original Africa content positioning NMG as the Media of Africa for Africa and thereby counterbalancing editors' potential excessive reliance on international news agencies for news about the continent. As a starting point, editors are required to use NMG journalists or commissioned reporters/writers to report on Africa, where possible, in order to benefit from the investment in training and the understanding of, for instance, the Group's Editorial Policy and culture. In particular, every effort must be made to ensure full utilisation of NMG editorial resources in the coverage of events happening within East Africa where the Group has subsidiary companies with appropriate focus being placed on the interpretation and detailed discussions and analysis of those events.

17. Unsolicited features submitted for publication by commercial and other vested interests and pressure groups will, generally, not be accepted. If, exceptionally, any such feature is judged to have particular news value and be worthy of publication, it will be edited to correspond with the style of the particular publication or other outlet and its source will be clearly identified.

18. Women's coverage should not be confined to cosmetic and domestic issues, but must concentrate on the many important women's issues in East Africa today. The contents in the women's pages or programmes, where these exist, must be properly discussed and planned at editorial conferences and should be relevant, topical, professionally written and presented.

19. Coverage of news related to the youth should go beyond the apparent preoccupation with simple consumerism and all forms of instant gratification and should aim at focusing on the youth programmes that add value to the general development of societies and expressing the views, raising questions and focusing on preoccupations of the region's youth.

20. Editors must make every effort to eschew material that is vulgar or tasteless. Such content as irresponsible celebrity gossip, salacious writing or stories has no place in any of our platforms and only takes up valuable space that could be better dedicated to more edifying issues. (Any inserts, pullouts, supplements and radio/TV programmes targeting audiences with such content shall be reviewed and readjusted or dropped altogether).

21. Pictures/graphics, including cartoons that make our media platforms lifeless and dull will be automatically rejected unless they are of major significance. Pictures/graphics will be lively and well composed and earn their place in our platforms.

22. Public relations material, both written and pictorial, must be used judiciously. This should not, however, prevent the use of stills in picture reviews, company results and other Press releases where such material concerns topics of genuine public interest. All stories based on PR material so used will, however, be re-written in the news style of the Group, any self indulgence removed and its inclusions judged solely on its news value. Special care will be taken, however, not to alter or misrepresent the essential factual content of the PR communication.

23. Foreign or international stories will not always be confined to their designated sections, but will, depending on their newsworthiness, be considered as lead stories for the day, taking cognisance of the fact that the public needs to be informed of significant events outside its

own national borders. However, editors will take particular care to edit such stories for style, tone and taste, bearing in mind the African context of their primary audience.

24. Sports coverage must reflect both popular and minority interests. The sports sections will carry, regularly and without fail, the results and, where appropriate, commentaries on all international and national sports events where there is a reasonably significant following in the East African region.

25. The standard of sports writing and presentation will not deviate from those required elsewhere in the Group's platforms.

26. Columnists and commentators (on staff or outside) should always be identified not just by name, but also by affiliation.

27. The Group will practise issue-based as opposed to excessive or continuous personality-based journalism that tends to create an impression that the issues are driven by personal agenda and vendetta and in the process eschews journalism that is based on unattributable and unsubstantiated rumour and gossip in relation to public figures.

28. While recognising the fact that as individuals, journalists would ordinarily have their own political views and/or political party affiliations or religious affiliations, journalists working for the Group are expected to subordinate their individual political or religious views and to remain apolitical and neutral on religious matters in the course of discharging their official duties so as not to allow their political or religious affiliations or views to influence their editorial judgment.

29. As part of the effort aimed at encouraging enterprising news management, the Group will, through the NMG Editorial Board Committee, organise periodic Editorial Agenda Setting Sessions to discuss and debate editorial management and direction with the respective editorial staff.

30. Board's Oversight Responsibility on Editorial Matters: The Group's Editorial Board Committee will, on behalf of the Board, bear the principle oversight responsibility for the Group's operations which concern the editorial content of the Group's publications and broadcast activities and as such, the Committee will serve as a leading guardian and custodian of the Editorial Policy Guidelines and Objectives.

31. Periodic Reviews of the Editorial Policy Guidelines and Objectives: The Editorial Policy Guidelines and Objectives will, under the Board's guidance, be subjected to periodic reviews from to time. Journalists should regularly refer to these guidelines to assist them in structuring their writing, production and presentation to the required standard. Performance will be judged on their ability to interpret and implement these guidelines.

(B) OPERATIONAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE OBJECTIVES

1. The Group's management will ensure that all journalists employed on the English language platforms are able to write and speak clear, concise English and are fully up to date with the modern usage of the language. Likewise, journalists employed on the Kiswahili language platforms will be proficient in the written and spoken use of the language. All these journalists must have a reasonable numeric competence.

2. With the basic objective of encouraging a culture of meritocracy, recruitment will be based on aptitude tests and oral interviews, and as much as possible reflect the social, gender, religious, and other demographic diversities of the respective countries in which NMG operates.

3. Editorial conferences will be routinely held to review the planned content for print, broadcasting and the online publication. The conferences will be held at appropriate times in the mornings and afternoons and will involve the assigning editors, chief subs and managing editors.

4. The morning conference will be both a post-mortem session concerning the previous day's efforts, and a comparison with the competing publications as part of efforts to monitor and improve on quality, as well as a comprehensive review of the pending news docket.

5. The afternoon conference will review coverage at hand and possible later developments, selecting possible lead stories for each medium, identifying content from NMG's African correspondents, for syndication and for common usage across the regional platforms.

6. The weekly publications will convene in conference on Monday or Tuesday mornings to review their previous week's performance and to plan coverage for the new week. Given the relatively small size of their staff, the conferences will be attended by all staff and will be chaired by the respective managing editors.

7. Regional or bureau office staff will similarly hold meetings as appropriate and submit a docket of their pending news coverage to the respective editor in time for discussion at the morning conference. In all areas, regular updates of the news or story dockets will be imperative.

8. News collection and management are the powerhouse of the newspaper. Its organisation must be lively, flexible, enterprising and well informed. All reporters will be deployed on arrival not only to regular diary assignments (e.g. police, courts and hospital calls), but also to running and developing stories – sequels to earlier headlined events, building news features, and inquiring into leads and tips.

9. The news editor(s) will analyse the subject content of the particular publication and the competition, and record all forthcoming events and developments in the diary, specifically including all follow-up possibilities.

10. The news editors' diary will be dominated by evidence of enterprising news management and NOT routine assignments and political or charitable functions that are known to have little or no news value.

11. As news coverage is a round-the-clock affair, the news desk will have effective coverage up to midnight throughout the week. Late news will appear in the following day's paper, not the day after. Reporters and sub-editors will be assigned to night duty and the publications and broadcasts will be sufficiently flexible to accommodate any late newsbreaks.

12. Whether or not they are at the office or on assignment, all journalists are obliged to be on the alert for news events or background information of interest to our news outlets, particularly in their specialised fields.

13. The Internet editions will have full interactivity of stories and offer Nation Media website visitors enhanced utility by enabling easy printing, e-mailing, feedback and customisation.

14. Stories acquired from the print editions for publication on the website will be repurposed and edited to augment their international significance and particular interest to the African Diaspora.

PART III
ETHICAL PRINCIPLES: CODE OF CONDUCT AND ETHICS FOR NMG JOURNALISTS

The following code is intended as a guide for everyone working for the Nation Media Group and is based on the premise that all journalists have a duty to maintain the highest professional and ethical standards. It is founded on the individual's fundamental right to be informed and to freely receive and disseminate information.

Accuracy and fairness

1. The fundamental objective of a journalist is to report fairly, accurately and without bias on matters of public interest. All sides of a story should be reported. It is important to obtain comments from anyone mentioned in an unfavourable context.

2. Whenever it is recognised that an inaccurate, misleading or distorted report has been published, it should be corrected promptly. Corrections should report the correct information

and not restate the error except when clarity demands. Ideally, corrections should be made in a regular format and similar position as promptly as possible after the error has been detected. 3. Corrections do not normally require an apology and apologies should normally be made on the basis of legal advice.

Opportunity to reply

A fair opportunity to reply to inaccuracies should be given to individuals or organisations when reasonably called for. If the request to correct inaccuracies in a story is in the form of a letter, the editor has the discretion to publish it in full or its abridged and edited version, particularly when it is too long. However, the editor should not omit or refuse to publish important portions of the reply/rejoinder, which effectively deal with the accuracy of the offending story. If the editor doubts the truth or factual accuracy of the reply/ rejoinder, even then, it is his/her duty to publish it with liberty to append an editorial comment doubting its veracity. Note that this should be done only when this doubt is reasonably founded on impeccable evidence in the editor's possession. The editor should not, in a cavalier fashion, without due application of mind, append such a note as: "We stand by our story."

Letters to the editor

In the case of the print media, an editor who decides to open his columns on a controversial subject is not obliged to publish all the letters received in regard to that subject. He/she may select and publish only some of them either in their entirety or the gist thereof. However, in exercising this right, he/she must make an honest attempt to ensure that what is published is not one-sided, but presents a fair balance between the pros and cons of the principal issue. The editor has the discretion to decide at which point to end the debate in the event of a rejoinder upon rejoinder being sent by two or more parties to a controversial subject. It is the Group's aim not to suppress the publication of letters to the editor merely on account of the editors' disagreement with the underlying messages or arguments. In the case of the electronic media, a broadcasting licensee who presents a programme in which controversial issues of public importance are discussed shall make reasonable efforts to fairly present significant points of view either in the same programme or in a subsequent one forming part of the same series of programmes presented within a reasonable period of time in substantially the same time slot. Additionally, a person whose views have been criticised in a broadcasting programme on a controversial issue of public importance shall be given a reasonable opportunity to reply should he/she so request.

Unnamed sources

Unnamed sources should not be used unless the pursuit of truth will best be served by not naming the source or in the event the source requests his/her anonymity to be respected. When material is used in a report from sources other than the reporter's, these sources should be indicated in the story. If unnamed sources are quoted, the article should indicate the reason why the source did not want to be disclosed.

Confidentiality

In circumstances where complete confidentiality is assumed as a condition of obtaining the story, that situation needs to be respected and considered according to the existing legal framework. In general, journalists have a moral obligation to protect confidential sources of information.

Misrepresentation

1. Journalists should generally identify themselves and not obtain or seek to obtain information or pictures through misrepresentation or subterfuge.
2. Unless in the public interest, documents or photographs should be used only with the express consent of the owner.
3. Subterfuge can be justified only in the public interest and only when material cannot be obtained by any other means. The public interest includes: Detecting or exposing crime or

serious misdemeanour or anti-social conduct; protecting public health or safety; preventing the public being misled by some statement or action of an individual.

Obscenity, taste and tone in reporting

The media should not publish anything that is obscene, vulgar or offensive to public good taste. A story, photograph or drawing/cartoon of questionable taste should have significant news value to justify its usage. Generally, what is in good taste is to be determined by the prevailing social norms. But the following basic tests should be applied.

1. Is the depiction of a particular scene and the language used likely to be regarded as filthy, revolting, repugnant, dirty or lewd?

2. With regards to pictures, the following should offer guidelines:

(a) Is it vulgar and indecent?

(b) Is it mere pornography'?

(c) Is its publication meant merely to make money by titillating the sexual feelings of adolescents and adults among whom it is intended to circulate? In other words, does it constitute an "unwholesome exploitation" of sex for the sake of money?

(d) Is it invasive of anyone's privacy? If this is the case, a further question should then be asked as to whether the use of any such photo is nonetheless justified by a clear and indisputable public interest in doing so.

3. In the same vein, publication of photographs showing dead or mutilated bodies, bloody incidents and abhorrent scenes should be avoided unless the publication of such photographs will serve the larger public interest.

4. Television stations especially must exercise great care and responsibility when presenting programmes when a large number of children are likely to be part of the audience.

Paying for news and articles

When money is paid for information, serious questions can be raised about the credibility of that information and the motives of the buyer and seller. Therefore, in principle, journalists should avoid paying for information.

Plagiarism

Using someone else's work without attribution - whether deliberately or thoughtlessly - is a serious ethical breach. However, borrowing ideas from elsewhere is considered fair journalistic practice so long as the source is acknowledged. Words directly quoted from sources other than the writer's own reporting should be attributed. In general, when other work is used as the source of ideas or stylistic inspiration, the final result must be clearly different and distinguishable as the original work of the reporter.

Discrimination

In general, the media should avoid prejudicial or pejorative references to a person's race, tribe, clan, religion, sex or sexual orientation or to any physical or mental illness, handicap or political orientation. These details should be eschewed unless they are germane to the story. Everyone should be accorded equal treatment as news subjects or sources and journalists should not deliberately deny the right of any group to exposure in the media. Generally, a reference to one's nationality (e.g. Ugandan, Kenyan, or Tanzanian) is less contentious than a reference to race (e.g. white/black)]

Recording interviews and telephone conversations

Except in rare and justifiable cases, journalists should not tape anyone in the course of an interview without that person's knowledge and agreement. An exception may be made only if the recording is necessary to protect the journalist in a legal action or for some other compelling reason such as coverage of public meetings and if other approaches don't work. On the other hand, the use of recorders for interviews, speeches or at press conferences with the knowledge of the subject is encouraged to protect against error and to protect against possible charges of misquotation.

Privacy

The public's right to know often needs to be weighed vis-à-vis the privacy rights of people in the news. Intrusion and inquiries into an individual's private life without the person's consent are not generally acceptable unless public interest is indisputably involved. Public interest must itself be legitimate and not merely based upon prurient or morbid curiosity. Things concerning a person's home, family, religion, tribe, health, sexuality or sexual orientation, personal life and private affairs are covered by the concept of privacy excepting where these impinge or can reasonably be presumed to impinge upon the public well being.

Intrusion into grief or shock

In cases involving personal grief or shock, enquiries should be carried out and approaches made with sympathy, empathy and discretion.

Financial journalism

Even where the law does not prohibit it, journalists should not use for their own profit financial information they receive in advance of its general publication nor should they pass that information to others. They should not write about shares or securities in whose performance they know that they, their close families or associates have a significant financial interest, without disclosing the interest to the editor. They should not buy or sell, either directly or through nominees or agents, shares or securities about which they intend to write in the near future. Utmost care should be exercised by journalists in giving any interpretation to financial information.

Conflict of interest and unfair advantage

The Nation Media Group practices a policy of zero-tolerance of corrupt practices. In this regard, its journalists and editors must be free of obligation to any interest other than the public's right to know the truth. Gifts, bribes, brown envelopes, favours, free travel, free meals or drinks, special treatment or privileges can compromise the integrity of journalists, editors and their employers. Journalists, editors and their employers should conduct themselves in a manner that protects them from conflicts of interest, real or apparent. It is important not only to avoid conflicts of interest but also the appearances of such conflicts. In this connection, all situations capable of creating undue familiarity will be avoided or handled cautiously. In addition, journalists and editors must not allow their political or religious affiliations; views or morals and ethics influence their editorial judgment.

Innocent relatives and friends

The media should generally avoid identifying relatives or friends of persons convicted or accused of crime, or otherwise unfavourably featured in news stories, unless the reference to them is necessary for the full, fair and accurate reporting of the crime, legal or other proceedings.

Acts of violence

The media should avoid presenting acts of violence, armed robberies, banditry and terrorist activities in a manner that glorifies such anti-social conduct. Also, newspapers should not allow their columns to be used for writings which have a tendency to encourage or glorify social evils, warlike activities, ethnic, racial or religious hostilities.

Ethnic disputes/clashes/conflict interstate conflicts

News, views or comments relating to ethnic or religious disputes/clashes/interstate conflicts should be published after proper verification of facts and presented with due caution, balance and restraint in a manner which is conducive to the creation of an atmosphere congenial to national harmony, reconciliation, amity and peace. Sensational, provocative and alarming headlines are to be avoided. News reports or commentaries should not be written or broadcast in a manner likely to inflame the passions, aggravate the tension or accentuate the strained relations between the parties concerned. Equally so, content with the potential to exacerbate communal animosity or national conflict should be avoided.

Headlines not to be sensationally provocative, and must justify the matter printed below them
In general, provocative and sensational headlines should be avoided; headings must reflect and justify the matter printed under them; headings containing allegations made in statements should either identify the body or the source making it within the same headline or at least carry quotation marks.

Judicial acts

The media/journalists should, as a matter of caution, avoid unfair and unwarranted criticism which by innuendo attributes an oblique or extraneous motive to a judge or any judicial officer for performing an act in the course of his/her official duties even if such criticism does not in law amount to contempt of court.

Editor's responsibility

The editor shall assume responsibility for all matter, including advertisements, published in the print media or broadcast on radio or television.

Comment, conjecture and fact

Journalists should distinguish clearly in their reports between comments, conjecture and facts. More importantly, they should write in such a manner that the reader is able to distinguish between comments, conjecture and facts.

Protection of children

Children should not be identified in cases concerning sexual offences, whether as victims, witnesses or defendants. In particular, a T V broadcast, that for reasons of completeness cannot avoid using footage where such children are a central theme, must use every trick in the book to mask their identities. Except in matters of public interest, like in cases of child abuse or abandonment, journalists should not normally interview or photograph children on subjects involving their personal welfare in the absence of or without the consent of a parent or other adult who is responsible for the children. Children should not be approached or photographed while at school without the permission of the school authorities.

Victims of sex crimes

The media should not identify victims of sexual assault or publish material likely to contribute to such identification. Such exposure does not serve any legitimate journalistic or public interest and may bring social opprobrium to the victims and social embarrassment to their relations, family, friends, community or religious order to which they belong. Editors have a moral obligation to ensure they leave no margin whatsoever that could lead to the identification of such victims.

Use of pictures and names

As a general rule, the media should apply caution in the use of pictures and names and avoid publication or distribution where there is a possibility of harming the person(s) concerned unless there is a substantial public interest served by such use. There should be no identification of a person or persons in a photograph unless their identity is absolutely certain.

Pre-publication verification of reports

Whenever editors receive a report, photograph, radio or television programme or video containing defamatory or derogatory imputations or comments touching on the public conduct or character of an individual or organisation, they should, before using the information, check, with due care and attention, its factual accuracy with the person or organisation concerned to elicit comments or reaction and publish the same. If responsibility is disclaimed, this determination shall be explicitly stated beforehand.

Advertisements

The media will not allow any advertisement or commercial that is contrary to these ethical principles.

SCHEDULE (A)

NATION MEDIA GROUP'S CURRENT NEWS AND INFORMATION OUTLETS

Category 1: Print titles
Kenya
1. Daily Nation
2. Saturday Nation
3. Sunday Nation
4. The East African
5. Taifa Leo
6. Taifa Jumapili
7. Business Daily
Uganda
1. The Monitor
2. Sunday Monitor
Tanzania
1. Mwananchi
2. Mwananchi Wiki Hii
3. Mwanaspoti
4. The Citizen
5. Sunday Citizen
Category II: Electronic media
Kenya
1. NTV
2. Easy FM (96.4 FM)
3. www.nationmedia.com
4. Q FM
Uganda
1. KFM
2. www.monitor.co.ug
3. NTV
Tanzania
1. www.mwananchi.co.tz
APPENDIX A
NMG - MANAGEMENT OF OP-ED CONTENT AND ELECTION COVERAGE
Introduction
General Elections and political activities in East Africa provide a crucial opportunity for us to reaffirm our position as a dependable, credible, independent and responsible media organisation that is anchored in the highest standards of professional journalism. It should be a hallmark of NMG's editorial content that it comes from an independent perspective with no agenda either favouring or opposing individual, political party, interest group or government. Our time-tested and documented editorial policy guidelines and objectives, sanctioned by the board and approved by our shareholders shall be our guiding principles.

In particular, our news coverage and general management of political content shall seek to underscore our position as independent media that contributes to promoting and entrenching democratic culture through informed debate, intelligent and rigorous analysis as well as prudent review of predictable consequences of actions and policies.

In covering political campaigns and the election itself, our role shall remain one of thought stimulation, explaining and informing in order to help voters make intelligent decisions on the basis of knowledge, and signal to the political leaders that the public is vigilant and will not be swayed by untruths and spin. To achieve this, our coverage will go beyond reporting what newsmakers, including politicians, say to analysing the underlying issues and examining the truthfulness of the platforms of the various contenders.

Our op-ed pages and other sections for political commentary shall remain open to all as a platform for debate; great care being taken to capture East Africa's rich diversity of political thought and opinion. Letters to the editor covering all views and positions will also be given appropriate space in our newspapers.

In all this, we shall adhere to the highest standards of accuracy, fairness, impartiality and balance in reporting. Equitable coverage of all serious political actors will be ensured through strict application of a comprehensive set of election coverage guidelines.

NMG shall neither endorse nor support any candidate or party, or be seen to be favouring a particular set of policies unless it is on something that the group has a pre-existing position – e.g. press freedom, but it will facilitate meaningful debate on policies promulgated by the various political players. For the avoidance of doubt, these guidelines extend to our online editions, and apply not just to the stories that we choose to publish, but also to the online discussion forums.

Proposed management of op-ed content

In order to achieve the stated objective, we shall:

Establish a distinct election platform by opening our key commentary pages and current affairs slots on our TV to presidential and party opinions. Invite political parties to identify spokespersons who can respond to questions or clarify issues for the media when the need arises and to facilitate our contacts with party leaders. Reinforce managing editors' responsibility for generating and managing op-ed content.

Election Platform Debates

Print products: The Election Platform will comprise a special series of opinion pieces by presidential candidates and their parties. It will be published twice a week. Where NMG feels the candidates and parties have failed to rise beyond partisanship that is poisoning the political atmosphere and lowering the standards of public discourse, we shall invite respected public figures to restore dignity and steer the argument(s) back to the issues that matter to the East African people. If this is not possible, NMG might, in exceptional circumstances, itself intervene with an article aiming to achieve the above objective.

The Platform will provide an opportunity for the invited contributors to explain their vision, perspective of issues and programmes or, simply, to respond to a topic in the news. However, in order to maintain a balance between the views of rival political parties, unsolicited contributions, by known party functionaries or sympathetic experts, for instance, will be factored into the overall equation.

To demonstrate transparency, articles by editors and journalists in the employ of NMG shall be flagged with a disclaimer. Such articles shall also be factored in the spread of points of view to ensure the desired balance is achieved. Presidential candidates' pieces will occupy the space alongside the editorial. Two party pieces, of equal length, will take up the opposite page. Where longer pieces are submitted, the space provided will be adjusted accordingly. However, great care will be taken to ensure that no single party has an edge over the others in terms of the number of articles published. The editorial director will be the final arbiter in this regard.

Articles submitted by presidential candidates will carry their bylines. In this way, the platform will distinguish itself as a valuable and respected forum for presidential candidates to speak directly to the voting public. The Platform page will always have the same look, shape and size, with equal space given to graphics/pictures. The headlines and body type will be the same as in the rest of the paper. The only distinguishing feature will be the bold branding of the series as Election Platform. Standardised page one "refers" and carefully crafted promotion ads will be used to draw attention to the series.

Before launching the Election Platform, meetings will be held with political party leaders to explain our strategy/approach and give them guidelines on what we expect. By the same

token, we shall also give our commitments of fairness and impartiality to them. These "out-reach" meetings will be coordinated by the editorial director and will involve managing editors and the op-ed editor.

A file will be maintained by the editorial director to record such meetings and facilitate follow-up discussions and implementation. To maintain the desired balance, articles published on the same day will always be from different parties. Equally, a policy of minimal editing shall be rigorously applied so as not to materially alter the import of the message. And where contributions are rejected for reasons of taste or otherwise, the contributors shall be advised accordingly.

Contributions will be managed on a strict timetable. Where invited parties or candidates fail to respond, this shall be duly noted in a footnote on the particular page. However, because over time this failure could give the impression that we are not trying enough or that the candidates or parties do not trust us, steps shall be taken to correct this situation through articles generated by us and published under an agreed byline, after exhaustive internal discussions.

All contributors will be prominently identified with their affiliations - including by repeated overlays on TV and regular reminders on radio. The Election Platform will be boldly branded and its intended objective highlighted in order to distinguish it from the normal op-ed content, which shall continue to be published.

Role of editors

Managing editors will screen all op-ed content and will be actively involved in sourcing or developing it. A committee of managing editors and the op-ed editor, to be chaired by the editorial director, will draw up a time-table for the Election Platform and work out the logistics of managing invitations to the targeted contributors. The invitations will be made either through personal contacts or written solicitations.

In assessing unsolicited election-related op-ed articles, editors shall ensure that these are:
Cogently argued.
Topical.
Issue-driven rather than personality based.
Outstanding either for their freshness of perspective or new information.
Sober, balanced, and not strident or shrill.
Truthful, so far as this can be established.
Drawn from a broad-based platform to ensure diversity of political thought.
Are not written by people, however objective they might sound in the article, who are too closely associated with particular candidates or parties.
Editors will be required to manage the selection carefully to ensure balanced allocation of space.

Sourcing

Overall action plan

General topics or subjects for opinion pieces shall be identified at two levels: Firstly, at the regular agenda-setting sessions attended by members of the Editorial Board Committee and senior editors and, secondly, at daily meetings chaired by the editorial director or his deputy and involving the senior editors.

The daily meetings, particularly, will identify the appropriate commentator or opinion writer either from our data bank of specialist writers or usual contributors. The morning editorial conference will continue to discuss ideas for the general content of our news platforms. The Sunday Nation, which has developed itself as our stable's political paper, is the one title that is most exposed to the risk of manipulation by election contenders. A significant portion of its commentaries and analyses comes from election contenders or sympathetic experts. In this

respect, our professed policy of independence is significantly diluted by the preponderance of "opposition content", some of it dressed up as analysis.

The Election Platform is expected to bring the much-needed political balance, clearly distinguishing between commentary and opinion pieces on the one hand, and straightforward analytical ones on the other. The paper will, therefore, review its current pool of political analysts, some of whom are election contenders, to ensure that we do not unwittingly give such individuals a platform for their campaigns. Where it becomes necessary to drop such analysts, their roles will be assigned to journalists. The themes for analyses assigned to journalists will be agreed on beforehand with the editors.

Where political analyses are bylined generically (Sunday Nation Team) or by a staff, particular care shall be taken to ensure that these articles avoid judgmental language, political stereotypes, and do not harangue readers. For general content management on weekends, a duty roster will ensure the availability of a senior editor for gate-keeping duties.

Review mechanism

Op-ed content will be routinely reviewed at the morning 10 o'clock editorial conference. Both the editorial director and duty managing editor will review the Political Platform content/op-ed before printing. The Editorial Board Committee will convene whenever a crisis that warrants its attention comes up. A summary report will be provided to the committee by the editorial director. The Editorial Board Committee will interact regularly with editors to reinforce the editorial objectives relating to op-ed content. Management will continually impart these objectives to staff.

Advertisements

Editorial gate-keeping will be extended to all political advertorials and advertisements. All such advertisements and advertorials shall be referred to the editorial director/group managing editor or managing editor on duty for vetting. A deadline of 3 o'clock for submission of ads or artwork will be strictly enforced to ensure that the editor has sufficient time to review the material before publication. Any ad(s) coming in after the deadline will be rejected outright. Pressure of time will not be accepted as an excuse for running ads that do not bear the editor's mark of approval. All advertorials and political advertisements shall be boldly branded as advertiser's announcements.

They shall be vetted for:

Veracity of content.

Taste and fairness.

Truthfulness.

Potential to inflame public opinion.

Risk of defamation.

Potentially offensive illustrations/images

NOTE: No political advertisement will be published or aired on the day of the election.

Election coverage

As indicated earlier, the election period gives us a crucial opportunity to reaffirm our credibility with the public. For this reason, all editorial staff are required to familiarise themselves with the Guidelines for Election Reporting as may be issued from time to time by the various media councils or regulators in East Africa. In addition, the following shall obtain for our particular purposes:

Strict adherence to accuracy and fairness.

Utmost integrity to ensure journalists/editors do not unduly keep the company of political contenders, accept payments, gifts or favours from political candidates, parties or their agents. A policy of zero-tolerance will be maintained and any proven infringements will be punishable with instant dismissal.

Journalists/editors are barred from political activism.

Editorial vigilance to ensure objective/fair description of candidates and political events. Subjective descriptions such as mammoth or huge rallies, popular candidates, etc, will be eschewed. Ensure all descriptions are based on measurable fact or attribution to credible sources.

Maintain a fair focus on all political parties and candidates.

Careful selection of pictures and captions to ensure they do not unwittingly send the wrong message or distort the truth. In this regard, no editing shall be done to either diminish the size of crowds or to enhance them. Where the impression created by a truthful photo is an issue, a different one shall be chosen, rather than resort to the aid of Photoshop. Careful monitoring and review of headlines on all articles to eliminate biases or inaccuracies.

Proper management of political/campaign rallies to ensure balanced coverage.

Avoiding the temptation to run sensational but possibly biased or incomplete stories just to sell papers. Taking care to ensure our journalists do not let others dictate and, or, influence their coverage or treatment of stories. Covering the good news emerging from campaign rallies as well as the bad news, e.g. violence, chaos. Care shall be taken to ensure a sense of proportion, so that the coverage of a few violent incidents, for example, is not handled in such a manner that they create an impression that they are happening more often than they actually are. From a management perspective, it is essential to let readers and viewers know how we intend to cover the elections and encouraging their participation. To give this initiative the desired visibility, it will be necessary to have it formally launched by the NMG Chairman. The launch will be followed with appropriate editorial messages in our news outlets.

Being truly representative in our coverage.

Provide the facts as they are and not as some would wish us to see them. Placing emphasis on issues rather than personalities, except where their character or actions has material bearing on the election. A candidate who beats his spouse in circumstances where our reporters were present or can verify it during the campaigns and then takes to the stage to preach against domestic violence, would rightly be exposed as an abuser whose word should not be trusted. Careful monitoring of humour and satirical pieces, including cartoons, to eliminate any risk of a deliberate campaign by the authors against an individual or party. In particular, cartoons will be sketched well in advance of publication – before noon everyday – for the editor to review.

Use of tape-recorders – and videotapes in the case of TV – at all campaign meetings, press conferences and interviews and retention of such recordings, for at least a period of up to twelve months from the date of recording, will be enforced. Rotating reporters to eliminate the possibility of undue familiarity with election contenders and hence the risk of biased reporting. Where the incumbent president is running for re-election, care must be taken to ensure that the coverage of his regular actions as head of state is not done in such a manner as to constitute a campaign for him/her.

From time to time NMG will commission public opinion polls to establish trends for better decision-making and informed public debate. These will be handled cautiously and at the highest management level with the involvement of the Editorial Board Committee. The same rigor will be applied to the findings of polls commissioned by independent bodies.

Election coverage by Nation Broadcasting Division

Introduction

As media that are used for breaking news, the challenge to achieve objective or even-handed coverage on TV and radio is extremely important. News managers and producers will be working against tight deadlines to script their news bulletins and may be tempted to broadcast unchecked material. Consequently, the onus will be even greater on the broadcasting managers to ensure the process is tightly controlled and managed to achieve the desired

standards of coverage. These standards remain the same as those enunciated above for the print division insofar as the accuracy, objectivity and balance of reporting are concerned. Similarly, the rules of conduct for journalists' and editors' apply to both the print and broadcasting media.

The action plan

It is expected that the Electoral Commission will issue election coverage guidelines for the media, particularly the electronic. We shall draw from this as far as that is practicable. Essentially, our objective shall be to ensure fairness and balance. To achieve this, NTV news editors and reporters will:

Ensure there is a news angle to the story

Reporters must ensure that they do not become repetitive on issues already covered. If nothing new arises from press conferences or political rallies then an exclusive must be sought to interview the candidates on the issues that have not been addressed.

Countercheck all statements

Reporters will verify the veracity of statements made by politicians and where allegations are made against a candidate then every opportunity will be made to grant the affected candidate the right of reply.

Strive to achieve balance between competing standpoints

Always strive to be objective leaving aside any political inclinations.

Avoid personalising issues and mud-slinging

The temptation to put politicians on air, fighting and calling each other names will be very strong but must be avoided or left for satire. Reporters will resist the temptation to be drawn into political battles that do not add value to our news coverage.

Take politicians to task over utterances

Reporters will take politicians to task over any public statements that are careless and do not add value to national cohesion or the quality of public debate. If confused or unclear about the utterance, reporters will be expected to ask for clarification(s).

Source background information on stories

All stories will be put into context to ensure the audience clearly understands the story.

Get feedback from the people

When covering political rallies reporters will endeavour to get the views of the people (e.g. - Do they understand what the politician is saying? Do they agree? Are the issues that touch their lives being addressed?)

Differentiate fact from opinion

In all stories, reporters will not let the opinion of a leader or source override the fact of the matter.

Live coverage

Candidates' requests for live coverage shall be considered in the same way as paid advertising.

They shall bear the cost of all such broadcasting, like other paid advertising.

However, the material shall be run on a time delay of one minute to allow for editing out of content that may violate the guidelines.

Party selection process

Even as we plan to provide free airtime, the process of identifying the deserving parties will be difficult and challenging. Previous elections have thrown up an unwieldy number of parties and candidates. We can, therefore, always expect crowded field of contenders. We must design a screening process to determine which parties and presidential candidates qualify for consideration. The following guidelines attempt to do this:

Is the party registered?

Is it participating in the election?

Evidence of activities prior to elections.

Evidence of membership.

Seriousness of purpose of its leadership

Beyond political programmes, we expect parties and candidates to utilise our media for political advertisements. These will clearly be flagged as such. These advertisements will be scheduled to run on NTV provided they are not:

Inflammatory;

Tasteless;

Inciting;

Defamatory;

Plagiaristic;

Solely aimed at attacking their opponents;

Political advertisements

In the past, presidential candidates dominated most media advertisements as few prospective MPs could afford the costs. This is unlikely to change in the future. No restrictions are proposed on the number of advertisements a party or candidate can afford to buy airtime for. However, the screening procedure will be the same as that applied to print advertisements. The same strict deadline procedure proposed for print shall apply and no material will be broadcast before vetting by the editorial director, or his deputy, working in close liaison with the managing director for the broadcasting division.

Monitoring process

There will be a weekly high level review of our coverage by the print and broadcast editors, attended by the NBD Managing Director and the Group Managing Editor. Uniformity of content across our media will be ensured through an election desk to be set up nearer the time of campaigns, the active participation of the multi-media editor and the rigorous application of the agreed rules and standards.

As elections tend to generate a lot of quacks masquerading as journalists, we intend, through initiatives like that of the Media Owners Association in Kenya, etc, to make public statements against solicitation for favours in return for favourable media coverage. Internally, a policy of zero-tolerance will be enforced.

Conclusion

Influence-peddling from politicians, personal biases from editors and journalists, and sloppy management of the election coverage are some of the key risks to watch out for. These guidelines are intended to address these risks. The NMG Editorial Board Committee shall continue to play a pro-active role, initiating discussions with the Management to strengthen the agreed guidelines.

September 23, 2009

Appendix 5: Financial Gazette Code of Ethics

Code of conduct for Zimbabwean media practitioners

The purpose of this Code is to provide a set of common professional standards of conduct for media practitioners and media institutions in Zimbabwe.

Media practitioners and media institutions should abide by these standards and the public is entitled to expect that they will do so. There should be a remedy for those harmed by media conduct that violates these standards.

This Code will be applied and enforced by Media Complaints Council.

1. Interpretation

In this Code:

Media institution means any institution in Zimbabwe, whether in the public or private sectors, that disseminates news to the public through the medium of a newspaper and other written and electronic publication or through electronic broadcasting.

Media practitioner means a reporter or editor employed by a media institution or a freelance reporter or columnist who supplies reports to or writes columns for a media institution.

2.Application

This Code will govern the conduct of media practitioners and media institutions that have agreed to be bound by this Code and to submit to the disciplinary jurisdiction of the Zimbabwe Media Complaints Council.

3. General standards

a) Media practitioners must maintain the highest professional and ethical standards. They must carry out their functions of informing, educating and entertaining the public professionally and responsibly.

b) Media practitioners must defend the principle of the freedom of the media to freely access, collect and disseminate information and to publish comments and criticisms. They must oppose censorship, suppression of news and the dissemination of propaganda.

4. Accuracy and fairness

(a) Media practitioners and media institutions must report and interpret the news with scrupulous honesty and must take all reasonable steps to ensure that they disseminate accurate information and that they depict events fairly and without distortions.

(b) Media practitioners and media institutions must never publish information that they know to be false or maliciously make unfounded allegations about others that are intended to harm their reputations.

(c) When compiling reports media practitioners must check their facts properly, and the editors and publishers of newspapers and other media must take proper care not to publish inaccurate material. Before a media institution publishes a report, the reporter and the editor must ensure that all the steps have been taken that a reasonable, competent media practitioner would take to check its accuracy.

(d) Special care must be taken to check the accuracy of stories that may cause harm to individuals, organisations or to the public interest. Before publishing a story of alleged wrongdoing, all reasonable steps must be taken to ascertain the response of the alleged wrongdoer to the allegations. Any response from that person must be published together with the report setting out the allegations.

(e) Media institutions must endeavour to provide full, fair and balanced reports of events and must not suppress essential information pertaining to those events. They must not distort information by exaggeration, by giving only one side of a story, by placing improper emphasis on one aspect of a story, by reporting the facts out of the context in which they occurred or by suppressing relevant available facts. They must avoid using misleading headlines or billboard items.

5. Correction of inaccuracy and distortion

(a) If a media institution discovers that it has published a report containing a significant inaccuracy or distortion of

the facts, it must publish a correction promptly and with comparable prominence.

(b) If a media institution discovers that it has published an erroneous report that has caused harm to a person or institution's reputation, it must publish an apology promptly and with due prominence.

(c) A media institution must report fairly and accurately the outcome of an action for defamation against it.

6. Right of reply

Where a person or organisation believes that a media report contains inaccurate information or has unfairly criticised the person or organisation, the media institution concerned must give the person or organisation a fair opportunity to reply to enable that person or organisation to correct any inaccuracies and to respond to the criticism.

7.Comment

a) A clear separation should be made between comment and opinion.

b) A comment or expression of opinion must be a genuine and honest expression of opinion relating to fact.

c) Comment or conjecture must not be presented in such a way as to create
the impression that it is established fact.

8. Bribes and inducements

Media practitioners and media institutions must not publish or suppress a report or omit or alter vital facts in that report in return for payment of money or for any other gift or reward.

9. Pressure or influence

Media practitioners and media institutions must not suppress or distort information about which the public has a right to know because of pressure or influence from their advertisers or others who have a corporate, political or advocacy interest in the media institution concerned.

10. Payment for information

Media practitioners and media institutions must not pay people to act as information sources unless there is demonstrable public interest value in the article.

11. Hatred and violence

a) Media practitioners and media institutions must not publish material that is intended or is likely to engender hostility or hatred towards persons on the grounds of their race, ethnic origins, nationality, gender, sexual orientation, physical disabilities, religion or political affiliation.

b) Media institutions must take utmost care to avoid contributing to the
spread of ethnic hatred or political violence.

12. Reporting of elections

a) Media practitioners and media institutions must report upon elections in
a fair and balanced manner.
b) Before reporting a damaging allegation made about a candidate or a political party, wherever possible, a
media practitioner should obtain a comment from the candidate or party against whom the allegation has been

made particularly where the allegation has been made by an opposing candidate or an opposing political party.

c) A media practitioner or media institution must not accept any gift, reward or inducement from a politician or candidate.

d) As far as possible, a media practitioner or media institution should report the views of candidates and political parties directly and in their own words, rather than as others describe them.

e) A journalist shall take care in reporting the findings of opinion polls. Any report should wherever possible include details about the methodology used in conducting the survey and who conducted it.

13. Reporting of police investigations and of criminal court cases

a) In our law a person is presumed to be innocent until proven guilty in a court of law. Trial of cases by the media is not allowed; the media must therefore refrain from publishing articles prejudging the outcome in criminal cases or seeking to influence the outcome of the cases.

b) Media institutions are entitled to inform the public about arrests of suspects by the police and the trial of persons accused of crimes. They should not, however, publish the names of suspects until the police have filed formal charges against them unless it is in the public interest to do so before formal criminal charges are laid.

c) Where a media institution has started to report a criminal case it must follow up and report subsequent developments in the case. For example, it is grossly unfair to report that a person has been charged with murder but not then to report that the person was acquitted. The report of the subsequent developments must be given due prominence.

14. Privacy

a) It is normally wrong for a media practitioner to intrude into and to report upon a person's private life without his or her consent.

b) Reporting on a person's private life can only be justified when it is in the public interest to do so. This would include: detecting or exposing criminal conduct; detecting or exposing seriously anti-social conduct; protecting public health and safety; and preventing the public from being misled by some statement or action of that individual such as where a person is doing something in private which he or she is publicly condemning.

c) Media practitioners may probe and publish details about the private moral behaviour of a public official where this conduct has a bearing upon his or her suitability as a public official.

15. Intrusions into grief or shock

a) In cases involving personal grief or shock, enquiries should be carried out and approaches made with sympathy and tact.

b) Media practitioners or photographers making enquiries at hospitals or similar institutions should normally identify themselves to a responsible official and obtain permission before entering non-public areas.

16. Interviewing or photographing children

(i) Media practitioners should not normally interview or photograph children under the age of sixteen in the absence of or without the consent of a parent or an adult who is responsible for the children.

10. In interviewing and photographing children in difficult circumstances or with disabilities special sensitivity and sympathy must be used.

(ii) Children should not be approached or photographed while at school without the permission of the school authorities or institutions.

16. Children in criminal cases

Media institutions must not publish the names of any offenders under sixteen arrested by the police or tried in the criminal courts.

17. Victims of crime

Media institutions must not identify victims of sexual assaults or publish material likely to contribute to such identification unless the victims have consented to such publication or law has authorised them to do this.

18. Innocent relatives and friends

Media institutions should generally avoid identifying relatives or friends of persons convicted or accused of crimes unless the reference to them is necessary for the full, fair and accurate reporting of the crimes or the legal proceedings.

19. Surreptitious gathering of information

a) Media practitioners should normally use open methods of gathering
information in which they clearly identify themselves as media practitioners. Generally they should not obtain or seek to obtain information or pictures through surreptitious methods such as by the use or misrepresentation, deception, subterfuge or undercover techniques.

b) Surreptitious methods of information gathering may only be used where
open methods have failed to yield information in the public interest. These methods may thus be employed where, for example, they will help to detect or expose criminal activity, or will bring to light information that will protect the public against serious threats to public health and safety.

20. National security

a) Media institutions must not prejudice the legitimate national security
interests of Zimbabwe and place at risk members of the defence forces who are on active military duty.

b) This provision does not prevent the media from exposing corruption in
security and defence agencies and from commenting upon levels of expenditure upon defence.

21.Plagiarism

A media practitioner must not engage in plagiarism. Plagiarism consists of making use of another person's words or ideas without permission and without proper acknowledgement and attribution of the source of those words or ideas.

22 .Protection of sources

a) Where a person has agreed to supply information only on condition that his or her identity remains confidential and the media practitioner agrees to this condition, the media practitioner must respect this undertaking and refuse to reveal the identity of the source.

b) However, the media practitioner may tell the source that his or her identity might have to be revealed if it becomes clear in court that this information is needed to prevent serious criminal conduct