

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF DEVELOPMENT AID: AN
INVESTIGATION OF THREE DONOR-FUNDED HIV/AIDS
PROGRAMMES BROADCAST BY MALAWI TELEVISION FROM 2004
TO 2007.

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Abstract

Development aid in most of the developing countries can sometimes compromise the principles of public service broadcasting (PSB). This may be true when reflected against the tension between donor financed programmes in Malawi and the mandate of Television Malawi (TVM). Although the donor intentions are noble, the strings attached to the funding are sometimes retrogressive to the role of PSBs. A case in point is how donors dictate terms on the HIV/Aids communication strategies at TVM. Producers receive money from donors with strings attached on how the money should be used and accounted for. If producers deviate they are sanctioned through withholding funding, shifting schedules and reducing the funding frequency. The donors also dictate who to interview on what subject, how to conduct capacity building. Some scholars have researched much on the impact of commercialisation of the media. This study is a departure from these traditional interferences; it interrogates the interest of philanthropy tendencies by international donors in the three-chosen HIV/Aids programmes broadcast by TVM. The study investigates the extent of pressure exerted by donors on the producers of HIV/Aids programmes in Malawi. Thus, the study seeks to illicit specifics in the power relationship between the donor and the producer hence the study employs the political economy of development aid as applied to the public service broadcasting and communication for development. The study employed qualitative research methods and techniques (in-depth interviews, case study and document analysis). The study reveals how donor ideologies dominate the Aids messages-content output of the texts constructed. The study argues that cultural alienation of the Malawian audiences retards efforts of donors in combating HIV infection rate.

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Dedication

To my special Mum: Mrs Bessie Chebiti Idi Mulonya and late Dad, Alhaj Rabana Ahmed Mulonya. Dad, thanks for believing in me with the eagle's eye vision. Special mention should go to my Sister Halima Kunje for her inspiration and appetite for academic excellence.

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Abbreviations

ADB	: African Development Bank
ADRA	: Adventist Development and Relief Agency.
AIDS	: Acquired Immuno Deficiency Syndrome
BBC	: British Broadcasting Corporation
BLM	: Banja La Mtsogolo
CFI	: Canale France International
CDCP	: Centre for Disease Control and Prevention
CIDA	: Canadian International Development Agency
COWUMA	: Communication Workers' Union of Malawi
DANIDA	: Danish International Development Agency
DFID	: Department for International Development
DSTV	: Digital Satellite Television
EBU	: European Broadcasting Union
GOGF	: Gift of the Givers Foundation
HIV	: Human Immuno-Deficiency Virus
IHS	: Integrated Household Survey
IMF	: International Monetary Fund
JICA	: Japanese International Co-operation Agency

MACRA	: Malawi Communications Regulatory Authority
MBC	: Malawi Broadcasting Corporation
MTL	: Malawi Telecommunications Limited
NAC	: National Aids Commission
NAMISA	: National Institute of Media in Southern Africa (MISA)-Malawi Chapter
NMUs	: Natural Meaning Units
TNM	: Telekom Networks Malawi
NGO	: Non-Governmental Organisation
PSB	: Public Service Broadcasting
PSI	: Population Services International
SAPs	: Structural Adjustment Programmes
SIDA	: Swedish International Development Agency
TVM	: Television Malawi
UN	: United Nations
UNDP	: United Nations Development Programmes
UNESCO	: United Nations Education and Scientific Organisation
USA	: United States of America
USAID	: United States Agency for International Development
VOA	: Voice of America

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1. CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The chapter provides the general structure of the thesis including: the researcher's motivation; the goals and objectives; research questions; the theoretical and methodical framework of the study and the significance of the study. The study draws mainly on qualitative research methods to interrogate the political economy of the construction of three chosen out of seven donor funded HIV/Aids programmes. The focus is on health and HIV/Aids prevention. The aim is to throw light on as well as investigate the power relations at the message coding level between the broadcaster and the donors who finance the programmes.

It is no secret that the study was conducted at a time when TVM was underfunded by the Malawi Government and as such needed donor aid to broadcast some of its programmes. In the light of the funding challenges confronting TVM, the researcher wondered if a public broadcaster which is underfunded is able to influence the message and the programming of donor funded Aids programmes.

This is because there have been complaints from some sections of the viewers that the construction of the messages is not sensitive to the Malawian traditional culture (www.adrblogspot.com). Some have also argued that the HIV/Aids messages are less effective because they are steeped in the Western culture as opposed to the local Malawian culture. Interestingly, as a public service broadcaster (PSB) the TVM mission statement points out that its programmes will be influenced by the interest of the Malawian public:

TVM aims at informing, educating and entertaining the public through provision of suitable audio-visual programmes and news items within the cultural parameters of the country which conform to the socio-economic issues of Malawi (Mkwara 2004: 8).

The study should be read against the background of the dynamic and complex relationship between the ideological underpinnings of Aids texts constructed by donors and tenets of meaning making theories. Given this uneasy relationship, the study sets out to interrogate how all these pressures are negotiated by the donors, the targeted audience and the broadcaster.

The study focuses on three Aids programmes namely: *Tikuferanji* 'why are we dying', *Let's talk* and *Tikambe za edzi* 'Let's talk about Aids'. The choice of three out of the seven Aids programmes has come about due to the scope of this study, time limits and that during pilot

research for the study, respondents of the three Aids chosen programmes agreed to participate in the research and of course are anxious to read the results.

The political economy theories are privileged in this study because they speak to the objectives of the study: ownership and control (Chandler 1998) in production and distribution and meaning making of the Aids texts broadcast on TVM. Details of the political economy approach will be discussed in section 1.3 of this study.

1.2 Motivation of the study

The researcher's decision to investigate the power relations at the coding stage of Aids messages at TVM was also as a result of personal experiences as a Malawian citizen, journalist and as viewer of the programmes. As a viewer of the programmes, the researcher noticed the manner in which the programmes were presented and in particular, how the messages privileged certain values on Aids. As a journalist, the researcher's interests were on how media workers (television producers) withstood the political and economic pressures they faced as they encoded the messages. Interestingly, the researcher observed that some of the message values privileged in the programmes did not interface well with Malawian knowledge system of teaching on HIV/Aids matters. In some of the programmes, the resource persons lacked depth and knowledge of both Aids as a disease and local culture.

The researcher then held a series of informal discussions with rural viewers on HIV/Aids messages and how they were presented on TVM. The researcher held these informal discussions with the viewers in 2004 and 2007. What emerged was the view that the Aids messages were not sensitive to local cultures. This evoked in the researcher the impression that the multiple factors could be influencing the encoding of the messages given that the programmes were funded by donors.

1.3 General theoretical background to the study

This study is predicated on political economy theory which posits that "ownership and control is driven by the economic base of the organisations in which they are produced" (Curran *et al.* 1982: 18). Critical political economists also acknowledge the significance of ideology through the recognition of its role in active and contested meaning-making processes in broadcasting. While acknowledging that media discourses are not value-free because they are constituted in values, beliefs and institutional procedures that advantage certain individuals at the expense of others, Curran *et al.* (1982) point out that political economists mainly focus on how "making and

taking of meaning” are shaped by structural asymmetries in social relations and the play of power. They observe that political economy tries to show how macroeconomic and the wider structures they sustain shape micro-contexts. This is in line with the support by Murdock and Golding (1977) for the incorporation of economic relations in the study of the media on the grounds that the basic relations of capitalism are the “structuring overall framework” within which intellectual and cultural life take place. This is an interpretation of Marx’s assertion that class control over production and distribution is encapsulated in and conditioned by dynamics that underpin the capitalist economy (Golding & Murdock 2000). Since media institutions operating in capitalist economies are embedded in and conditioned by the structures underpinning such an economy, critical political economy examines the economic contexts within which control is exercised. In this case, critical political economy upholds economic dynamics as playing a central role in defining the key features of the general environment in which the media operate (Chikunkhuzeni 1999). These principles will be discussed in greater detail in chapter three as part of the literature review and theoretical frameworks.

1.4 Aims of the study

Against this background, the study broadly seeks to examine the effects of socio-political and economic pressures on Aids programming at an underfunded public broadcaster. As argued earlier, the study draws on the political economy literature in its examination of how power relations play out in Aids messages broadcast on TVM.

1.5 Research questions

The research has synthesised all these questions into two research questions under investigation:

- i) Are the ideological persuasions of donors influencing the constructions of HIV/Aids messages at TVM?
- ii) In what ways is TVM co-operating, resisting or rebelling against socio-political and economic pressures exerted by donors in the messages?

In pursuit of these objectives and questions, the study discusses the political economy theory and the media communication for development theory strand in chapter three. The study remains deeply rooted in the argument that media messages are constructed following a dynamic process of professionalism tenets and the broader structural context in which the media workers operate. As a discourse, Aids programming at TVM must be understood within a specific historical

context, place and time. As such this study does not seek to generalise its finding, but treats the findings as specific to this case study conducted between 2004 and 2007.

1.6 Justification and significance of study

By interrogating the tension between the implications of donor funded Aids programming and principles of public service broadcasting (PSB) the study intends to unearth the intricate balance that exist between encoders and decoders of Aids texts. The study is also relevant in unpacking the possible cultural and ideological clashes that exist when packaging and unpacking Aids messages in Malawi. One could argue that understanding the power dynamics that exist during the process of constructing and deconstructing, Aids messages is critical to understanding the possible cultural mismatches that play out in the programmes.

This study also has potential to contribute to the broadcasting policy towards determining an optimal funding system for TVM. Second, broadcasters, donors, policy and law makers may use this research as a basis for refining and formulating strategies to protect TVM against undue pressures from the imperatives of financiers: the state, donors, politicians, advertisers and the public in its funding system.

The findings of this research might also inform the communication for development theory on the funding of PSBs in developing countries where economies are donor-dependent. It is for this reason that the study focuses on TVM so as to appreciate the extent of pressure exerted on producers by donors over decision making as regards Aids programming. This means, the study describes the context in which donor money has come to dominate Aids programming at TVM.

Within the context of donor funding, this study focuses on funding for Aids programming to tease out whether donor funding extends its influence into the construction of Aids messages, control of programme schedules and decision making. In the process, the study also establishes the extent of influence of donor funding on Aids messages. In the long term, the thesis addresses the question of whether the donor-money and production work has enabled TVM earn, change and become self reliant in making programmes and running a channel on the principles of public service broadcasting.

1.7 Thesis overview

The study contains six chapters beginning with chapter one that introduces the thesis. Chapter two locates Aids programming at TVM. It describes the state of funding and the extent of donor-aid dependence at public service broadcaster.

Chapter three explores the links between development aid and the media. This chapter critically discusses approaches to the study of media development and development aid. Because of paucity of specific theories on the impact of development aid on media, the study applies theoretical underpinnings from social sciences, especially political science to media development. It begins with theoretical explanations that have been deployed by modernisation theorists, dependency theorists, behavioural change theorist and the promise of the political economic theory in explaining the complex relationship between development aid and Aids programming in a developing country like Malawi.

Chapter four discusses research methods and the techniques used in data gathering and analysis in the study.

Chapter five presents the data and analyses the data under three sections: interviews, case study and document analysis. The description of the making and funding of Aids programmes is also presented in this chapter.

Chapter six is a discussion of findings and recommendations arising from the study.

2. CHAPTER TWO: MALAWI HIV/AIDS COUNTRY CONTEXT

2.1 Contextualisation of HIV/Aids pandemic in Malawi

The aim of the chapter is three pronged: it contextualises the HIV/Aids pandemic in Malawi; it explores the public service funding model at TVM; and it discusses in detail the three chosen donor funded Aids programmes broadcast by TVM during 2004 to 2007: *Tikuferanji, Let's talk* and *Tikambe za edzi*.

2.2 Malawi country context

Situated in sub-Saharan Africa, Malawi borders Zambia to the West, Mozambique to the East and Tanzania to the North. Malawi is one of the world's poorest and most under-resourced developing countries. It is rated the 'sixth poorest country' in the world (Mkwara 2004: 9). A 1998 integrated household survey (IHS) "classified 65% of the 12 million people as poor while 29% are classified as extremely poor" (Government of Malawi 2005: 48). Some causes of poverty that "lead to low life expectancy in Malawi are poor education and ill health" (Bwalya *et al.* 2004: 7). For instance a good indicator of poverty in Malawi is when the life expectancy at birth dropped from 43 years in 1996 to 39 years in 2000 ([Sa]).

While poverty is the critical factor affecting the desired development of Malawi, the country also is reeling under "the heavy load of the Aids epidemic which is the leading cause of deaths at the most productive and reproductive age" (Government of Malawi 2005: 41). The first case of Aids in Malawi was made known in 1985 when a former Miss Malawi was 'diagnosed' with the disease (Booth *et al.* 2006: 23). Out of a population of 14 million almost one million people in Malawi were believed to be living with HIV at the end of 2008. Recently, research has shown that the Aids epidemic in Malawi has caused over 650,000 deaths and continues to be responsible for the deaths of around ten people every hour (www.avert.org/aids).

2.3 Impact of HIV/Aids in Malawi

Since Aids is the leading cause of deaths at the most productive age in Malawi, it has socio-cultural, political and economic effects on the nation. Aids robs the nation of its labour force and that affects "development in an economic sense" (Berger 1992: 6). The Aids situation has acted as a particularly acute form of pressure leading to strenuous efforts to bring about a major shift of sexual attitude and behaviour change in the population as a whole. Since development has been addressed in this thesis as theorised by Lerner (1958) and Schramm (1964) by making it a problem of information transfer, messages to effect Aids attitude and behaviour change are

notably disseminated via newspaper, radio and television. In this vein, this thesis investigates the political economy of development aid as applied to public service broadcasting, TVM in particular through Aids programming.

2.4 Brief overview of Television Malawi (TVM)

The Malawi Government launched TVM on 1 April 1999 in pursuit of speeding up development. Most of its key personnel were attached to the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) to be inducted into “the principles of public service broadcasting (PSB) as set down by the British Research Unit in 1985” (Banda 2006; Raboy 1996: 28). The attachées brought to TVM these principles of PSB. Malawi modified the principles to accommodate its specificities as reflected in the Communications Act 41 of 1998 from which TVM draws its mandate. Under section 45 part 5 of the Act, TVM is licensed to operate on the principles of PSB for seven years effective from 26 November 2004 until 24 November 2011 (Macra 2004: 1). So far, TVM is the only terrestrial but free-to-air national television service in Malawi with a viewership of 4 million out of a population of 12 million (www.broadcsthivafrica.org). TVM faces minor competition from a dozen radio stations. Currently, there is no other local channel in Malawi. There is a pay television for those with the purchasing power, digital satellite television (DSTV) from South Africa. The majority of Malawians cannot afford to pay the subscription fees hence there is limited accessibility.

2.5 Sources of funding at TVM

TVM gets money from different sources: the state, donors, advertisers, sales of programmes and other incomes (Macra 2004). This means TVM is partly funded by the state through Ministry of Finance with Parliament’s approval so that ‘public interest’ is serviced in broadcasting (Blumler 1992). In addition, both bilateral and multilateral donors form part of the channel’s budget through funding Aids programming. Bilateral donors are those donors with a relationship between countries while multilateral donors give money from different countries and funding agencies. Examples of multilateral donors include the thirteen international donors which remit money to TVM through Malawi’s National Aids Commission (NAC) as described in sections 2.6 and 2.7 of this thesis.

2.6 Donor money channelled to TVM for Aids programmes through NAC

NAC is an umbrella body which coordinates and manages a pool of financial resources from the thirteen international donors. This thesis focus is on *Tikambe za edzi* which is funded by a pool

of financial resources from the donors. In the same token, both *Tikuferanji* and *Let's talk* programmes are funded by the Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA) via the Adventist Development and Relief Agency of Denmark (ADRA-Denmark).

2.6.1 Donor money remitted to TVM via Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs)

The money from ADRA-Denmark is channelled to TVM through another television producer, a local faith-based NGO, ADRA-Malawi. This means while ADRA-Malawi is in the business of producing *Tikuferanji* and co-producing *Let's talk* with TVM, between them exists a financial relationship as both of them transact business. In addition, other NGOs, for instance the Population Services International (PSI) and *Banja La Mtsogolo* (BLM) bring revenue to the channel through adverts and programme sponsorship. Further, TVM obtains money for programming that includes Aids programming partly from the sales of programmes and other sources of income such as co-siting. This is the sub-letting of towers to other operators' for instance cellular companies such as Airtel Malawi and Telekom Network Malawi (TNM) which may rent space for their transmitters at TVM towers.

Despite the fact that TVM is regarded as a public service broadcaster, the channel sells audience and airtime in terms of adverts which symbolises elements of profit making hence the channel reflects business principles. Such business views also emerged during a Colombo tripartite media funding meeting chaired by the World Bank in 2006. The meeting resolved that donors ought to realise that the media should be "driven by business practices" (UNESCO 2006: 4). As such, the Colombo meeting recommended that the issue of economic sustainability should be included in media development programmes by donors. The meeting also realised the contradiction of how to target the poor when the media is driven by the purchasing power of the population, when indeed the poor have little of that.

In the end, and in order to address the contradiction, the meeting also agreed that donors and NGOs have to think about the way media business should be conducted (UNESCO [Sa]). Thus, it was resolved that donors should invest into the business model in the media through economically sustainable ways such as capacity building in terms of advertisement, audience research and management (UNESCO [Sa]). These resolutions are to an extent reflected at TVM. This is for the reason that TVM runs on principles of public service but at the same time carries adverts and programme sponsorship in the same manner as commercially and privately owned channels do. In short, the channel draws on both the business model and the public service

model. As such there are some complexities involved in the friction between the channel's business model and those tenets of PSB particularly that of reliable funding from the public or the State. Although, TVM is operating as a hybrid kind of business and public service as noted above, the channel aims to be "a catalyst for development as it informs, educates and entertains the public" (Mkwara 2004: 8). I now turn to discuss funding of the Aids programmes broadcast by TVM.

2.6.2 Funding of *Tikuferanji*, *Let's talk* and *Tikambe za edzi*

As pointed out in chapter one, the three Aids programmes broadcast by TVM are donor funded. ADRA-Malawi started funding *Tikuferanji* programme in 2004. In its inception, *Tikuferanji* was produced by TVM under the supervision of a producer from ADRA-Malawi. In 2005, the programme was produced in ADRA-Malawi's studios and only brought to TVM for broadcast. *Let's talk* is a co-production between ADRA-Malawi and TVM. As for *Tikambe za edzi*, the producers have all along been from TVM with directions from NAC.

Both *Tikuferanji* and *Let's talk* programmes are funded by ADRA-Denmark with funding from DANIDA. Thus, the money to fund both programmes comes from DANIDA through ADRA-Denmark and it is managed and remitted to TVM by ADRA-Malawi. Meanwhile, *Tikambe za edzi* is funded by the thirteen donors. Unlike the first two programmes which get funds from DANIDA, *Tikambe za edzi's* funding comes from thirteen donors and is coordinated by NAC while *Tikambe za edzi* is entirely produced by TVM. TVM consults NAC's Communication Officer on what themes about Aids are to be covered in the programmes, who to participate and at what time. Both the shooting and treatment scripts are edited by NAC. The scripts are papers with guidelines or detailed information on how the story must be told on a given television programme. In addition, the edited episodes are previewed and approved by NAC before broadcast to check donor compliance. I now briefly discuss the three-chosen Aids programmes while description of the making and funding of the programmes as part of the research findings is presented in chapter five.

2.6.3 A brief overview of *Tikuferanji* and *Let's talk*

Tikuferanji means "Why are we dying?" The programme is broadcast in the vernacular language Chichewa. *Tikuferanji* is a question which tries to provoke people to start thinking seriously about the factors that lead them into irresponsible sexual behaviours (www.adramalawi.com). *Tikuferanji* has been at the time of research on the Malawi Broadcasting Corporation (MBC

Radio 1) since 1999 and it was launched on TVM in 2004. This thesis focuses on the *Tikuferanji* broadcast by TVM. It is a 30 minute drama with sexual behaviour change messages. In an interview, Michael Usi as the Director of Programmes says that the choice of drama as a genre for *Tikuferanji* came in since it is more effective than another genre in Malawi.

2.6.4 The intention of *Tikuferanji* and the legally binding contract between TVM and ADRA-Malawi

The programme intends to spread Aids messages that would reduce the HIV infection rate in Malawi. However, since Aids has not spared any sector of the Malawi society, *Tikuferanji* has taken on board other issues that affect some aspects of human rights. The programme targets the most productive and reproductive age group from 15 years to 49 years as discussed in section 2.2 of this thesis. The themes covered in the programme aim at creating sexual attitude and behaviour change messages as a way of preventing HIV infection rate in Malawi. Since *Tikuferanji* is funded by ADRA-Denmark, there is a legally binding contract between TVM and ADRA-Denmark through ADRA-Malawi. This thesis is interested in the relationship between ADRA-Malawi and TVM. TVM used to produce *Tikuferanji* with funding from ADRA Malawi in 2003 to 2004; thereafter ADRA-Malawi took over the production from November 2004 to-date. Note that ADRA-Malawi produces *Tikuferanji* in its own studios and only brings the final episodes to TVM for broadcast. In this relationship whereby ADRA-Malawi produces *Tikuferanji* in its own studios, this thesis is interested in the interaction between ADRA-Malawi and TVM where payment for airtime is made.

2.6.5 A brief overview of *Let's talk* and its citizen-participation approach

The idea to start *Let's talk* on TVM emanated from ADRA-Malawi. After a successful broadcast of *Tikuferanji* on MBC Radio 1, ADRA-Malawi saw it necessary to introduce a programme which will have its content largely produced by the public. As such the programme needed to depart slightly from its approach on radio *Tikuferanji* to accommodate consultative message packaging of the television technology which would also involve both sound and pictures. Consequently, the programme was initiated and finally launched on TVM.

Let's talk is an hour long, studio-based talk show programme with a live audience. The programme started in 2004 and is a co-production between TVM and ADRA-Malawi. TVM provides the host while ADRA-Malawi brings topics to be discussed in the programme. ADRA-Malawi also identifies participants and scouts for artists. The programme is funded by ADRA-Denmark and managed by ADRA-Malawi. *Let's talk* uses three of the major languages spoken

in Malawi: Chichewa, Yao and English. This is in order to get meaningful feedback from viewers.

2.6.6 Feedback from viewers as a reflection of the self management style of participatory communication approach in *Let's talk* programme

The multilingual use in this programme is for viewers to participate in Aids discourses through feedback and feed forward. The citizen participation is obtained through phone-ins, testimonies, and letters to the producer and text messages. The programme complements *Tikuferanji* but its strength lies in that it is interactive. Since it targets the most active age group, the programme applies the access and “self management approach” of the participatory communication (UNESCO 2006: 4). The self management approach is the process of making informed decisions based on informed choices. The approach prefers the involvement of actors at all levels in decision-making to the partial involvement of actors. In other words, both producers and donors believe that dialogue amongst people should not stop at consultations but also participation through self-management. Self-management involves the incorporation of views from the public into the media strategies and policies at any level.

2.6.7 A brief overview of *Tikambe za edzi*

Tikambe za edzi is a Chichewa word which means “Let’s talk about Aids”. As the name suggests, the programme provides for a public sphere to discuss matters related to HIV infection prevention. It is a podium for debating issues regarding Aids. *Tikambe za edzi* is a 30 minute magazine programme. It takes different formats depending on the subject under discussion. For instance, some of the formats that the programme takes are: documentaries, dramas, panel discussions, news and current affairs. The programme covers different issues within the Aids attitude and behaviour change messages. The aim is to reduce the HIV infection rate amongst Malawians. In other words this programme responds to the contesting discourses on Aids in the community at large.

2.7 Legally binding contract between TVM and NAC

Tikambe za edzi is funded by thirteen international donors through Malawi’s NAC. The donors are: Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), World Bank, Kingdom of Norway, Department for International Development (DFID) of the British Government, United Nations Development Programmes (UNDP), Taiwanese Government, Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), the Global Fund, Centre for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), United States Agency for International Development (USAID), Japanese International

Co-operation Agency (JICA), the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and African Development Bank (NAC 2007). There exists a legally binding contract between NAC and TVM which stipulates guidelines on how the programme is rolled out. Since this programme is funded by donors with different backgrounds, there is room for flexibility in its programming although approvals are obtained by the channel from NAC' Communication Officer.

2.7.1 The contribution of the three-chosen Aids programmes to TVM's annual budget

Generally, *Tikuferanji*, *Let's talk* and *Tikambe za edzi* are the three Aids programmes which have made a significant contribution to TVM financially as presented in chapter five. However, this thesis focuses on the channel's donor-dependence with particular interest on Aids programming. This emanates from a broad picture of the political economy of development aid through the assessment of the impact of donor sources of funding in Aids programming at the channel. Having briefly given overviews of the three programmes, I now discuss conflicting ideological interests between the broadcaster and donors.

2.7.2 Exploring the tension between the ideals of public service broadcasting and donor funding

The relationship between the ideals and practices of financing public service broadcasting (PSB) has generated intense debate among media scholars, policy makers and civil society. This relationship can at best be described as tense and conflictual because of veiled power relations behind each preferred funding model. The trend in media scholarship has been to either accept public or/and commercial finance or reject either or both sources for a variety of reasons. Little attention has been dedicated to role of development aid in PSB.

Scholars have differed on what an ideal funding model of public broadcasting should be. Some like Mbaine (2003) recommend that funding of a public broadcaster should exclusively come from the public purse to underline the public service nature of service. This school of thought accuses commercialisation of public service broadcasters as resulting in uneven delivery of public service broadcasting including news and current affairs. They argue that reliance on public funding shields public broadcasting from commercial pressures. They admit some political influence but argue that the extent to which a public broadcaster is shielded from political and or government influence depends on the exact state funding model.

Another school of thought believes public broadcasting should not rely much on public funding because such a model renders it politically inclined to the financiers. Proponents believe that

institutional sponsorship from Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), donations, sales of programmes and lease of equipment is the appropriate way of funding public broadcasters. Seiden (1974: 15) cited in (Chikunkhuzeni 1999) takes a position in *Who Controls the Mass Media* that government-supported media must not be 'tolerated' because such support goes hand in hand with government control and it is precisely the absence of government financial support or interference in media operations that has given the American communication system a unique position as champions of media freedom.

A pragmatist school of thought advances a phased funding model in which public media are publicly funded initially but are required to explore alternative sources for self-sustenance. In line with this perspective, the African Charter on broadcasting stipulates that public broadcasting, irrespective of sources of funding, should be adequately funded in a manner that protects it from arbitrary interference with their budgets. Kupe (2006) argues that such a model would be achieved through long-term rather than short-term funding schemes, common in cash-budgeting schemes as identified by Chikunkhuzeni (1999) in Malawi public broadcasting.

But Collins & Rau (2000) shift attention to both advantages and disadvantages of each funding source such as state funding, advertising, subscription and voluntary contributions. Both point out that advertising has advantages such as it's a reliable source of revenue. They consider subscription as a good indicator of the quality of service provision because it is sensitive to the demands of consumers. As for state funding, they assert that it is secure, efficient and can be tailored to the ability of viewers and listeners to pay progressive taxation. Voluntary contributions have the advantage of creating identification between broadcaster and audiences ([Sa]). Collins & Rau ([Sa]) also identify key disadvantages of every source of revenue to public broadcasting. They point out that advertising creates a hotelling effect, whereby competition drives public broadcasters to common denominator programming which serve the interests of advertisers rather than the audience. They caution that subscription sources of revenue favour the rich and alienate the poor, while state funding serves the politicians in power while sidelining those in opposition. Voluntary subscription source of funding, they argue, result in under-funding, skewing of programmes and services to those who pay ([Sa]).

2.7.3 Public service broadcasting Malawi context

In studies of the media in Malawi, the influence of state-funding on TVM has been documented especially in Presidential and Parliamentary Elections Media Monitoring Reports (Article IXX,

1999 and 2004; Macra 2004 (in Chikunkhuzeni 1999). The influence of commercialisation, that is the introduction of business principles in running public services, has also been analysed in South Africa, Ghana (Banerjee *et al.* 2005) and at the Malawi Broadcasting Corporation (MBC) (Chikunkhuzeni 1999). However, the relationship between television programming and donor finance remains, to the best of my knowledge, under-investigated. But as Kasoma (in Berger 2006) points out donor aid creates a donor dependent media, whose operational logic differs significantly from state or commercially dependent media.

In his characterisation of the African media market, Berger (2005) argues that there are realities of donor subsidisation for PSB which help the public channels to go beyond market sustainability. This means that the donor funded media have also effects in some of the PSBs in developing countries. Meanwhile, research conducted in Zambia on the donor-dependent media by Professor Francis Kasoma (in Berger 2006) reveals that while market driven media are limited by the market failure, there are also dangers of donor dependent media ([Sa]). Kasoma found out that the donor driven media respond to a market which seeks certain outcomes. This is different from traditional consumers where the “test is time and money” (Berger 2006: 15). Thus, there are media outlets that are exploiting this market. Such media serve as a vehicle for donors seeking to promote development.

Reflecting further on Kasoma’s (in Berger [Sa]) findings of the donor-dependent media, he warns that orientation to market discipline can be taken to mean a public that engages in development, dependency and commodity production. Bearing in mind that TVM is a monopoly the effect of loop sided programming can defeat the objective of scaling down the numbers of people infected by the virus.

While the commercial media take cognisance of demand from both audiences and advertisers, the agenda of subsidised media may be “supply-side driven” ([Sa]). Therefore, the messages carried by such media are branded developmental as determined by both governments and donors. Berger (2006) argues that the structure of media industries in economies driven by development aid reflects the interests of the donor irrespective of whether the messages resonate with the local population. But Berger (2006) points out that this conclusion does not hold true for all public media in Africa and other countries where the economies are commercially driven by corporate commercial revenue sources and also where government has a thick tax base.

Unlike both Berger and Kasoma's project, this study explores dynamics of relations between the donor-finance and Aids programming at TVM.

The definition of PSB remains contested among media scholars, mainly because of the disjuncture between normative theory and varieties of practice defined by space and time (Karen Siune & Olof Hultén 1998 in Chikunkhuzeni 1999). What is called PSB in the United States of America is substantively distinct from broadcasting systems referred to by the same name in Africa or Europe. Karen Siune and Olof Hultén ([Sa]) have even raised the question as to whether PSB has any relevance in contemporary society. This debate notwithstanding, scholars generally agree on a set of principles that normatively define PSB. Garnham defines

[P]ublic service broadcasting as a means of providing all citizens, whatever their wealth or geographical location, equal access to wide range of high quality entertainment, information and education, and as a means of ensuring that the aim of the programme producer is the satisfaction of a range of audience tastes rather than only those tastes that show the largest profit (1990: 14).

As such public service broadcasting aspires towards certain norms which include programming that is broad and diverse so as to address all citizens as well as specific programmes catering for special interest, tastes, minorities and marginalised groups, accountability to the public and public service ethos as the main driver.

In Malawi public service broadcasting (PSB) is defined by Law as follows: "public broadcasting service" means-

- (a) any broadcasting service provided by MBC; or
- (b) any broadcasting service provided under a licence which stipulates-
 - (i) national or local transmission of the broadcasting service;
 - (ii) the provision of regular news bulletins; and
 - (iii) access to the service for public information announcements or programmes (Communications Act 41 of 1998).

However, this definition is too wide and as such the Act fails to adequately define different types of broadcasting in Malawi. While the definition provides for a three-tier broadcasting system, the definitions are based on inconsistent criteria. For example it defines community and private broadcasting services as follows:

"community broadcasting service" means a broadcasting service which-

- (a) serves a particular community;
- (b) is carried on for non-profitable purposes; and
- (c) is fully controlled by a non-profit entity...

“private broadcasting service” means a broadcasting service operated for profit and controlled by a person who is not a holder of a public broad-casting licence ([Sa]).

Community broadcasting is defined on the basis of identity of controlling interest and operational logic, private broadcasting is defined by the operational logic alone, and public broadcasting is defined on the basis of a provider, organisational structure and content (Chikunkhuzeni 1999).

As Chikunkhuzeni (1999) points out public service broadcasting should essentially be defined in terms of two criteria: nationalised broadcast organisational level and distinctive concept in broadcast role and content. The National Communications Sector Policy (1998) embraces this principle by stating that the objective of public service broadcasting should be to provide a service accessible to the whole population of Malawi. At nationalised level, it has been conceived as distinct from commercial broadcasting as an organisational model of broadcasting. In this context it is characterised by attempts to bring into being a culture and a shared public life to a whole population within a nation state (Raboy 2003). Thus, public service broadcasting is intrinsically tied to the organisation or management of broadcasting models at nationalised level.

However, there is merit in defining public broadcast service in terms of the role and content in which it is viewed as a public utility and national service (Fourie 2007). It is not adequate to merely equate public broadcasting to state-owned and state-funded broadcasting systems. What is at the core of public service broadcasting therefore is the commitment to a set of principles which place public interest at the centre of a broadcasting mission. Public broadcasting differs from private commercial broadcasting because the latter aims at profit maximisation (Fourie 2001).

2.8 Broadcasting: a catalyst for development in the service of the people

Public broadcasters and community broadcasters may engage in commercial activities but their primary goal is not profit making as any decisions on profitability must be subsidiary to other organisational goals. In this case, public broadcasters and community broadcasters engaged in commercial activities may realise surplus, just like those that depend on full government funding may realise excess of receipts over expenditure. What is crucial is that public broadcasters

cannot distribute such surplus to individuals who control them nor can they properly move into capital accumulation mode and utilise such money to make more money. The primary aim is to sustain adequate resources for effective operation or to finance growth in the demand of services and for new opportunities. The logic is therefore to broadcast and “make money” so as to broadcast (Chikunkhuzeni 1999: 38). Private commercial broadcasters invest money into broadcasting to make more money, part of which is reinvested to realise further profit margins. As such the primary goal is profit maximisation under the capitalist logic of material accumulation.

Private commercial broadcasters may also carry public service broadcasts as long as such do not corrode their profitability. These broadcasts are done as a subsidiary to the profit maximisation goal. Both the National Communications Sector Policy (1998) and Communications Act 41 (1998) clearly stipulate the mandate of public service broadcasting as provision of services that inform, educate and entertain, and which represent Malawi to the World and observation of the principles and norms of a democratic society. Aids programmes should fall within the remit of this public service. However, given this public service ethos, public broadcasters are expected to operate autonomously from any undue influence be it political or commercial. However, media studies have shown that funding and financing of public broadcasting have exerted such undue influence (McNair 2006).

2.9 Television Malawi: the sole free-to-air national public service broadcaster

There was no other local television channel in the country until TVM was launched on 1 April 1999. The project to start a local television channel began in 1996, with pledges for funding from Germany. But German aid was withheld because Malawi Broadcasting Corporation Radio 1 and 2 (MBC) continued to favour the ruling United Democratic Front (UDF) and systematically excluded the voices of political opposition from public media (Masina 2007). The project was therefore funded by public resources. TVM started with a three-camera studio which was gutted by fire in March 2002, forcing the station to operate with a makeshift studio and a basic control centre. The station ran 25 local programmes and the rest of the time used feeds from the BBC World, Voice of America (VOA) and Canale France International (CFI). TVM has studios located at Kwacha in Blantyre. There are five transmitters, located in Blantyre, Zomba, Lilongwe, Dowa and Mzuzu. Each transmitter requires 1KW of power that bears the signal relayed across the country via the Malawi Telecommunications Limited (MTL)

microwave circuits covering nearly 70% of the country (Mkwara 2004). The viewership of TVM is estimated to be at 4 million out of a population of 12 million (www.broadcathiv.com).

Both the National Communications Sector Policy (1998) and Communications Act 41 (1998) provide for a mixed funding model for TVM. Although the channel was set up as a limited company, it receives regular government subvention and generates revenue from commercial activities. TVM was also given a seven-year terrestrial television broadcasting exclusivity guarantee (Government of Malawi 1998). As statutory corporation, TVM also enjoys import tax and duty exemptions of some goods and services including vehicles and equipment. These could be termed government aid. On the other hand, TVM is mandated by the Communications Act 41 (1998) to collect TV licence fees, which it has so far not implemented, and generate revenue from advertising, programmes sponsorship, donations and programmes. Thus, funding of TVM can broadly be classified into two, namely: public and commercial revenue. Commercial revenue at TVM refers to the amount of money that is obtained from advertisers and sponsors. But as the European Broadcasting Union (2000) observes generating commercial revenue does not necessarily turn a public organisation into a commercial entity. This study, however, goes further to draw a distinction within commercial revenue by isolating the influence of donor aid from revenue generated from private commercial enterprises that seek profit-maximisation in return for publicity services offered by TVM. Donor aid refers to revenue generated from non-profit organisations such as Non-Governmental Organisations, community organisations and international bilateral and multilateral development aid.

Most of the literature on the influence of financiers on media bifurcates state-funded and commercial-funded influences on media output. In public service broadcasting both the state and private capital have been demonised or praised for either facilitating or hampering the attainment of ideals of PSB. While from inception of PSB, the Keynesian policy regime was considered the best model of financing PSB, the deluge of neo-liberal policy regime in the early 1990s shifted the paradigm from state-funded and controlled PSB to faith in market-driven public services. This entailed privatisation and commercialisation of PSB services. In Malawi, this policy re-orientation is embedded in the National Communications Sector Policy (1998), which liberalises the sector, hitherto a domain of the state. Re-regulation of the sector involved establishment of the Malawi Communications Regulatory Authority (MACRA) to oversee operations of the sector, accommodation of private capital investment into the sector, commercialisation of PSB and articulation of the PSB. Public policy commentary on PSB consequently moved from

glorifying to chastising any state intervention in provision of public broadcasting; instead private investment was recommended as an effective driver of media development and overall democratisation of society. The mixed funding model at TVM is therefore a direct response to demands for political and economic liberalisation of the airwaves and the legacy of Keynesian media policy.

2.10 Conclusion

The chapter has demonstrated a relationship between the ideals and practices of financing public service broadcasting (PSB). It's very clear from the discussions that it remains a contentious area and scholars have not yet agreed as to the ideal financing model. The trend in media scholarship generally tends towards support for either public or/and commercial finance or a combination of both. There is also a tendency among broadcasters and scholars in developing countries to lump donor aid together with profit-seeking sources of revenue. Little attention has been dedicated to the peculiar operational logic of development aid in PSB. This chapter has also outlined, disagreement among scholars as to what constitutes PSB, key normative principles against which public broadcasting practices are often measured at international level.

3. CHAPTER THREE: LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 The political economy of HIV/Aids in Malawi

The purpose of this chapter is to situate the HIV/Aids crisis in the political economy of Malawi. The chapter does so by reviewing related literature from various scholars and writers on both HIV/Aids and the political economy of media and communication. One should be quick though to point out that in the process of surveying related literature for the study, the researcher found insight from Iwilade (2009) on the political economy of HIV/Aids in Africa most relevant. Writing in the *akiniwilade.blog*, Iwilade captures arguments that speak to broad objectives of this study.

In addition, the chapter reviews the political economy theory as propounded by Curran and Gurevitch (1982), Chandler's (1998) insights on the ownership and control of a production in the power relationship which exists between the producers and donors in as far as meaning making with a view to analysing how donor funded pre-packaged HIV/Aids messages are made by the producers on behalf of the public.

3.2 Justification of the political economy approach

Political economy theory is preferred in this study because it is comprehensive in the sense that it takes into consideration the holistic nature of the media industry and links it to issues of "action and structure, in an attempt to discern the real constraints that shape the lives and opportunities of the media industry" (Golding & Murdock 2000: 73). This theory explains factors that relate the media organisations to political, social and economic interactions and relates these factors to the 'internal dynamics of media organisations' (Golding & Murdock 2000).

Boyd-Barrett (1995: 187) argues that the political economy approach covers the "social whole or the totality of social relations that constitute the economic, political, social and cultural fields" in a manner that explains how the media are involved in the structures of power and society. This approach also considers the historical as well as the material environment and interrogates the "unequal command of material resources and the implications of these inequalities to the symbolic media content" (Golding & Murdock 2000). By and large, the political economy approach of the media locates the power of media in economic processes and structures of the media and sees "economic domination and ownership as foremost factors in determining media messages" (Golding & Murdock 2000).

The political economy approach acknowledges that gate-keepers (editors, producers and journalists) and audiences may have choices and that they do make choices, but admits that their choices are within certain parameters, given that the communication process is “structured by the unequal distribution of material and symbolic resources” (Golding & Murdock 2000: 73).

This is unlike other theories that merely see the media as an “apparatus of the people with economic and political powers” (Garnham 1990). The political economy on the other hand interrogates the ‘core functions of the whole advanced capitalist system’ (Curran 1990). In an outline, it interrogates not only the components of the media product but the conditions of practice of how the product comes into being in consideration of morality, public good and equity.

The critical political economy approach goes further to highlight that the market system under which the media operates is deformed and characterised by “inequalities, and suggests public intervention backed by the constitution and extended citizenship rights as a remedy to improve public knowledge” (Golding & Murdock 2000).

Golding and Murdock (1990: 77) argue that citizenship involves “the conditions that allow people to become full members of the society at every level” (social, economic and political). Both posit that media that allow people to become full citizens contributes to two aspects: First, “provide people with information...and enable them to register dissent and propose alternatives”. The political economy approach reveals how political and socio-economic forces that have power over the media and its content reduce or extend media objectivity idealised by liberal pluralism, the editorial autonomy emphasised by the champions of the gate-keeping inclination as well as the public sphere responsibility promoted by the public sphere approach (Golding & Murdock 1990).

The political economy approach provides a starting point to critique the “level of autonomy and independence of gate-keepers” and choices of audiences given the contradictions of the economic structures of the media (Golding & Murdock 1990). It also provides a yardstick to interrogate the extent of transformation in this sector in line with social, political and economic developments. The notions of objectivity, diversity, autonomy and public sphere that are idealised by liberal pluralism, gate-keeping and public sphere models respectively offer a

“yardstick on which the political economy can measure the performance of the existing systems and formulate alternatives” (Golding & Murdock 2000). Given the nature of the TVM economic model, the critical political economy approach allows this study to analyse the programming of HIV/Aids with an understanding of the discrepancies that may be in the system and make deductions in terms of how they may have impacted on the role of the public television during the period under review.

The study draws insight from Graham (2006) who prefers the term political economy of communication which he argues to mean the study of how different types of values are “produced, distributed, exchanged and consumed as well as how power is produced, distributed exchanged and used; and finally, how these aspects are related” (www.philgraham.net).

Drawing insight from the definition above the researcher argues that the study’s motivation is to interrogate structures for the production of the HIV/Aids programmes on (TVM) in the context of donor funding. In this light, the study does not take for granted the relationship between donor funding and TVM.

Graham ([Sa]) observes that the broad range of studies that fall under the heading of ‘political economy of communication’ and points out that field has grown and diversified in the past fifty years. He argues that in previous studies some scholars focussed on mass media industry structures, emphasising the effects of ownership on political systems. Others studied the ‘commodity cycle’ in mass media: production, distribution, exchange and consumption. He argues that other studies privileged only one or two of these moments, the most prominent of those being “distribution and consumption” (Graham 2006). Thus in sum, it could be argued that previous political economy studies have emphasised content, technology and flows of information within various econometric frameworks.

3.3 The Malawi argument

A number of scholars concur that the HIV/Aids ‘pandemic undermines development’ and therefore requires a multi-sectoral approach to control its spread (Iwilade 2009). While a number of scholars have agreed that to curb HIV/Aids, a number of strategies are necessary, this study is going to highlight the importance of communication to combat the scourge. The communication strategies should be able to construct messages that are sensitive to the cultural, political, and economic context of the targeted audience in order to achieve the desired results.

Argued this way, the impact on everyday 'economic activity is immense'; therefore a message coding strategy cannot be over emphasised (Iwilade 2006). As such the fight against HIV/Aids deserves 'cross-sectorial response' because it is deeply eroding the Malawi's already weak capacity for development (Collins & Rau 2000). Studies and researches undertaken by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) have indicated that "the disease erodes human resources, which is an essential piece for development by causing attrition among farmers, teachers and other groups to rates that cannot be handled" (UNDP 2006: 93, see Iwilade 2009). As Iwilade observes, the rapid spread of HIV/Aids in most African countries coincides with 'major changes in the structure and dynamics of global capitalism' (2006). While changes caused by 'global trends in capital flows have been proved' as argued by Iwilade (2006), the research seeks to throw light on the importance of designing suitable communication strategies, programming and messages in the fight against HIV/Aids in Malawi. It is significant to point out that unlike Iwilade who argues that 'HIV/Aids undermines development', the study narrows the HIV/Aids discourse to analysing how donor capital determines television programming on HIV/Aids in Malawi.

The study is premised on the argument that studies conducted in Malawi, on HIV/Aids have tended to interrogate the crisis from a 'medical perspective or from a much narrower human sexuality perspective' (Lassen 2000). The noticeable shortcomings concerning the medical perspective is that the approach would seem to suggest that the Aids crisis in Malawi could be brought under control only if Malawians restrained their 'sexual cravings' which is not necessarily so as ignorance plays a crucial and important part in the spread of the disease ([Sa]). This study argues that such a narrow and prejudiced conception of an issue so broad and complex reflects the central thrust of donor aided HIV/Aids prevention programmes and strategies broadcast on TVM which need to be reviewed as they lack local indigenous cultural knowledge systems.

Weinberger (2003) also highlights how Aids impacts on the "labour reproduction process, how it undermines human resource, cuts down productivity levels and imposes labour casualisation, outsourcing and wage labour practices, all with the resultant dire effects on class relations and social structures" (see also Iwilade 2006). After analysing literature steeped in the medical perspective, the study further argues that there is need to re-conceptualise communication and programming strategies of Aids on Television Malawi (TVM) and to probe the developmental context of donor driven programmes. Thus, the question seizing this study remains that of how

programming and HIV/Aids is either empowering Malawians to curb the spread of the disease or missing an opportunity and therefore needing attention in certain areas.

In a sense, the study challenges the prevailing orthodox view of locating the crisis in sexual behaviour and ignoring the significant role played by constructing and broadcasting HIV/Aids messages that are sensitive to local cultures. The case becomes stronger when one considers that TVM is a public broadcaster which should broadcast in the interest and cultural tastes of its audience. The study is also cognisant of scholars who argue that people who were devastated by poverty, labelled and stereotyped as well as 'discriminated against before HIV/Aids are at the highest risk of infection' (Mann 1999; Iwilade 2006). As much as the study is leaned towards the construction of HIV/Aids messages, it is not implying that scholars ignore value laden conceptions of sexual behaviour but rather that studies must also find out how the political economy of message construction and programming can be significant in the fight against the pandemic in Malawi.

The study is also cognisant of other scholars who put 'the distribution of means of production' among members of a society at the top of the fight against HIV/Aids (Iwilade 2006). Such scholars posit that the means of production is the foundation of the most fundamental injustices, conflicts and diseases of communities (Iwilade 2009). Associating the arguments that privilege 'inequalities in means of production' with this study one could argue that the inequalities in the cultural distributions of signs and symbols deployed in HIV/Aids messages constructed for *Tikuferanji*, *Let's talk* and *Tikambe za edzi* deserves scholarship. The concern of the study therefore will be that if Western donors in Malawi dictate the form of messages that do not reflect the cultural orientation of Malawians they may not be able to influence the consciousness of some Malawians about HIV/Aids prevention.

From the literature that researcher looked at concerning donors, it is clear that most of the donor crafted messages in Malawi focus on discourses such as: 'population's vulnerability to infection; nutritional deficits; high risk behaviour; commodification of sexual activities; exchange of unsterilised piercing instruments; and the absence of quality healthcare' (Lassen 2000; OPC 2007). These themes are often flagged as gateways to the HIV infection. It could be argued that for TVM, it is difficult for the broadcaster to produce new messages as opposed to pre-packed messages due to institutional, fiscal and deficits that undermine the capacity to respond to the crisis. It could be argued also that HIV/Aids may remain unabated if the communication

campaign strategy does not match with the audiences. The study also argues that the economic conditions that reproduce HIV infections in Africa 'do not emerge in abstraction' (Iwilade 2006). Arguably these economic conditions are a product of cultural constructions of Malawians. Related to what scholars have pointed out, it can be argued that HIV infections can be linked to poor economic position of some groups of people in Malawi especially women who are exploited and infected by some men. In Malawi, some women are reluctant to ask their partners to use condoms due to fear of losing the male client.

Given the above background, the critical role that the media ought to play in Malawi to help curb the spread of the infections cannot be over emphasised. It would seem logical for a study like this that resistance to some of the messages broadcast on TVM for instance as established in the pre-liminary study the researcher conducted, raises critical questions as to the ability of the media programmes to be an agent of change. Understood against the context described above the study argues that during the encoding stage of HIV/Aids at TVM, donors may need to consider ways of breaking through the local cultures in order to reach the targeted audience.

The research suspects that in Malawi, the increased linkages between donor-prepared messages and TVM tend to promote the centralisation of the message construction in a way that is often value laden and in some cases out of sync with the specific context of Malawi. Centralisation inevitably concentrates decision making in the "hands of transnational capital who have proven to be key drivers of the contemporary order hence commodifying responses to the crisis" (Iwilade 2009). Commodification in turn compromises the needs of the Malawian people who are the targeted beneficiaries of the HIV/Aids messages. The objectives of donor states and transnational capital may be well intended but when packaged outside the culture and history of Malawian society may achieve limited success. If programming is decided mainly by those who have financial resources including donors the fight against Aids is compromised.

The intersection of underdevelopment and the Aids crisis in Malawi therefore raises the issues of 'structural dependence, access to technology, control of knowledge and resource imbalance' (Iwilade 2009). In addition, Iwilade notes that 'commodification re-invigorates the challenge to global capitalism and its diverse contradictions and underscores the relevance of a holistic political economy approach to the pandemic' ([Sa]). As Gutkind and Wallerstein's (1979) cited in Iwilade (2009) point out "political economy ought not to isolate the economy as a reified entity, distinct from other aspects of life". They argue that rather it should be the 'intermeshing

of so called political, economic and social factors of change in one ongoing historical process' ([Sa]).

Gavin Williams cited in Iwilade (2009) also, in justifying this approach in a study of Nigeria argued that:

There is no such thing as an 'economy' abstracted from the social relations through which men and women produce, distribute and exchange the products of their labour... 'society' cannot properly be treated as a system distinct from the economic, political and legal system and interacting with them only at the margins. Society is made up of the totality of experiences through which men and women interpret their situation, define their goals and seek to realize them (1976: 3).

It is in this context that the study investigates patterns of message construction and the message linkages with local and transnational ideological persuasions.

3.4 Donor recipient relationship

The act of 'transferring authority from donors to recipients' is described differently by different donor agencies such as the Swedish International Development Agency (Gibson 2005). Gibson argues that at the 'macro-level, the links between development aid and improved living conditions is regarded as development' (2005). This is against a backdrop of development aid as "a means to increase economic growth and promote social development" (Gibson 2005: xxii). However when unchecked, the collaboration in development between donors and TVM can end in Malawi's public broadcasting station becoming largely driven by money from donors.

3.5 The bigger picture of development aid in Malawi

Donor funding in Malawi is not limited to HIV/Aids only. In 1990, Malawi accepted the "conditionality to liberalise its economy under the structural adjustment programmes" (SAPs) backed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) (Karnik 1998: 1). The aim was for the country to access development aid in order to develop its economy.

During the 1990's, the mainstream political economy consensus was that development aid could be used as a catalyst for "modernisation in some developing countries" (Gibson *et al.* 2005: 10). At that time most of the developed countries which gave aid to Malawi defined development as a "means to economic growth, social equality and political independence" (SIDA 1997c: 9). Some of the developed countries that gave aid to Malawi included Denmark, United Kingdom, United States of America (USA), Canada and Sweden. Some notable donor agencies included: IMF, the

World Bank, Swedish Development Agency (SIDA), Danish Development Agency (DANIDA) and Canadian Development Agency (CIDA).

Development was viewed as a process in which individuals, through the design and use of institutions at many scales, increased their well-being by solving more “collective-action problems more effectively” (Gibson *et al.* 2005 [Sa]). Others argue that in history of aid and in the 1990s is when Malawi embraced the concept of structural adjustments programmes are regarded as “fairly recent as years of economic liberalisation development and date back to World War 2” (Melkote & Steeves 2001: 43).

3.6 Media as agent of education

The general view of donor aid remains that financial diffusion into resource starved communities is capable of transforming the communities from “traditional ways to modern attitudes” (Schramm 1964: 20). In most of donor driven concepts of development, mass media have always been a central piece to the development process. In donor, “the development configurations, the task of mass media as an agent of education is to speed up the ‘social transformation’ required for economic development” (Schramm 1964: 27). Seen this way, the neo-liberal classic position assumes that a “[w]estern model of economic growth is universally desirable” (Melkote & Steeves 2001: 143).

In the context of HIV/Aids, most developing countries argues Iwilade are expected to alter their traditional ways to unprotected intimate relationships via attitude and behaviour change to evolve towards human “capital development and labour base sustainability” (2009). The frustrations of the Eurocentric ways of solving development issues in Africa are well put by Nyamnjoh when he argues that, “Africa is not asking to be part of Europe’s modern world” (2005: 102). In most developing countries of the sub-Saharan Africa, such as Nigeria, Zambia and Malawi, there has been tension between the people and government that have “swallowed western ideologies of development without questioning their applicability in their own local environments” (2005: 102). In the Malawian cultural fabric, enhancing development can be achieved in part through collective decision-making and designing programmes that adapt to local needs. The idea of collective decision making is linked to the thesis quest to investigate the processes of decision-making and accountability in the making of *Tikuferanji* “Why are we dying?” *Let’s talk* and *Tikambe za edzi* “Let’s talk about Aids” programmes given the context of donor money in their making and broadcast by TVM from 2004 to 2007.

3.7 Behaviour change messages

In sum: through Aids programmes, TVM has become a site for development aid and a vehicle for donors to effect behaviour change in Malawi. Aids programming on the Malawi's public service broadcaster, TVM entails activities surrounding the pre-production, during and post-production processes. At all stages the main aim is to ensure that constant content-rich messages about the epidemic are sent out to reduce HIV infection rate in Malawi.

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the political economy perspective of HIV/Aids in Malawi and the concept of donor driven development. The key issues highlighted include: the political economy of development aid and how the Malawi scenario is configured. Significant is the discussion on how media in general and TVM in particular is central to the process of communicating change. Scepticism of donor commanded programming has been on the assumption that it neglects local culture sensitivities. Although TVM is a public service broadcaster, the literature reviewed in this study points out the fact that since funding from national budget is weak it is easy to fall prey to donor arm twisting tactics and techniques.

4. CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines and discusses the research methods used to gather and analyse data collected during the course of the study. The chapter also gives the evaluation of the strengths and weaknesses of the research methods applied in the study. The research methods are discussed in light of the study's main objective. The chapter's particular focus is on the following: the philosophical underpinnings of qualitative case study research; the research procedure and sampling (document analysis and interviews including individual in-depth interviews); and the data analysis procedures.

In order to understand the political economy of media programmes the research approach selected in the study enables the researcher to interrogate the processes and negotiations through the 'eyes' of the subjects and understand them in their social contexts (Moore 1993). The research will make use of the qualitative type of research methodology. The techniques within the qualitative type of research include the unstructured questionnaires, open ended questions in interviews and observations.

It is also a multi-method in focus, involving an interpretative, naturalistic approach to the subject matter. This means that qualitative research studies subjects in their natural setting, attempting to make sense of, or "interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them" (Denzin & Lincoln 1994: 2). Qualitative research can establish regularities in 'social life' while the evidence can allow the processes which link the variables to be revealed (Bryman 1998: 142).

4.2 Research design and procedures

A research design can be defined as the mental plan of retention that shows a systematic careful study of how the new knowledge or understanding will be undertaken. In designing this study, the researcher chose the case study of *Tikuferanji*, *Let's talk* and *Tikambe za edzi* programmes broadcast by Television Malawi (TVM). The study delimits 2004 to 2007 as the period of the case studies. As pointed out in chapter one, the methodological approach is principally qualitative. Qualitative empirical methods of data gathering are suitable for this case study given that the purpose is to access an "insider's perspective characteristic of a culture or sub-culture" (Wimmer & Dominick 1991; Priest 1996: 106-107). When the goal is to understand the "insider's perspective", the quantitative method of research can have limitations (Wimmer & Dominick 1991). Rather, one requires a holistic and inductive approach which provides an

“opportunity to develop a descriptive, rich understanding and insight into individual beliefs, concerns, motivations, aspirations, lifestyles, culture, behaviour and preferences,” (Wimmer & Dominick 1991; Priest 1996: 106-107).

The question of the appropriateness of the qualitative approach and techniques discussed in sections below is therefore closely linked to the epistemological foundations of qualitative research methods. The philosophical underpinnings of qualitative methodology are typically attributed to the argument that it takes the actor’s perspective as the point of departure (Bryman 1984). This suits the emphasis of this study: exploring; understanding; describing and explaining a complex phenomenon of HIV/Aids message constructions, programing and meaning making. The power relations between TVM and donors who fund the three HIV/Aids programmes covered in this research is also extensively explored. The study aims at exploring the ideological, political and economic pressures on producers of the texts, TVM and the audience of programmes.

In addition, qualitative methods employed in this case study will help in investigating and analysing the relationships, patterns and configurations of TVM and the donor organisations who sponsor the programmes and critically assess how the messages are constructed and privileged. The focus is on investigating the full multi-dimensional notion of donor aid and media message construction and programing as described in chapters one, two and three. Thus, the study is concerned with exploring the gaps between the reality and the ideal of an effective HIV/Aids communication campaign strategy.

4.3 Aims and goals of the research

To reiterate and to put the methodology into context the study sets out to do the following:

- (i) Describe the context in which donor-money has come to dominate Aids programming in Malawi.
- (ii) Describe the processes of decision-making and accountability in the making of the three chosen Aids programmes.
- (iii) Assess the impact of this type of funding. This means the goals of the study is to investigate the political economy between producers and donors in order to understand the complexities of such interaction over the decision-making processes in the chosen three Aids programmes broadcast by TVM.

The researcher always studied with the appreciation that TVM is a public service broadcaster (PSB). As public broadcaster, it is generally accepted that its journalism values ought to be guided by a set commitment to the principles of PSB. However, some previous studies reveal that market-driven journalism is getting global recognition with its own operational market-logic unlike the market-driven communication for development that relies on the donor-market logic in some developing countries (Melkote & Steeves 2001).

The study attempts to find out the extent to which the ideals of donor market-journalism or public service journalism are prevalent in the programming decisions at TVM. More so, the study investigates dominance of donor funding in the content of Aids programmes. To this end, analysis of data is focussed on establishing funding trends in and reasons behind Aids programming decisions at TVM. These revolve around programme contents, diversity, funding magnitude and scheduling.

4.4 The case study approach (including advantages and disadvantages)

The study adopted a case study approach—‘an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; applicable when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and “multiple sources of evidence are used” (Yin 1984: 23). This path is aimed at helping the researcher to gain understanding of ‘a complex issue’ as well as fill in the paucity of research about how HIV/Aids messages are encoded at TVM and decoded by the Malawian audience (Berry 1999). The strength of this case study approach lies in its emphasis on ‘detailed contextual analysis’ of a limited number of HIV/Aids programmes on TVM and the establishment of the relationship between sponsors of the programmes and the construction and presentation of the messages (Susan 1997).

Critics of the case study method argue that the study of one small case can offer no grounds for “establishing reliability or generalisability of findings” ([Sa]). It could therefore be argued that the findings of this study may not be considered a reflection of all the HIV/Aids messages in Malawi, but only represent the case studies at TVM. Other scholars argue that the intense ‘exposure of the researcher to the case study’ may cause biases in the findings. Indeed, some dismiss case study research as useful only as an exploratory tool (Bryman 1984).

Cognisant of the weaknesses of the case study approach, this study planned in-depth interviews and content analysis techniques to gather credible data needed to answer the research questions of the study. This is in-line with the argument that researchers continue to use the case study

research path with success in carefully planned and crafted studies of real-life situations, issues and problems (Yin 1984).

In designing this case study path the research followed a particular set of steps. The first step was to establish a firm research goal as highlighted earlier in this chapter. The goal was tied to TVM's objectives as public service broadcaster (PSB) and the donor influence on HIV/Aids message construction. The researcher constantly referred to these two focal points during the course of the study.

4.5 Using multi methods

The case study employed "multi-method technique with document analysis" and interviews being the two main tools of gathering data. Both techniques were used to gather descriptions of the 'real life-world' of HIV/Aids broadcasting (Berry 1999). As will be discussed in greater detail, this study employed content and "textual analysis and a variety of interviewing techniques to gather the relevant data" (Berry 1999).

4.6 The guided interview

When the researcher employed this approach, he first prepared a basic "checklist" (Berry 1999). The checklist was to make sure that all 'relevant topics were covered' ([Sa]). The researcher also 'explored, probed and asked questions' he deemed crucial to the research (Berry 1999). This researcher also employed the interview method to gather the required information about TVM's values and relationship with advertisers and donors who funded the three HIV/Aids programmes under study. The general interview guide approach was useful as it "allowed for in-depth probing while permitting the researcher to keep the interview within the objectives of the study" (Wenden 1982: 39 see also Berry 1999).

4.6.1 The standardised open-ended interview

The researcher used this approach to prepare a set of "open-ended questions" which were carefully worded and arranged (Berry 1999; Patton 1987: 112). The purpose was to minimise variations in the questions posed to the respondents. Although standardised open-ended interviews provided less flexibility for questions probing was still possible, as this depended on the "nature of the questions" (Patton 1987: 112).

4.6.2 Interviewing the donors and TVM hosts

The in-depth interviews with the sample group were conducted in two different phases as discussed below.

4.6.3 First stage

The researcher conducted first interviews which had the dual purpose of ‘exploring topics for investigation’, and subsequently using them as pilot studies (Berry 1999). Seven one-on-one interviews with the producers and donors in the sample group were carried out, using “a mixed interview method– a combination of the informal conversational interview” and the general interview guide approach. The interview method was regarded as a mixed one because it only had a very ‘flexible and impromptu checklist’ hence further exploration of research focus was still needed (Berry 1999). The results of this stage of interviewing narrowed the focus down to the political economy of message construction strategies with special attention being paid to cultural power relations and the practice of message construction.

The researcher discovered that in-depth interviewing was a suitable method in ‘eliciting data from the respondents’ (Berry 1999). Indeed, the interviewing techniques suggested by the literature in the paragraphs below were found to be appropriate for collecting data. Additionally, the researcher made several useful discoveries from this ‘hands on’ experience (Berry 1999). First, it was helpful to start the interview with a topic that the “informants felt comfortable with” (Berry 1999). The researcher introduced the subject and also explained that the research was academic and confidential and that ‘no informant would be penalised or exposed resulting’ from the study (Berry 1999). This made the interviewees comfortable and they were free to contribute to the study. In this light, the researcher decided to start with questions that explored the donor aid and development discourses. Something related to their work of aid organisations in the area of HIV/Aids was found to be a good starting point for conversations.

Third, it was found that these respondents sometimes ‘gave contradictory information’ in the interviews (Berry 1999). When this happened, ‘reconfirmation of their comments would be solicited’ ([Sa]). Fourth, on some occasions, the interviews were interrupted by passersby. To avoid disturbances during the interviews, we carried them out at neutral places. Some of the interviews were also held at work places for the respondents such as TVM, NAMISA (MISA)-Malawi Chapter and the Gift of the Givers Foundation (GOGF) headquarters.

4.6.4 Second and third stages

This phase was carried out in two different stages using the 'guided interview approach' (Berry 1999). During these interviews, questions were directed at respondents to 'elicit information' related to the specific focuses derived from the first phase (Berry 1999). There were two other purposes in the second stage interviews. The first was to check the 'reliability of the data' collected from the respondents in the first interviews ([Sa]). Before the second interviews, the informants were asked to read the transcriptions of their first interview to see if there were any 'misinterpretations or other errors' on the part of the researcher (Berry 1999).

Thereafter, the researcher contacted the respondents who were not available for face to face interviews. In this case, the researcher verbally read the transcriptions. A few misinterpretations were found and duly corrected. To reiterate, the purpose of the second interviews was to supplement the first interviews (see appendix I).

4.6.5 Sampling

Babbie and Mouton (2001) define sampling as the selection of units of analysis such as people or institutions for the study. The idea is about selecting a few (a sample) from a bigger group (sampling population) to become the basis for 'estimating or predicting a fact, situation or outcome regarding the bigger group' (Bienacki & Waldorf 1981). The research was planned to include donor representatives who sponsor the three HIV/Aids programmes selected for this study and the journalists at TVM who present the programmes. A sample size of ten people was interviewed. The interviewees were three executive directors from Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO) namely: Innocent Chitosi, the National Coordinator of the National Institute of Southern Africa (NAMISA)-MISA Malawi Chapter, Ahmed Sunka, Country Director of the Gift of the Givers Foundation (GOGF) and Bathwell Kulemero, the President of the Communication Workers' Union of Malawi (COWUMA). The executive directors were chosen because they are at the helm of their institutions and are involved in any decision making processes in programming. They are also strategic managers hence policies are made by them. Since they are at managerial levels, they supervise their subordinates. Knowledge of financial matters and construction of the Aids messages are approved and guided by them. The sampled NGOs claim to provide checks and balances for the donors, producers and the State.

In addition, interviews were conducted from four television producers: Kenson Mbwana the then Director General and Editor-In-Chief of TVM, Sweeny Chimkango, Chief Producer at TVM,

Clemence Mvonye, the Chief Production Engineer at TVM and Ms Chikondi Madumuse, producer at ADRA-Malawi. Since Mbwana was the final authority and Editor in-Chief at TVM, he had the final decision in the construction and broadcast of any programme at the channel. Meanwhile, the producers were the best samples because they had over five years experience at supervisory levels at TVM in programming and budgeting. More so, these were the producers who could hatch concepts, meet with donors and able to craft messages in line with any client's demand and choice. As such, there would not have been better informants than the producers in producing relevant information for the three chosen Aids programmes broadcast by TVM.

The three donors were interviewed. The donors are: Michael Usi who was also the Director of Programmes from ADRA-Malawi, Dr Biswic Mwale, Executive Director of Malawi's National Aids Commission (NAC) and Anja Larsen, ADRA-Denmark donor representative. Usi was chosen because he is a deputy country director and doubles as the executive producer of two Aids programmes: *Tikuferanji* and *Let's talk*. He also funded both programmes with aid from ADRA-Denmark which sources its funding from the Danish People through the Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA). Meanwhile Larsen is a monitoring and evaluation officer for ADRA-Denmark and her main job is to ensure that corruption, mismanagement and accountability are implemented in the projects concerning *Tikuferanji* and *Let's talk* programmes. She also carries regular audit of the money and whether or not the programmes carry the interest of the donors. She has a say whether to withhold or increase funding for both programmes. She decides when to fund, how much and at what to fund for which purpose. Dr Mwale of NAC represents thirteen international donors as discussed in chapter two. He makes sure that the interest of donors is adhered to in the *Tikambe za edzi* programme. He decides the funding ceiling given to the programme. He is also a gatekeeper of any Aids information and statistics given to the public. He is the authority in Malawi on matters related to Aids hence he is strategically positioned to monitor the flow of Aids information in the country. This is the reason why these people were specifically picked for interviewing.

It is implied therefore that the rationale behind this sampling is to have a manageable information rich sample, either from respondents or documents. Although it is at the discretion of a researcher to identify appropriate respondents, certain guidelines apply to make the selection systematic and effective in generating data that sheds light on a research question. Morse (1991 cited in Chikunkhuzeni 1999) argues that a 'good informant' is one who has the knowledge and experience the researcher requires. Therefore the executive directors and the producers gave the

researcher information required. Meanwhile, Chikunkhuzeni (1999) contends that the informant should also have the ability to reflect, articulate and has the time to be interviewed, and is willing to participate in the study. Since the purpose of the study is to find out the dominant trends in the decision making behind Aids programming, the focus is not on instances or variance. Therefore, executive directors, producers, donors and documents were selected for their ability to generate typical situation data. In the following sections the discussion turns on to a number of methodological problem areas that were associated with the purposeful sampling methods.

The researcher selected respondents that had worked for the donors who sponsor the programmes and journalists who produced the programmes for at least five years. This was so because the researcher wanted to gather data from people who had been with the organisations for the period covered in the study.

This thesis uses purposeful sampling to determine subject to interview. The choice came about because it applies to both research methods. The method is particularly applicable when the focus of the study is on matters that require 'experts to give views or the necessary information' (Berry 1999). In this case the respondents concerned dealt with relatively private financial matter and policy formulation of the concerned audiences which requires 'the knowledge of insiders' (Deacon *et al.* 2007: 52). For instance purposeful sampling is known as quota sampling ([Sa]). Quota sampling is important as it gets the results quicker, because you will select people that you already know have the required information and qualification. Purposeful sampling is used in events which stress intentions of those who apply procedures to their work (Deacon *et. al* [Sa]). This choice was made since both producers and donors apply procedures in their daily work.

It is for its obvious advantages, that this method of sampling was selected. It allows a researcher to focus on issues important to a thesis since purposeful sampling involves selection of small and 'information rich samples' (Morse 1991). It is implied therefore that the rationale behind this sampling is to have manageable "information rich sample", either from respondents or documents (Berry 1999, Deacon *et. al* 2007: 52). Although it is at the discretion of a researcher to identify appropriate respondents, certain guidelines apply to make the selection effective in generating data that shed light on a research question. Since as Morse (1991) cited in Chikunkhuzeni (1999) argues that a good 'interviewee is one who is conversant of the situation'

and has the experience the researcher requires, indeed the producers and other respondents gave the researcher information required concerning the programmes and their organisations. Meanwhile, (Chikunkhuzeni 1999: 54) contends that the interviewee 'should' have the ability to reflect. Further, he adds that interviewees must be as articulate and has the time to be interviewed, and is willing to participate in the thesis. This thesis preferred to use purposeful sampling in line with the focus and context of study. This choice was made to 'avoid rejection of information on the grounds of deviant cases' (Morse 1991). Since the purpose of this thesis is to find out the dominant trends in the decision making behind Aids programming, focus is not 'on instances or variance' (Morse 1991). Therefore, directors, producers, donors and documents were selected for their ability to give the necessary information concerning the research.

As discussed earlier, the study identified interviewees in charge of Aids programmes in their different organisations. This is an ideal set of key interviewees to form a 'sample for interviews' (Morse 1991). The directors are information-rich in the sense that they are managers who run the concerned organisations. Since they are at the top management level, they also deal directly with finances and the general populace. They also have a final authority over Aids programming. In addition, they are capable of comparing and contrasting the money flows prior to and during the research epoch. Their role is also to supervise subordinates in the production and broadcast of programmes on the channel and at ADRA-Malawi. As for the producers, they draw budget for their departments, sit on programme-committee meetings and act as top management delegates. They also attend to queries from the public about programmes content. Each one of them has a set of programmes which they produce. Further, the producers regularly interact with donors in framing Aids programmes. They also oversee the entire production process from the inception of programme idea to the final episode that is for broadcast. They also check technical specifications on the episodes that are ready to go on air. Therefore the researcher felt that these were important people to draw information from and thus employed the purposeful sampling method.

In the course of the research, the rule of "data saturation or redundancy was applied to define the sample size for interviewing" (Morse 1994 in Chikunkhuzeni 1999: 55). The rule states that sampling is complete when no new information is forthcoming. This view is also supported by Kvale's advice to researchers when he posits that "interview as many subjects as necessary to find out what you need to know" (Kvale 1996: 141 see also Berry 1999). In this thesis, all people

in the sampled category were interviewed. Data was also collected from TVM, donors, NGOs and Media Workers' Union.

4.7 Data Gathering Methods

4.7.1. Interviews

Another technique of data collection is in-depth interview. As pointed out before, this thesis employed oral face-to-face interview. As such individual key informants were asked questions in detail since "interviewing is practicable and essential" (Gillham 2000: 61). Over and above that, the interviews provided a platform to have such a face-to-face interview with a view that its strength lies in the "follow up questions" that can easily be done in order to gather as much information as possible (Gillham 2000: 61). Thus, the strength of this interview technique was used in this thesis since funding issues are 'sensitive and confidential' (Berry 1999). Establishing a good rapport between the interviewee and the interviewer was a key consideration to the researcher. Further, the researcher considered the view that interviews provide more chances to disclose 'information which gives it strength over the anonymous questionnaire' (Gillham 2000: 61). This thesis also used in-depth interviewing to gather data from the interviewees.

According to Kvale, semi-structured interview is one whose purpose is to obtain descriptions of those with respect to interpreting meaning of the "described phenomena" (1996: 196). Such an interview is regarded as being objective between structured interviews since questions are set prior to an interview based on preconceived statement of a research question, and unstructured interviews, in which the interviewer "converses with a respondent who determines the structure and definition of problem" (in Chikunkhuzeni 1999: 58). There was sequence of themes to be covered as well as suggested questions. These were informed by a literature survey, which revealed possible influence of donor funding. Some of the themes that were discussed include: funding ceiling, programme scheduling, magnitudes of money and its frequency and the mode of remittance and understanding of the concept of public service broadcasting (PSB). In such interviews, a researcher, however, has freedom to change the sequence of the questions when probing or following up on answers (Kvale [Sa]). Apart from this flexibility of semi-structured interviews and other considerations were made in the selection of this data collection technique. Semi-structured interviews fitted in this study because of an acknowledgement that meaning is "socially constructed" (Gillham 2000: 61).

That means, the researcher and the interviewee shaped the outcome of an interview event, although as an interviewer, I had a set of questions based on set themes but the interviewee was at “liberty to reconstruct experiences and views within the set frame” (Holstein & Gubrium 1977: 144).

Below is a summary of this interview value as a social encounter which constitutes meaning:

Treating interviewing as a social encounter in which meaning is constructed suggests a possibility that the interview is not merely a neutral conduit or source of distortion, but is instead site of, and occasion for producing reportable knowledge itself (Holstein & Gubrium 1977: 144).

It is generally accepted that interviewees and interviewers are deeply involved in creating meaning in the sense that “respondents are not repositories of knowledge to be mined by the researcher” ([Sa]).

Rather, interview data are unavoidably collaborative because they generated through active and dynamic interplay and constant power negotiations during an interview encounter. As such, in this thesis semi-structured interviews were utilised because they combine the strengths of both unstructured and structured interviews by balancing the powers of interviewee and interviewer. Kvale (1996) points out that structured interviews give total power to the researcher to determine interview outcomes by exploiting interviewees and unstructured interviews give total power to the interviewee to ‘determine the content and course’ of what is to be studied. As other scholars argue social circumstances of interviews are more than obstacles to respondents’ articulation of their particular truths. Like all other speech events, interviews ‘shape’ the form and content of what is said (Chikunkhuzeni 1999: 59).

The motivation of the study is to get the lived experiences of television producers, NGOs and donors in as far as Aids programming is concerned on TVM. The Director General of TVM, Executive Director of NAC and Deputy Country Director of ADRA-Malawi are also executive producers of these Aids programmes. As a result the semi-structured interviews that were conducted by the researcher enabled the producers and donors to relate their experiences of their lived world and the cost of production of the Aids programming in their own words. They enabled the researcher to view the world from the eyes of the interviewee. It is one of the aspirations of this thesis to view the results of donor funded Aids programming at TVM from the perspectives of producers, NGOs and donors themselves.

4.7.2. The interview procedures

Interviews were conducted in a period of 49 days, from November 28, 2007 to January 16, 2008. In accordance with research protocol in Malawi, permissions were sought from the directors of TVM, ADRA-Malawi, ADRA-Denmark, National Aids Commission (NAC), Communication Workers' Union of Malawi (COWUMA), and Gift of the Givers (GOGF) and the National Media Institute of Southern Africa (NAMISA). The permissions were granted as the interviewees were the executive management hence at the helm of these institutions. As usual permissions were granted after explaining the purpose of the thesis and data collection needs. I also had to explain that the interviews were for academic purposes hence nothing to fear. This served to give participants a general picture of the areas of interest and stimulated them while answering about the subject in question. Fortunately, respondents' consented to be identified in this thesis and some of the respondents were keen to have this thesis read by the respondents themselves once completed.

Table 1 shows interviewees, designation, theme code, place and date of interview

Interviewee No.	Name	Position/Organisation	Date and place
1. Donor (DD)	Dr Biswic Mwale	Executive Director- NAC (NB)	November 28, 2007, December 4, 2007, NAC headquarters offices-Lilongwe.
2. Producer (TP)	Kenson Mbwana	Director General- TVM (TD)	December 10, 2007, TVM headquarters- Blantyre.
3. Producer (TP)	Sweeney Chimkango	Chief Producer-TVM (TP)	December 26, 2007, TVM studios- Blantyre.
4. Producer (TP)	Clemence Mvonye	Chief Production Engineer-TVM (CP)	December 26, 2007, TVM Kwacha studios-Blantyre

5. Producer (TP)	Chikondi Madumuse	Producer-ADRA-Malawi (AP)	December 27, 2007, ADRA-Denmark New building headquarters-Blantyre
6. Communication Workers' Union (NG)	Bathwell Kulemelo	President-COWUMA (CW)	December 28, 2007, Shire Highlands Hotel-Limbe.
7. NGO (NG)	Ahmed Sunka	Country Director-Gift of the Givers Foundation-Malawi Chapter (GG)	Gift of the Givers Foundation-Maselema offices-Limbe.
8. Donors (DD)	Michael Usi	Programmes Director and Deputy Country Director-ADRA Malawi (AM)	January 1, 2008, Mount Soche Hotel-Blantyre.
9. NGO (NG)	Innocent Chitosi	National Coordinator-NAMISA-MISA Malawi Chapter (NA)	January 6, 2008, MISA Malawi headquarters-Lilongwe.
10. Donor (DD)	Anja Larsen	Monitoring and Evaluation Officer-ADRA-Denmark (AD)	January 8, 2008, ADRA-Malawi headquarters Blantyre.

Table 1

Note that since in the table 1 above, interviewees have been coded with emerging themes and for clarity sake interviewees have been grouped into three: donors, producers and NGOs. For

instance, donors will appear as DD, producers as TP and those NGOs and Media Workers' Union will appear as NG.

Each interview session started with a brief reminder of the purpose of the thesis and what the findings would be used for. 'Consent was obtained to tape record the interviews' as interviewees were also encouraged to relate their experiences of donor funding details as they were significant to this thesis (Berry 1999). Each interview lasted for about an hour and since these directors were the final authority on the Aids programming, valuable information was flowing easily although it was not easy for them to have figures handy. Although one hour was the set up time for interviews, some of the interviews were shorter and some slightly over because some of them went on explaining in details. These interviews were transcribed verbatim.

4.7.3. Disadvantages of in-depth-direct interviews

The visibility can lead to disturbing effects, when the interviewer guides with his or her behaviour the respondent in a special direction. In one interview the researcher forgot to press the record button and was only saved by the note-taking. The disadvantage of tape recorded interview was 'the time a transcription of the tape recording consumed' (Berry 1999). As Bryman argues, one hour of tape may take five to six hours to transcribe (2001). These interviews also brought with them time and financial costs. Sometimes the process of travelling and interviewing one respondent took more than eight hours. It even took more days, when the respondent was busy with meeting deadlines and cancelling interviews.

4.8 Data analysis techniques

Interview data were analysed through a "meaning condensation technique" in which natural meaning units (NMUs) were identified (Kvale 1996: 196). NMU is a unit of analysis as Stones contends that it is a statement made by an 'interviewee who is self-definable and self-delimiting in the expression of a single, recognisable aspect of interviewee's experience' (Kvale 1996: 194). According to Kvale, meaning condensation technique is a technique of analysing interview data by "abridging the meaning expressed by an interviewee into shorter more succinct formulations" (Kvale [Sa]). Chikunkhuzeni also used the very same "condensation technique" to analyse data and has recommended its usage for the media especially in the field of political economy (1999: 62).

As an aid to systematic analysis, interview data was broken down into NMUs and coded as ADRA-Denmark (AD), ADRA-Malawi (AM), NAC Boss (NB), NAMISA (NA), Gift of the Givers (GG), Communication Workers' Union (CW), Television Director (TD), ADRA-Producer (AP), Television Producer from TVM (TP), and Television Chief Producer from TVM (CP). In the final analysis these codes appear in this thesis as (AD1, AM1, NB1, NA1, GG1, CW1, TD1, TP1, CP1, AP1 and TD1) and extending in number according to questions posed to research participants. The two letters stands for a particular respondent and the number marks a particular theme. Then, a thorough deductive process sprouted as themes emerged. These themes were then merged on the basis of dominance to determine the producers and donors' underlying perceptions and the meanings of the donor funded Aids programming at TVM. These codes were for the purposes of transcription but like discussed in section 4.6.2, the codes have been simplified to NG1-3, TP1-4 and DD1-3 together making 10 interviewees.

The above descriptive statements were then interpreted according to emerging themes. Interview data was formulated into a condensed form of what the subjects themselves understand to be the meanings of their work in donor funding. Attempts were also made to examine the understanding of the concept of PSB as applied to developing countries. In the end, results from these data analysis were reflected on the political economy and communication for development theoretical frameworks and the understanding of development aid through Aids programmes.

4.9 Content Analysis

The study analysed a number of documents that had content that is related or concerned with donor aid and the organisations concerned. Some of the documents that were assessed include TVM's Strategic Plan 2004-2009, TVM quarterly management accounts from 2004-2007 and TVM programme schedules. In this thesis, data from documentary sources were treated differently from the interview data. The analysis included calculations and determination of trends of donor funding, frequency of donor funding such as: how much was remitted to TVM for how long and for what content. Who gives the money to whom for what purpose? Also, how the money is accounted for by the recipients to the donor.

The total amount of money funded from donors were compared and contrasted with other funding sources such as those from government subvention and advertising. The researcher examined the data collected through interviews using different interpretation methods. The central aim was to establish relationships between the research object and the outcomes with

reference to the original research questions. Throughout the evaluation and analysis process, the researcher remained 'open to new opportunities' and insights (Berry 1999). The case study method, with its use of multiple data collection methods and analysis techniques, provided the researcher with opportunities to 'triangulate data in order to strengthen the research findings' and conclusions (Deacon *et al.* 1997).

These tactics used in analysis forced the researcher to move beyond initial impressions to improve the likelihood of accurate and reliable findings. The researcher categorised, tabulated, and recombined data to address the initial purpose of the study. This enabled the researcher to 'cross-check facts and discrepancies in management accounts' (Berry 1999). When data generated through document analysis converged with data obtained through interviews the researcher's confidence in the findings increased (Berry 1999).

Another technique the researcher employed was 'the cross-theme search for patterns from both the content analysis and the interviews' (Deacon *et al.* 1997). Cross theme search prevented the researcher from reaching premature conclusions as it required that he looked at the data in several different ways. Cross-theme analysis divided the data by type across all the themes investigated. When a pattern from one data type was corroborated by the evidence from another, the finding became stronger. When evidence conflicted, deeper probing of the differences was conducted to identify the cause or source of conflict. In all cases, the researcher treated the evidence fairly to produce analytic conclusions answering the original 'how' and 'what' research questions (Berry 1999).

4.10 Conclusion

The case study involved multiple sources of data and included multiple cases of data gathering techniques within the one study. This resulted in the production of large amounts of data for analysis. The advantages of the case study method included its applicability to real-life and contemporary human situations at TVM and the donor aid agencies sponsoring the making and broadcasting of HIV/Aids programmes. The next chapter discusses data findings and analysis.

5. CHAPTER FIVE: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

The making and funding of Aids programmes broadcast by TVM

5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to present and discuss qualitative data of the study generated through document analysis, case study and in-depth interviews. As pointed out in chapter four, the central rationale for adopting the method is that in qualitative study the researcher is an integral part of the data. In fact, without “the direct participation of the researcher, no data could exist” (Wimmer & Dominick 1997: 84). In this case, the analysis is in line with the key research question this study sets out to answer which was to examine how political and socio-economic ideological pressures of donors who fund HIV/Aids programmes on TVM inform constructions of HIV/Aids messages. The interest of the study is to interrogate the political economy of development aid through the description of the making and funding of HIV/Aids programmes. The HIV/Aids programmes analysed in this chapter are: *Tikuferanji*, *Let's talk* and *Tikambe za edzi*.

As argued in chapter one, the aim is to identify gaps in the HIV/Aids communication strategies that are implemented by the Government of Malawi in cooperation with donors such as ADRA-Denmark, Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), United States Agency for International Development (USAID), International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB). *Tikuferanji* and *Let's talk* programmes are funded by the Danish Development Agency (DANIDA) through ADRA-Denmark and ADRA-Malawi while *Tikambe za edzi* is funded by the thirteen donors whose money is managed by the National Aids Commission (NAC). In short, the interest of this study is not to dismiss the role played by donors and TVM in fighting HIV/Aids pandemic but rather to explore ways of effective message construction and communication strategies.

The interpretation, analysis and discussions are informed by the theoretical considerations and literature review in chapters two, three and four. The data presentation and analysis starts with a broad framework of the political and economic context within which the study was conducted. This is because the environment formed the basis of most of the questions during the document analysis and in-depth interviews phases of the research. These findings are presented, illustrated and corroborated with quotations arising from interviews comprising ten respondents, three from TVM and four from the Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and three from donors who

sponsor *Tikuferanji*, *Let's talk* and *Tikambe za edzi* broadcast on TVM. Due to the qualitative nature of the methodology employed in the study, the data generated from document analysis and in-depth interviews are sometimes presented and discussed concurrently, under three sections: political environment; document analysis and interviews.

In the paragraphs below, the study discusses the results under the following sections: broader structural conditions, political economy context and in-depth interviews. As noted in chapter four, the themes that guided the questions for the study were developed from both the literature discussed in chapter three and from preliminary field interviews conducted on a sample group of respondents.

5.2 Broader structural conditions experiences

The analysis of the broader structural conditions of this study is not restricted to the conditions that manifest immediately on HIV/Aids programming at TVM but rather; it includes broader conditions of the study including as argued earlier the socio-political and economic conditions. The study argues that the significance of the findings of the study cannot be comprehensively understood outside the political and economic structures that provide “the conditional matrix of the research” (Strauss & Corbin 1989).

In this light, analysis begins from a broad political and economic analysis before narrowing the scope to HIV/Aids programmes broadcast by TVM. The study is not simply listing structural conditions but seeks to show specific linkages between conditions, actions and consequences ([Sa]). The political structural context of the study is discussed in the paragraphs below:

5.3 Political economy structural context

As discussed in section 4.7.2, the researcher collected data in Malawi over a period of 49 days, from November 28, 2007 to January 16, 2008. In its data analysis, the study first draws insight into how much money the donors put into HIV/Aids programmes on TVM from on the available financial records from 2004 to 2007. The focus is on *Tikuferanji*, *Let's talk* and *Tikambe za edzi*. The analysis focuses on how the programmes are funded and how decisions on HIV/Aids messages are negotiated between television producers and donors.

Below are some of the questions the researcher used to draw data from the respondents:

1. How much money do the donors put towards the funding for HIV/Aids programmes on TVM?

In response to the question TVM availed to the researcher the financial data presented in tables below.

Table 2 shows the funding trends of each HIV/Aids programme in three consecutive fiscal years: 2004/2005, 2005/2006 and 2006/2007. It is important from the onset to point out that the Malawi's financial year starts from 30 June and ends on 1 July following year. The currency is in Malawi Kwacha (MK) and MK140 was equivalent to 1 US\$ at the time of study.

5.3.1. Table 2: The amount of donor money used in the making, funding and broadcast of Aids programmes at TVM from 2004 to 2007.

Name of the Programme	Financial Year 1 (2004/5)	Financial Year 2 (2005/6)	Financial Year 3 (2006/7)
<i>Tikambe za edzi</i>	MK3,000,000.00	MK4,000,000.00	MK40,000,000.00
<i>Let's talk</i>	MK 860,000.00	MK1,200,000.00	MK 870,000.00
<i>Pakachere</i>	MK1,270,000.00	MK2,543,000.00	MK 2,543,000.00
<i>BLM talk show</i>	-	MK3,635,450.00	MK 3,635,450.00
<i>Tisaiwale</i>	MK1,000,000.00	MK1,797,910.00	-
<i>It begins with you</i>		MK 226,464.00	MK 226,464.00
<i>Tikuferanji</i>	MK5,484,000.00	MK3,000,000.00	MK 1,200,000.00
Total received	MK11,614,000.00	MK14,684,705.00	MK48,474,914.00

Source: TVM management accounts 31 December 2005, 30 June 2006 in the Minutes of the 11th Finance and Audit Committee 1st November 2007.

From table 2 above, it is clear that from the financial year 2004/5 to 2006/7 donors have increased the amount of money they put in *Tikambe za edzi* and *Tikuferanji*. Meanwhile *Let's talk* faced the decrease in funding during 2005/6 to period. On another note, donors pointed out that they were increasing the funding into HIV/Aids prevention programmes because more and more people needed to be included in their advocacy campaigns.

Secondly, the increments were to cover inflationary pressures of the Malawian Kwacha.

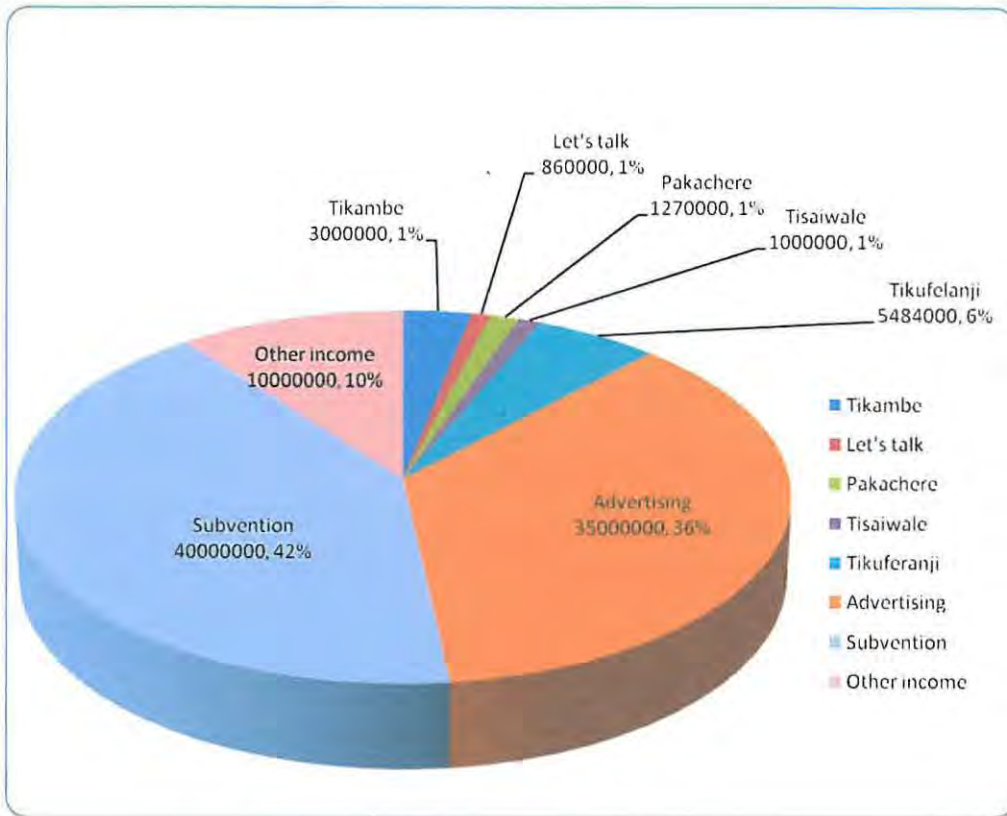
5.3.2. Table 3: Other sources of revenue at TVM from 2004 to 2007.

Other sources of revenue	2004/5	2005/6	2006/7
Advertising	MK35,000,000.00	MK111,239,869.00	MK276,000,000.00
Subvention	MK40,000,000.00	MK 50,000,000.00	MK 65,000,000.00
Other income	MK10,000,000.00	MK 8,000,000.00	MK 7,100,000.00
Total received	MK85,000,000.00	MK169,239,869.00	MK348,100,000.00

Source: TVM management accounts 2006 & Interview with the Director General, Mr Kenson Mbwana, January 2008.

Table 3 and the subsequent three Pie Charts below show the funding trends of each of the three HIV/Aids programmes and revenue collected by TVM from advertising and other sources of funding including advertisers, government subvention and other incomes obtained at TVM.

5.3.3. Pie Chart 1 indicates the amount of money for each programme for the financial year 2004/5 in percent terms.

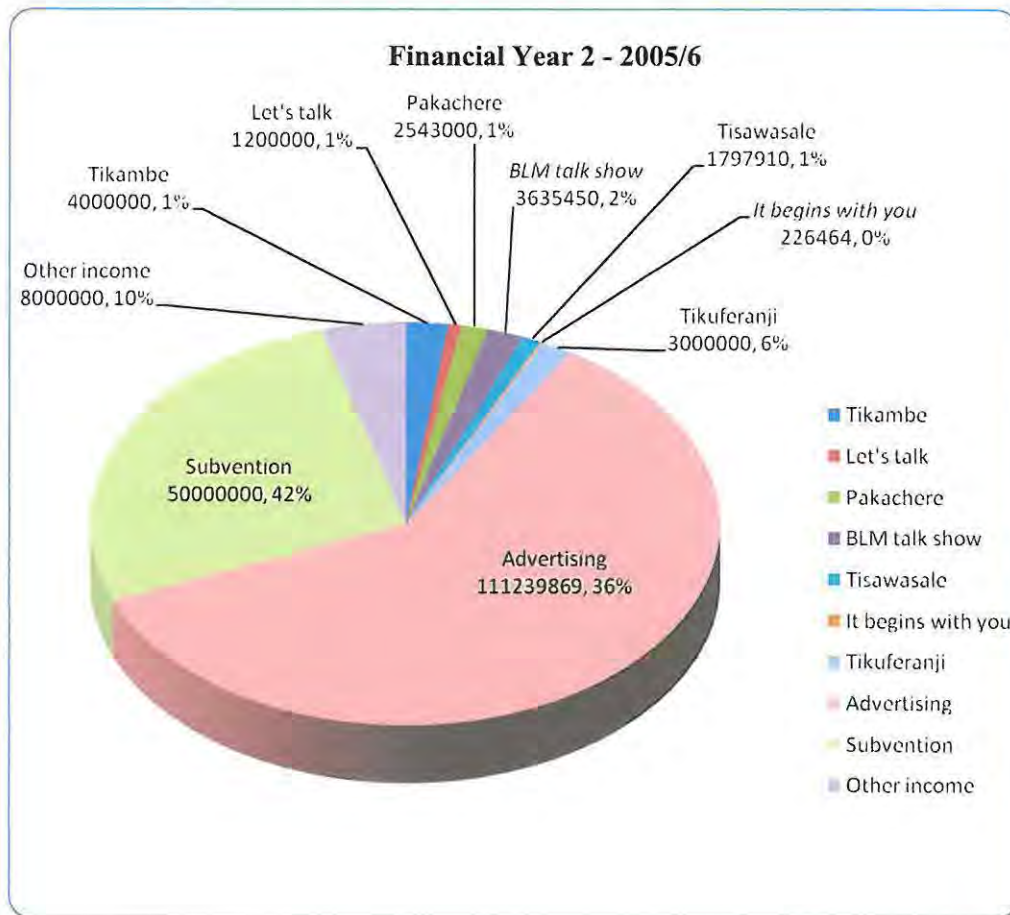


Pie Chart 1

Pie Chart 1 shows the proportionality of the amount of money that was realised from the donor funded Aids programmes in relation to the total amount of money received in the fiscal year 2004/5 at TVM. Note that there are other programmes broadcast by TVM that are also donor funded but are not related to Aids as presented in table 3.

As can be deduced from the Pie Chart 1, of the three HIV/Aids programmes focused on this study *Tikambe za edzi* had the highest funding. Other incomes for TVM include revenue from chairs hired by the public for weddings, programme sales and from co-siting of transmitting towers. During the financial year 2004/5, donor funding contributed 12% of TVM's total funding. I now present Pie Chart 2 in the fiscal year 2005/6.

5.3.4. Pie Chart 2 shows the actual amount of revenue realised from Aids programmes and other TVM sources of money in (2005/6) fiscal year 2

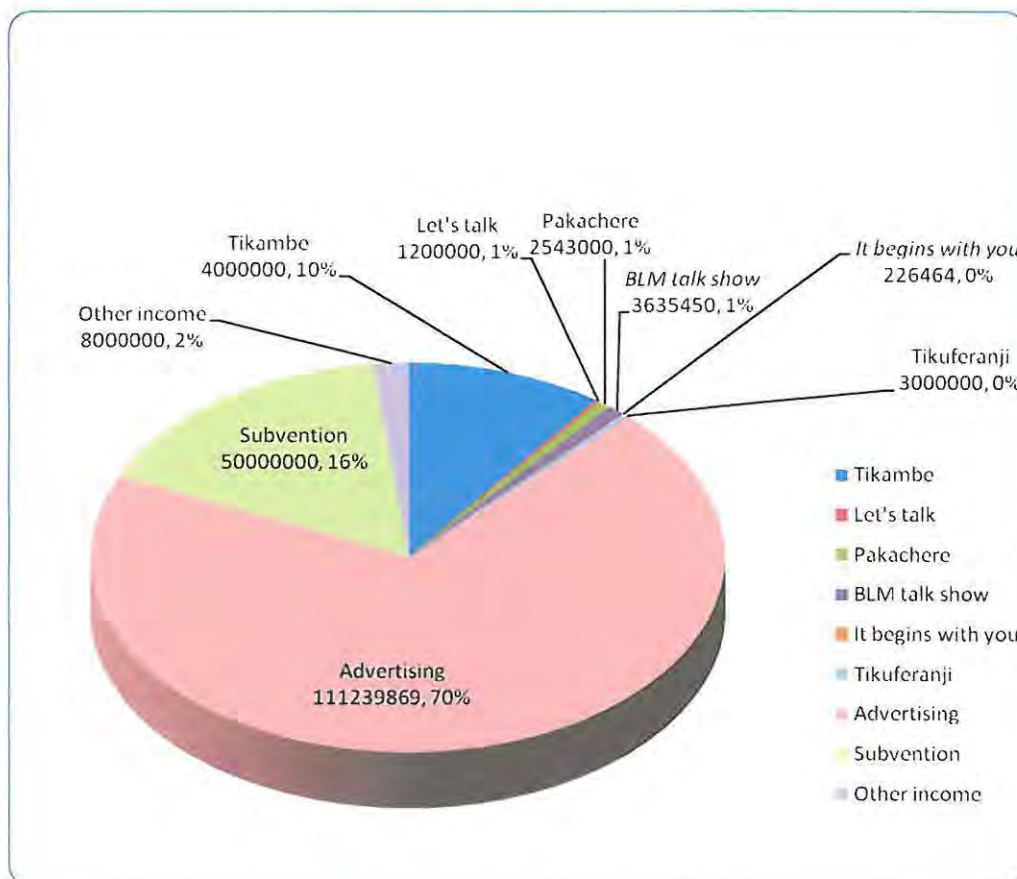


Pie Chart 2

In the 2005/6 fiscal year, donor funding contributed 13% of TVM's total annual recurrent budget. While in the fiscal year 2006/7, Aids donor funding contributed 13% of TVM's total budget. There was an increase in donor funding by 1%. This was due to the introduction of the two additional donor funded Aids programmes as mentioned above. The increase in number of the donor-funded programmes during the two fiscal years period from 12% to 13% shows that donor funding on Aids programmes is on the increase. Notably, there is one programme that brought MK40-million which contributed 10% of the total annual TVM recurrent budget in 2006/7. This programme is *Tikambe za edzi* which is funded by thirteen donors from a pool of money managed by their funding agent, the Malawi National Aids Commission (NAC).

It is also seen that government subvention amounted to only 27% of TVM budget for the whole year and yet the amount of money obtained from donors on Aids programming alone accounted for 13% of the total budget which is almost half of the 27% that the state allocated to TVM. The illustrations above indicate that government subvention has been dwindling. In 2004/5 fiscal year, the public finance was 42% of the total amount of money received at TVM. Since the analysis in comparison to the magnitude of the contribution of each of the programmes has gone to this extent for the past fiscal years 1 and 2, I now present a Pie Chart for the final fiscal year 2006/7 at TVM. The aim is to have a broader picture and insights of the amount of money realised at TVM as revenue.

5.3.5. Pie Chart 3 below shows donor funding in relation to the contribution of the total TVM funding sources during the fiscal year 2006/2007. There are six Aids programmes in this fiscal year.



Pie Chart 3

In 2005/6 fiscal year, the government subvention came to 27% while in 2006/7 fiscal year; it was pegged at 16%. In as far as advertising and government funding is concerned, in the 2004/5 fiscal year, 36% of the total amount of money received at TVM was from advertising. In the 2005/6 fiscal year, 60% of the total revenue at TVM was also from advertising as illustrated in the table 2. Noticeably, in the 2006/7 fiscal year, advertising was at 70% contrary to the small commercial revenue base that Malawi Government has. As a result such advertising trends might mean that TVM is gradually being commercialised giving credence to the assertion that the public broadcaster in Malawi has decided to defy the Laws (www.voanews.com) under which they were established by going commercial.

As noted from the Pie Chart 3, one programme *Tisawasale* was no longer on air as the donors withdrew funding. This is similar to 2006 when donors cut funding, accusing TVM of bias in covering important political issues. The channel does not get adequate funding from government subvention. For instance in 2006/7 fiscal year, the channel was funded MK1. This amount of money is only symbolic. In essence, TVM got inadequate government subvention although TVM was established to serve as a public service broadcaster as envisaged in the Communications Act 41 of 1998.

5.4 In-depth interviews

The researcher had a set of questions which guided in-depth interviews. Below, the study presents the questions and the excerpts obtained from respondents. During the study the researcher asked the respondents the following questions:

2. What is the process involved in making *Tikuferanji*, *Lets talk* and *Tikambe za edzi*?

5.5 Description of the making of *Tikuferanji* programme

The first point in the process of making *Tikuferanji* programme was when the Adventist Development and Relief Agency (ADRA-Denmark), an organisation that has been funding ADRA-Malawi since 1982 alerted ADRA-Malawi about the intention of the Danish International Aid Agency (DANIDA) to 'expand' its HIV/Aids attitude and behaviour change programmes (Lassen 2007: 66). In an interview, Anja Larsen, the donor representative, who is also the monitoring and evaluation technical advisor, says in 2001, DANIDA happened to have expressed interest in increasing funding for sexual attitude and behaviour change activities for some countries in sub-Saharan Africa including Malawi. The other countries were Uganda and Liberia. ADRA-Malawi

took advantage of the available funding from DANIDA to expand its advocacy of Aids activities on *Tikuferanji*, a radio play on the Malawi Broadcasting Corporation (MBC Radio 1) that has been funded by DANIDA through ADRA-Denmark. The decision then was that the radio play would go on television hence the genesis of *Tikuferanji* drama on TVM. *Tikuferanji* is now broadcast on both public broadcasters in Malawi: MBC Radio 1 and TVM. *Tikuferanji* has been on MBC Radio 1 for twelve years and four years on TVM at the time of research (www.adramalawi.blogspot.com)

In an interview, Michael Usi says the programme idea for *Tikuferanji* was hatched by ADRA-Malawi and since the programme was to be on TVM, ADRA-Malawi convened a meeting with TVM. The meeting discussed issues pertaining to the broadcasting of *Tikuferanji* on TVM and several decisions were made. Since *Tikuferanji* had been running for five years on MBC Radio 1 by then, a decision was made to retain the name on TVM so as to continue reflecting societal needs. *Tikuferanji* literally means “why are we dying.” The question attempts to provoke viewers to start thinking seriously about the factors that lead them into irresponsible sexual behaviours.

Usi contends that the initial purpose for the programme was to deal with issues of Aids in Malawi. He argues that ADRA-Malawi aims at producing both *Tikuferanji* on MBC Radio 1 and TVM to ensure Aids information is entrenched in the society. He says ADRA-Malawi believes that it is a requirement for a developing nation to realise meaningful development through good health. Usi adds that since Aids is a problem that has affected almost everyone, it is necessary to bring awareness of the disease to the people in order to more easily advance issues of socio-economic development. Usi further explains that although the focus of *Tikuferanji* is Aids information, the programme also covers other social issues affecting the Malawi society. Usi posits that *Tikuferanji* has now taken on board other issues that affect the respect of human rights since Aids is a cross-cutting issue. In addition, Usi posits that ADRA-Malawi also runs another radio and television programme called *Let's talk* which complements *Tikuferanji* in the sense that, as a phone-in programme it accords viewers an opportunity to air their views on issues related to Aids.

Usi explains that bearing in mind that Aids involves different stakeholders, TVM was invited to a consultative meeting in line with ADRA-Malawi's communication strategy. The strategy recommends the involvement of other stakeholders engaged in the prevention of HIV infection. It is in line with the strategy that the discussion between ADRA-Malawi and TVM centred on the introduction and possible funding for *Tikuferanji* on the channel. It was during this meeting that ADRA-Malawi narrated the success story of *Tikuferanji* on MBC Radio 1 and that in order to reach

out to a wider audience with a huge impact to the people of Malawi, ADRA-Malawi made a decision to start beaming *Tikuferanji* on TVM. It was envisaged that TVM would benefit from the venture financially as would be paid production and airtime costs at TVM's commercial business rate. More so, TVM would be carrying out its civic education mandate as regards the dissemination of Aids information. Usi says in that meeting TVM demanded: that there should be dedicated personnel from both sides, that the episodes should be standardised to 25 minutes to allow a 5-minute window for adverts before and after the programme and that the programme format must conform to technical television specifications, that of a mini DV Cam tape or Betacam format tapes.

Furthermore, Usi says a decision was made at the meeting between ADRA-Malawi and TVM as to who could be the artists, what content, type of props and costumes to be employed in the television making process. The decisions came about while both sides participating in that meeting noted that *Tikuferanji* on radio and *Tikuferanji* on television are different. The difference comes in the sense that *Tikuferanji* as a radio play does not require costume contrary to *Tikuferanji* on television where costume is a prerequisite. Usi says that some of the artists were drawn from the MBC Radio 1 play and some were scouted from other performing drama groups in the country. There was also a question of what salient issues were to be tackled within the prevention of HIV infection that required a decision. Some of the salient issues included storylines which were developed to suit themes related to the Aids attitude and behaviour change. The storylines were different from the radio plays but sometimes they were similar depending on the drama genre of the episode at that particular time. Also, Usi reflects on what was agreed at that meeting and the issue of how much money would be needed for the television series was also discussed. Usi explains that since *Tikuferanji* had been running on MBC Radio 1, as a play and would run as drama on television, his organisation chose edutainment approach whereby an educative role is carried out while viewers are being entertained. All these decisions were made after ADRA-Malawi had received funding from DANIDA through ADRA-Denmark.

In an interview, Clemence Mvonye, the principal production engineer for TVM indicates that the channel asked ADRA-Malawi to have their programmes on mini DV Cam tape or Betacam formats (TP1) because these are the technical specifications that TVM have. Mvonye explains that since the meeting had resolved to run *Tikuferanji* at prime time as demanded by donors through ADRA-Malawi, the programme schedules (see Appendix 11) would be affected and viewers would be informed of the programme changes in the schedule.

On his part, the Television Malawi (TVM) Chief Producer, Sweeny Chimkango narrates that *Tikuferanji* would have more impact to the people if footage was collected from most parts of the country. This meant footage collection would be done from both rural and urban areas of the country. Chimkango (TP1) is of the view that having episodes with footage collected from both urban and rural areas was important to change the beliefs of most viewers that the epidemic is for those in urban areas.

Turning to the question of why *Tikuferanji* was established on TVM, Usi explains that the decision to start the programme came about because of four reasons: First, ADRA-Malawi took advantage of penetration into the channel due to the dwindling state funding to TVM and knew that TVM would accept any money since the broadcaster turned into a 'beggar' (*sic*) after running dry financially since the funding allocation was rejected by the National Assembly due to allegations that TVM favoured the ruling political party in its reporting (DD1).

On the TVM side, Mbwana and Mvonye explain that their channel (TP1-3) at some point rolled out *Tikambe* Aids programme but due to the rejection of their budget by Parliament, *Tikambe* was of poor quality and lacked accurate local information and statistics on Aids. The situation was quickly detected by many thus why Mbwana and Mvonye ([Sa]) argue that since TVM was in financial crisis, ADRA-Malawi was committed to providing TVM with production costs and payment for airtime. Pledges of vehicles availability to TVM meant easy footage collection for *Tikuferanji* could be broadcast as gap fillers, news, current affairs, cut-aways and documentaries.

The third reason for choosing TVM to start beaming *Tikuferanji* is the fact that the channel being the only free-to-air national broadcaster and licensed as a public service broadcaster (PSB), it is better positioned to carry out systematic civic education as regards the adverse effects of HIV infection than the prevalent commercial radios. TVM took advantage of the availability of donor money for Aids programming to sustain the programmes on air. Besides, TVM is aware of its civic education mandate which include Aids issues. In an interview, Usi posits that TVM was also chosen to broadcast *Tikuferanji* on its channel since as a PSB it was credible in the eyes of the people with a belief that government cannot poison its own citizens with wrong and distorted information.

Lastly, Usi believes television broadcasting has a huge impact due to its pictorial technology especially in a country where 60% of the people cannot read and write. The belief is that message

retention in television broadcasting is high unlike in newspaper and radio. The executive director for the National Aids Commission (NAC), Dr Mwale and Usi concur that, it is easier for people to make meaning out of a television picture than to read a newspaper or listen to a radio. Both of them argue that since the majority of the people in Malawi are illiterate, it is impossible for them to read and write. Dr Mwale says that although the illiterate can listen to a radio, there are language barriers as most radios prefer English to vernacular languages. Whereas in television, the visual means a thousand words hence the message retention is higher than in radio and newspaper.

Usi argues that since language can be a barrier of communication in radio and newspaper, a television picture of a person living with Aids (PLWAs) struggling with life in a dilapidated hospital bed has a lot of impact on the viewer as 'seeing is believing.' This resonates well with the *Chichewa* proverb *chaona maso mtima siuyiwala* meaning that what the eyes have seen cannot easily be forgotten. The assertion concurs with Mkwara (2004: 4) that the message 'retention' in television is indeed higher than in radio and newspaper.

Both ADRA-Malawi and TVM through Usi and Mbwana in separate interviews concur that the main reason for introducing *Tikuferanji* on the channel was to create awareness on the dangers of Aids pandemic which if not checked would wipe out the people of Malawi. The above decisions were made by both TVM and ADRA-Malawi. Both agree that the channel should be active in the dissemination of messages as regards prevention of HIV infection in Malawi. At this point, Usi contends that DANIDA through ADRA-Denmark prefers sexual, attitude and behaviour change messages to Aids treatment messages. In addition, Usi says that packaging of behaviour change messages in order to have the messages passed on to the viewers efficiently cannot easily be measured. This means that the impact of these well packaged Aids programmes take time to bear fruits in the reduction of HIV infection rate.

The first task to produce *Tikuferanji* was given to TVM bearing in mind that it is mandated to carry out civic education programmes on its channel including Aids information. Moreover, at that time, it was only TVM that had television production capacity and skills locally. As a result ADRA-Malawi designated its communication and advocacy officer, Ms Chikondi Madumuse who has been producer of *Tikuferanji* on MBC Radio 1 and now on TVM. In a questionnaire, Madumuse indicates that she is the desk officer of ADRA-Malawi at TVM for *Tikuferanji* to ensure that DANIDA's interest is embedded in the programme. Madumuse argues that some of DANIDA's interests in *Tikuferanji* is the inclusion of more HIV/Aids preventive messages than treatment

messages. Therefore, DANIDA encourages safe sex behaviour and abstaining from sex while being faithful to one partner. In other words, DANIDA puts more emphasis on the prevention of HIV infection than the treatment side. This meant that the Aids messages broadcast by TVM carry more preventive messages than treatment messages. The aim is to reduce HIV infection rate through sexual, attitude and behaviour change messages.

Ms Chikondi Madumuse is a Malawian employed by ADRA-Malawi and like any other ADRA-Malawi staff, she gets her salary from ADRA-Denmark. Madumuse is initially not media trained but has acquired experience on the job as she was interacting with other producers from both TVM and MBC Radio 1 in the making of *Tikuferanji*. She acquired production skills from the making of *Tikuferanji* that has been aired on MBC Radio 1.

During the inception of *Tikuferanji* on television, Madumuse was the link between TVM and ADRA-Malawi. She was also involved in the shooting, editing and previewing of *Tikuferanji* episodes at TVM. She was stationed at TVM but as an ADRA-Malawi employee so that Aids programming was aligned to the needs of the donor-DANIDA. At TVM, Madumuse as a communication and advocacy officer and as a producer of *Tikuferanji* was mandated to liaise with TVM's production chief engineer, Clemence Mvonye and the chief producer, Sweeny Chimkango. This meant that there were consultations between the assigned officers from both ADRA-Malawi and TVM in the making of *Tikuferanji* so that contents of the programme were in line with the interests of DANIDA through ADRA-Denmark.

When *Tikuferanji* entered its second year of broadcast at TVM in 2004, Madumuse had mastered the television production experience skills of *Tikuferanji*. It was during the same period that ADRA-Malawi suggested to DANIDA to buy its own television studios. This saw ADRA-Malawi producing *Tikuferanji* episodes and only bringing them to TVM for broadcast. Usi explains that initially the channel was given MK3-million quarterly for both production and broadcast of the programmes. As of 2006/7 fiscal year ADRA-Malawi only pays the channel MK1-million for airtime payment for *Tikuferanji*. Usi adds that his organisation spent MK12-million in total for the production and airtime payment for a year. Usi stresses that DANIDA raised eyebrows at this huge payment to TVM. As a result, the donor, DANIDA was not satisfied with such an expense. As a result, DANIDA queried ADRA-Malawi through ADRA-Denmark for among other things paying TVM for doing its public service mandate.

Usi explains that DANIDA was of the view that TVM as a PSB is not supposed to get funding from donors on commercial rate basis. In the eyes of DANIDA and according to Usi, the channel was supposed to obtain funding for Aids programmes from government subvention because social development matters lie in the hands of any caring government. Therefore, Usi says that DANIDA saw no justification to pay TVM. In an interview, both Usi and Larsen state that DANIDA contend that TVM was not supposed to be paid money claiming that elsewhere, such as Nepal and Uganda, the PSB pays producers and artists. Usi explains that DANIDA noted the unusualness in a PSB which demands money from external television producers and artists arguing that elsewhere both internal and external producers are paid by the PSB from the public purse. Usi points out that it was a daunting task to convince DANIDA that TVM cannot produce local Aids programmes on its own due to financial constraints. Usi cites DANIDA had to come for a fact-finding mission on the financial incapability of TVM to produce local Aids programmes and only then did the funding resume to ADRA-Malawi through ADRA-Denmark.

In 2004 and as a cost cutting measure, DANIDA succumbed to an alternative plea by ADRA-Malawi to construct studios for ADRA-Malawi instead of withdrawing funding for *Tikuferanji*. The studio started operating in 2005 according to Usi, Madumuse and Mvonye. Usi observes that the venture might have been an expensive exercise but hoped that in the long run, it might turn out to be the cheapest as the studio would also be on hire by other clients from ADRA-Malawi thereby generating revenue. Besides, ADRA-Malawi would have total control of the studios. Usi adds that the venture meant that TVM had lost revenue and control in the making of *Tikuferanji*. This is the reason why the revenue from donor funding to TVM reduced considerably as illustrated in tables 2 and 3 of this thesis. This can be substantiated in that *Tikuferanji* gave TVM MK3-million quarterly in the 2005/6 fiscal year while in 2006/7 fiscal year, *Tikuferanji* generated to TVM less than half of MK3-million. The amount of money generated was MK1.2-million. The difference came about as in 2005/6, TVM was also involved in the making of *Tikuferanji* but was not involved in the other year 2006/7 hence the drop in the actual amount of money received at TVM by the same programme.

Since the production is now done entirely by ADRA-Malawi, Mvonye argues that TVM has little say on the contents of the programme. Instead, TVM has been forced to focus more on checking whether the tape is compatible with the technical specifications than checking the contents of the programme. Both Usi and Mvonye add that the themes in *Tikuferanji* are developed by ADRA-Malawi in liaison with ADRA-Denmark bearing in mind DANIDA's agenda. Usi explains that both

the shooting and the edited-treatment scripts are done by ADRA-Malawi. Besides producing *Tikuferanji*, ADRA-Malawi also disimburses money to TVM on behalf of ADRA-Denmark in as far as this project is concerned. This means ADRA-Malawi makes decisions with approval from ADRA-Denmark. Usi emphasises that the approval by DANIDA is simplified since the donor's representative from Denmark is stationed at ADRA-Malawi's office in Blantyre to ensure that DANIDA's interests are practised by both TVM and ADRA-Malawi.

Usi says ADRA-Denmark decides the magnitude of money, ceiling and frequency of funding remitted to ADRA-Malawi. This is despite the fact that ADRA-Malawi submits funding proposals to ADRA-Denmark which eventually submits the proposals to the donor, DANIDA. Usi also adds that ADRA-Denmark determines the funding ceiling remitted to ADRA-Malawi. Once DANIDA has funded ADRA-Denmark, it is at this point that the management of ADRA-Denmark in turn funds ADRA-Malawi. Further, Usi posits that ADRA-Malawi in liaison with ADRA-Denmark decides content, themes, scheduling, and amount of money to be spent on *Tikuferanji*. Then approval is sought by management from ADRA-Malawi's board of directors for policy directions.

The decision to broadcast *Tikuferanji* at peak hours was proposed to the channel by ADRA-Malawi so that donors can sample the programmes in a bid to monitor compliance given the cultural sensitivity discourses in the country. Usi observes that the programme had to be tailor-made to the interest of DANIDA to ensure that *Tikuferanji* should reach out to a wider viewership. As a result, Mvonye says TVM has had to make changes in its schedule by shifting the low paying programmes to accommodate *Tikuferanji* on the channel. Mvonye says that although TVM is mandated to either reject or allow external production as is the case with *Tikuferanji* and in order to comply with TVM's standards in terms of content and length of the episode on the channel, often times there are other external influence besides donors. He cites the influence exerted on the channel by other players apart from donors such as commercial advertisers, politicians, the administrator general, government, NGOs and the public as explicated below.

Usi reveals that at one time ADRA-Malawi came up with a special programme which was a tribute to the late First Lady of Malawi, Madame Ethel Mutharika, during the mourning period. Usi says that the director of programmes at TVM, a Mr Mphande did not allow the programme to go on air because of its political and cultural sensitivity. In the eyes of Mphande, *Tikuferanji* has always been concerned with Aids. Since the death of the First Lady was not related to Aids, Mphande declined to air the special *Tikuferanji* episode. Usi argues that Mphande might not have been aware that the

programme has had the blessing of the President of Malawi Bingu wa Mutharika through the then Minister of Information, Patricia Kaliati, MP. Usi states that the failure to air the programme on the side of TVM led to an immediate demotion and transfer of Mphande to Lilongwe for insubordination. He was then demoted to position four from position two.

Usi contends that he would want to see the relationship between TVM and ADRA-Malawi as partners and not as customers as is the perception by most TVM personnel. For instance, since ADRA-Malawi pays TVM for airtime from TVM, ADRA-Malawi is perceived by TVM as yet another client. Usi cites the relationship that exists between ADRA-Malawi and DANIDA through ADRA-Denmark. He describes such a relation as partnership although DANIDA has more say than ADRA-Malawi. Apparently, the final decision on how much money is to be funded to the Aids programmes has been always made by DANIDA after scrutinising proposals submitted by ADRA-Malawi through ADRA-Denmark. The relationship is binding through the legal contract signed between ADRA-Malawi and ADRA-Denmark. In An interview, Mbwana contends that there are also legal contracts that exist between TVM and ADRA-Malawi, TVM and NAC.

Usi posits that a contractual agreement contains guidelines that should be followed by producers and their funding sources so that adherence is followed and monitored to the letter. Further, Usi narrates that failure to adhere to these guidelines leads to the potential penalties such as funding withdrawal, programme repeats, reimbursement of the money and being sued in a competent Court of Law. This assertion by Usi concurs with what Madumuse and Chimkango observe. Usi adds that any breach of contract to either side leads to some penalties. Usi says that so far the only penalty that had been implemented is that of forcing TVM to repeat episodes at no-fee because of rescheduling without consent from DANIDA. The aim was that the programme must not be rescheduled without due approval by DANIDA through ADRA-Denmark.

In an interview, Mbwana says that there existed the first contract in 2004/5 fiscal year between TVM and ADRA-Malawi. In that contract, Aids production and broadcast of programmes were done by TVM. However, Mbwana observes that in order for the programmes to tow the donor's line of thinking, conditionalities in form of guidelines were presented in the legal contracts signed by both parties. Some of the strings attached are that producers must accept artists and participating audience as demanded by the donor. Also, the themes to be discussed in the programmes should reflect the donor's agenda. In addition, donors demanded that edited episodes by the producers

should be previewed by the donors themselves. Further, the donors have had a final say on the frequency and magnitude of money allocated to the producers for each programme.

More so, the storylines were chosen by donors and ADRA-Malawi is one such a culprit. Mbwana explains that this scenario might have been so because ADRA-Malawi is producing *Tikuferanji* in its own studios since 2005/6. As if that is not enough, Mbwana cites the presence of a representative of the donor in every production stage of the programmes from planning to implementation. Mbwana adds that ADRA-Denmark designated Madumuse as a desk officer through ADRA-Malawi to be part of the production crew at TVM in 2004/5 before she became the sole producer at ADRA-Malawi's studios which saw the final programme brought for broadcast at TVM. These were the procedures in the making of *Tikuferanji*. I now turn to the making of *Let's talk* programme since it is also funded by ADRA-Denmark.

5.6 Description of the making of Let's talk Aids programme

According to Lassen (2007: 66) and Usi, the idea of *Let's talk* programme 'started' at a meeting held in 2003 between ADRA-Denmark and ADRA-Malawi in Malawi's commercial capital Blantyre. ADRA-Malawi felt that there was need to advocate for an HIV/Aids discussion forum. As an outcome of this meeting, *Let's talk* was then created to complement *Tikuferanji*. *Let's talk* has grown and evolved during the years. Usi points out that the objective of *Let's talk* is to facilitate the exchange of knowledge, experience and ideas about prevention and problem management of HIV/Aids which include: control, care and support for the infected and affected. As such the programme aims at improving the facilitation of Aids messages between and within civil society, policy makers and other influential social actors and the population in general.

In addition, Usi stresses that some of the topics discussed in *Let's talk* programme include a syndromic approach to sexually transmitted infection (STI-clients), home based care, orphan care and support, life building skills, education as well as communication elements. Further, the programme aims at ensuring that barriers to effective "Aids prevention in Malawi have been reduced in the communities" (in Lassen 2007: 67). Also, *Let's talk* aims at creating dialogue on issues of Aids and reducing barriers of effective HIV prevention.

Usi says that the other aim of *Let's talk* is to empower people, especially the vulnerable and marginalised, in two ways: One, in psycho-social terms and two, by providing support for breaking the barriers that stand in the way of Aids prevention messages. The barriers are stigma, poverty,

discrimination and vulnerability. Furthermore, Usi posits that *Let's talk* programme attains its objectives through the involvement of vulnerable and marginalised groups in dialogue with decision-and policy makers. This also creates awareness amongst decision and policy makers on issues of concern to the general public. The beneficiary of this programme is the community at large, youths between 15 to 30 years of age, vulnerable and marginalised groups in particular.

5.6.1. Proposal to have *Let's talk* programme broadcast on TVM

In the 2004/5 fiscal year, TVM was approached by ADRA-Denmark through ADRA-Malawi about the introduction of this type of programme. Usi says at that meeting it was agreed that the programme should be broadcast on TVM. Time was allocated, duration of the programme was also established and the programme was launched in the same fiscal year. *Let's talk* is a co-production between ADRA-Malawi and TVM but costs are borne by ADRA-Malawi with funding from ADRA-Denmark.

Usi adds that *Let's talk* is an hour studio based talk show-programme with a live audience. It is aired at 1600 hours every Sunday. It is multilingual and the public is encouraged to express their views as feedback and feed forward to the Aids discourses as news and current affairs. The languages used in the programme are: English, Chichewa and Yao. Chichewa is the official language while English is the second language in Malawi and Yao is the language spoken by the majority of Malawians. Usi explains that *Let's talk* aims at encouraging citizens' participation through phone-ins, testimonies, question and answer sessions, letters to the producer and sms-text messages. If an expert is in the studio, questions are posed to the guest who in turn attempts to dish out answers. The programme attempts to enhance dialogue between the channel and its viewers hence this programme is regarded as working to enhance participatory communication.

Usi adds that *Let's talk* is also funded by ADRA-Denmark. Apart from remitting funds to TVM as airtime payment for the programme, Usi and Mvonye said that ADRA-Malawi decides on the theme and subject to be talked about. ADRA-Malawi also chooses and transports audience members to the studios at TVM. In other words the programme is masterminded by ADRA-Malawi on behalf of ADRA-Denmark. The programme is hosted by TVM personnel hence it is a co-production between TVM and ADRA-Malawi. According to Usi, ADRA-Malawi spends about MK1-million on airtime payment to TVM every year on this programme as shown in tables 2 and 3. Usi discloses that in total, about MK3-million is spent on both airtime and production costs of

this programme every three months in a year. Out of the MK3-million, MK1-million is spent on airtime payment which is one third of the total amount paid quarterly.

5.7 Description of the making of *Tikambe za edzi*

The first step in the making of *Tikambe za edzi* programme saw TVM coming up with a programme idea to start an HIV/Aids magazine programme in 2003/4 fiscal year called *Tikambe*. According to Kenson Mbwana, the then Director General for TVM, Judith Mabviko and Villant Ndasowa were the first producer and executive producer to come up with this idea. Both of them presented a joint proposal to TVM management for approval to roll out the programme. Management approved the idea and the programme started running on the channel under the name *Tikambe* meaning 'let's talk'. Mbwana says that the programme used to be broadcast every Wednesday at 2100 hours and every Saturday at 1000 hours. The times that this programme was broadcast are prime time hours at TVM. Mbwana bemoans of many repeats of *Tikambe*. The repeats were as a result of inadequate funding for the channel. The situation led to the poor quality of *Tikambe* since the channel was going through some financial difficulties.

In an interview, Mbwana says that as a result of the unpredictable funding at the channel, TVM presented a project proposal to the National Aids Commission (NAC) for funding. As a result, NAC funded *Tikambe* programme to the tune of MK40-million for a project of one year. Mbwana explains that TVM presented a proposal to NAC for it is the only recognised institution at national level entrusted with a responsibility of coordinating Aids issues. NAC is an umbrella body for Aids issues and also a funding agent for some international donors. In other words, NAC manages and disburses funds on behalf of some donors. Mbwana adds that the approval of this sum of money came with strings attached to producers by donors. The strings were that the script writers get trained to present Aids issues according to the donor's guidelines. Also, the producers should get approval for who to be auditioned and who to participate in the programme. In the end, participants were chosen with the donors' nod. The themes to be covered in the programme to also get approval from NAC's communication office just to check adherence on the donors' needs.

5.7.1. Series of meetings between TVM and NAC to map out strategies to change programme name from *Tikambe* to *Tikambe za edzi*.

Before NAC approved the aforesaid funding to TVM, there were series of meetings between TVM and NAC. In one of the meetings, NAC demonstrated to the channel how best Aids information and

statistics can be presented and represented by the media. In addition, several capacity building workshops for producers were outlined. These workshops according to Usi, Mvonye and Dr Mwale had intention to give the producer frameworks on how to reflect the interest of donors in those programmes. At this juncture, NAC demanded that the programme name should change so that donors are able to distinguish between the first *Tikambe* as produced by TVM and the brand-new *Tikambe za edzi* which is a co-production between TVM and ADRA-Malawi. Moreso the assumption was that it would be of good quality and interesting to viewers. The name *Tikambe* changed to *Tikambe za edzi* which means 'let's talk about Aids.' As the name suggests, it provides a platform to debate most of the issues related to Aids. In an interview, the Executive Director of NAC, Dr Biswic Mwale says the name *Tikambe za edzi* reflects a public sphere that permits viewers to discuss issues related to HIV infection and prevention. The other reason for changing the name was that the programme should be associated with the donors through NAC as its funding agent. Dr Mwale states that his organisation demanded from TVM to have the setting, artists, props and costumes branded with NAC logo and stickers. He adds that one demand by NAC was that the programme *Tikambe za edzi* should tow the line of the donors.

Asked how NAC can ensure adherence by TVM on towing the interest of the donors, Dr Mwale reveals that TVM is monitored for adherence to programme scheduling and content conformity. He contends that any breach of contract by TVM can lead to a stiff penalty in the event that the programme does not conform to the interests of the donors as regards Aids. At some point Dr Mwale adds that NAC withdrew funding for the making of *Tikambe za edzi*. He observes that in 2005/6 fiscal year, NAC withdrew funding from TVM which was meant to fund *Tikambe za edzi*. The withdrawal of funding for this programme came as a penalty to the public service broadcaster. In an interview, Dr Mwale reveals that to show that his organisation was not happy with the channel, NAC subcontracted a private media production house, Kings Multimedia. The subcontracting to the private company came about as a result of expressing dismay at TVM. Dr Mwale went further to explain that had there be another alternative channel, NAC would have opted for a switch to the other channel. In other words, he says no business would have been given to TVM had there be an alternative to the public broadcaster.

Dr Mwale explains that withholding funds for the programme forced TVM to request NAC to rescind its decision and vowed to handle the production of the programme in the manner that NAC wanted. Dr Mwale says that NAC rescinded its decision after suspending the channel for four months due to non-adherence to the guidelines by the donors. This means that the production of the

programme was done by the private media house Kings Multimedia as the service broadcaster was put under surveillance. During that time the programme was brought to TVM for broadcast only. The programme came back in the hands of TVM with careful monitoring by the Communications Officer of NAC. From that time up to the time of this thesis, *Tikambe za edzi* is produced and broadcast by TVM. In this case, Dr Mwale believes that besides outsourcing production of *Tikambe za edzi* from Kings Multimedia as a protest and punishment to TVM for non-compliance, themes of the programme were outlined by his organisation, NAC.

Dr Mwale says that the programme aims at spreading HIV/Aids sexual attitude and behaviour change messages to the people of Malawi. He insists that the programme act as a public sphere in its approach to harbour liberal and democratic principles to allow viewers to participate in the programme. He says that the programme caters for contemporary issues as regards HIV/Aids which is why the programme does not limit issues to be discussed for as long as it is in the interest of the donors, state and the public. The other reason is to ensure that the programme reaches out to a wider audience. Dr Mwale further posits that in order to reach out to a wider audience, the programme accommodates any available format of broadcasting be it news and current affairs, panel discussions, documentaries, music, talk-show, quiz, hymn, kids storytelling, sport, drama, traditional healers, spiritual songs and folklores. He also argues that the programme accommodates different but controversial contesting discourses. This means that the discussions under this programme were not limited to the interests of donors but also producers who represented the public. Although as Dr Mwale mentions, the contract signed between NAC and TVM had clauses that barred claims about a cure for Aids but emphasis should be put on HIV preventive messages. This means that the strings attached to the producers by donors as regards contents of *Tikambe za edzi* were to an extent democratic and liberal in its approach.

As if that is not enough, Dr Mwale discloses that relatively liberal approach to this programme can be attributed to the ideologies of the West such as the USA and Europe, the United Kingdom, Sweden and Canada. He says USA has been the major donor. In 2007, USA accounted for more than 40% of funding disbursements towards Aids epidemic (www.avert.org/aids-funding.htm). Since the donors were from each other in terms of cultural values and backgrounds, the programme articulates different democratic values. For instance, Denmark apart from the religious affiliations through ADRA-Denmark, it is a pretty liberal country just as the USA. Notably though, the programme promotes a wide range of topics discussed such as topics that go against ones culture and religious affiliation. Dr Mwale cites the culture of openness practised in the programme. He

illustrates that the talk of sex stories between a son and a mother in Malawi as a taboo since culturally, it is only the son's aunt who is designated to talk sexual issues but not his mother. Likewise, Dr Mwale adds that sexual issues cannot be debated explicitly between a mother and daughter in-law. The programme *Tikambe za edzi* was considered liberal in Malawi according to Dr Mwale since the donors allow the producers to ponder at different topics regardless of one's cultural beliefs.

In addition, some of the strings that Dr Mwale cites are that NAC on behalf of the thirteen donors attached six strings to its funding. These are the conditionalities on how the programme should be handled at TVM in order to reflect the donors' agenda. He believes one of such demands is that the producer after gathering the footage should liaise with NAC's Communication Officer to verify whether or not the visuals are those that are within the donor's mandate. Two, for every programme that goes on air, it has to be viewed, censored and approved by NAC. Third, the use of NAC logo has to be conspicuous as a set of the programme must carry the logo sticker NAC. Four, do not use the vehicles, cameras procured by NAC for any other function not related to Aids. Five, no funds must be diverted into any other activity apart from what was in the contract. Six, monthly reports must be produced quarterly and separate expenditure financial accounts be operated and audited timely.

On his part, the national co-ordinator for the media watchdog of the MISA-Malawi Chapter which is also known as the National Media Institute of Southern Africa (NAMISA) criticises both the producers and the financiers of *Tikambe za edzi*. He says *Tikambe za edzi* leans more on the social marketing of the reproductive health products such as the use of contraceptives than promotion of treatment and a cure for Aids messages. He urges producers to focus on content that have relevant Aids cultural messages so that Malawians can get associated with the messages in the programmes. Chitosi contends that the contents of Aids programmes expurgate those living with Aids as they are considered the other through discriminatory languages such as victims or those with *matenda a boma* literary meaning Aids is a 'government disease.' He adds that only then viewers would feel part and parcel of the programmes, the Aids messages could have enormous impact of the HIV prevention. Chitosi advises producers to come up with home-bred Aids programmes that reflect Malawians' needs. He stresses that it was easy to be influenced by the donors as financiers of the programme. Chitosi believes that with Aids programming depending on donors, it was likely that producers would come up with programmes to please their masters, the money sources. He

therefore suggests that the channel should have a stable funding in order to avoid manipulation by the financiers.

3. How do you balance donors and PSB interest?

The study found out that donors' interest were sometimes in conflict with the principles of PSB. For example the donors provided a standardised format for the programmes that the National Aids Commission (NAC) could fund. Donors had more power to decide the construction of the messages and the times they were broadcast as well as whom to feature on the programmes because they funded the programmes. Donor's power over TVM also came from the fact they decided on the funding ceiling, the choice of which programme to fund the type of messages, the time of the broadcasts and the duration of the programmes. In addition, donors monitored how the money was spent by the producers. This means once producers have received money from donors, they (producers) are under obligation to explain in detail expenditures of the projects. Even though the donors intention for providing stringent controls was to prevent corruption and mismanagement of the funds but the producers were prone to dance to the tune of the donors more than to the progress of the fight against the Aids disease. In short, the producers hands are tied up and they could not exploit their creative talent. Some donors, for instance, ADRA-Denmark have an expatriate who is also a monitoring and evaluation officer stationed at ADRA-Malawi's headquarters in Blantyre, Malawi. The study found out that the donors dictated that 60% of the money be allocated to project implementation and 40% of the funding on administration.

i) *Are there any conflicts on what messages to privilege?*

The study found out that at times there was no consensus between the donors and TVM producers on which themes to privilege in the programmes. TVM producers preferred Aids messages that privileged Aids treatment to be more privileged than prevention messages. The producers pointed out that although behaviour change messages were important they were difficult to simplify and translate into local culture as there were no language equivalences. The study also found out that *Tikuferanji* articulates Aids messages from a religious point of view with an emphasis on abstinence messages. The study also found out that unlike *Tikuferanji* which emphasised on abstinence and "be faithful" to a partner messages to prevent HIV infection, *Tikambe za edzi* articulates more on the promotion, use and sale of contraceptives than abstinence messages. The study discovered that the difference in message emphasis was due to the donors' different

backgrounds. Because of the religious underpinnings of the themes, the construction of the messages tended to avoid explicit sex language as it is perceived taboo on religious grounds. The study also found out that since *Tikuferanji* and *Let's talk* are sponsored by a religious NGO- (ADRA-Denmark through ADRA-Malawi), pronouncement of contraceptives is against their beliefs. One could argue that the donors' complemented each other due to the different thematic emphasis on their messages. As pointed out earlier, thirteen international donors led by the USA which funded *Tikambe za edzi* put emphasis on the condom sale and use to prevent the spread of HIV infection to the people of Malawi. But seen differently, one could also argue that there was the danger that viewers could be confused which messages to follow.

The producers pointed out that the influx of Aids messages at TVM in different programmes distorted the viewers understanding of HIV/Aids. They argue that if TVM had a sound and stable budget, these programmes would be produced and controlled by the producers at the channel. This would have given an upper hand for the producers to package and control content of the Aids messages in the programmes than as it is at the moment.

Another key finding was that donors had mechanisms and penalties to ensure that TVM complied with the donors' requirements including ordering that the programme be off air. For example when the study was being conducted ADRA-Malawi, the sponsors of *Let's talk* programme had taken it off air due to disagreements on how much to pay. TVM was demanding that the donors pay commercial rates which meant that the donors were to pay more which they were not willing to do so. Due to lack of money, TVM gave in to the donors demands that they be allowed to pay for the Aids programmes at rates lower than the commercial rates. The donors argued that TVM as a public service broadcaster was supposed to consider Aids programmes as developmental in nature that could not be charged at the same rate as advertisements. The donors further argued that it was the Government of Malawi to provide the programmes free of charge to citizens and that donors were only partners in development helping out a cash strapped government.

ii) *Do donors penalise TVM?*

The study found out that the penalties included: suspension from receiving funding from the donors and their funding agencies such as NAC, or completely being blacklisted and deregistered (www.nationmw.net). On respondent, Dr Mwale listed some of the organisations that were penalised due to financial mismanagement and breach of contract. The organisations are: Youth

Network and Counselling (YONECO) for poor performance, Medici de Monde (Canadian roots) for poor performance, Youth Council of Malawi and Ministry of Sports and Culture. These organisations were expected to pay back the money or face court proceedings. Dr Mwale revealed that there was an audit of almost a thousand youth organisations including all assemblies which were carried out. Out of these, 250 beneficiaries were suspended and only one assembly survived the chop.

ADRA-Denmark through Ms Anja Larsen, an expatriate who is also the monitoring and evaluation officer, revealed that DANIDA pulled out funding from some projects elsewhere in sub-Saharan Africa but not in Malawi (DD1). This was so because recipients could not adhere to the strings attached by DANIDA as a result they breached the legally binding contracts (DD2). She contended that what followed is that DANIDA pulled out funding from the intended projects in areas of health, Aids, agriculture and education as a result most projects hit a snag. The penalty of withdrawing funding affected the systematic communication of the Aids content, programmes scheduling and programming in general. In particular the study found out that the contracts between donors and TVM state that each party should adhere to contractual agreement such as programme duration, scheduling, language and that communication of any changes must be made in good time to either party (TP4). TVM producers and directors also revealed that the funding agencies, ADRA-Malawi and TVM had to meet often to review their contractual agreements and evaluate programming. ADRA-Malawi used its communications and advocacy officer, Ms Madumuse, who is also the producer for *Tikuferanji* to monitor performance of Aids programmes on TVM. The directors of ADRA-Malawi and TVM said both sides were willing to adhere to the strings of the contract but hastened to mention that sometimes political interference was unavoidable. For example in some cases *Tikuferanji* scheduling could be delayed to pave way for a presidential speech or political programme. On its part, TVM is supposed to make sure that it maintains the agreed content, programme duration as well as the technical requirements of the programme are adhered to.

The study also found out that the directors are a signatory to cheques that are paid to TVM and act as technical advisers to the programmes. In addition, the donors established a monitoring office in their funding agencies to ensure strict adherence to guidelines by TVM. For instance ADRA-Malawi monitors the programmes through observation by its communications department and seconded its programmes director as its technical advisor to TVM. NAC monitors the implementation of the contract of the Aids programmes broadcast on behalf of the thirteen

international donors. NAC's monitoring is done in two ways: the first scenario is during the development of the programme idea, when NAC sets up a monitoring system to review the programmes. The second scenario is monitoring when the programmes are on air, through its communications officer NAC checks for TVM's adherence to contractual agreements.

iii) *What would happen if there is non-adherence of the programmes?*

Usi, a respondent who works for ADRA-Malawi cited a case of non-adherence by TVM when the station failed to air *Tikuferanji* programme meant to coincide with the mourning period of the death of the late First Lady Madame Ethel Mutharika's (incumbent President's late wife). According to Usi, a Mr Mphande, who was the then director of programmes feared that dedicating a *Tikuferanji* programme to the death of Ethel Mutharika (the First Lady) could be misconstrued for political favouritism. However, this did not go down well with Usi, who pursued the matter through the Minister of Information-Patricia Kaliati. The Minister demoted the producer from position two to four on the TVM organogram. The study found out that the producer refused to associate the programme with the death of Ethel because he felt it was inappropriate since *Tikuferanji* is associated with Aids and that airing a tribute of the late First Lady would imply that the death circumstances are related to HIV (*sic*). The producer said he later learnt that President Bingu wa Mutharika had actually sanctioned the programmes to be broadcast as current affairs. According to Usi, by not broadcasting the already pre-packaged programme ADRA-Malawi lost MK350, 000.00 incurred as the production process of the programme. Usi argued that since it was a special programme, more of a tribute, there was no relevance in broadcasting the programme once the mourning period was over. Meanwhile, a DANIDA respondent said DANIDA did not penalise TVM because it was conversant with such problems of public television broadcasting in developing countries. As can be deduced, the local NGO-ADRA Malawi penalised TVM for non-adherence as compared to the international donor, DANIDA which was not yet decided on what to do with TVM at the time of research.

iv) *Are donors flexible with their funding?*

Usi and Dr Mwale concurred that the terms of the funding was not flexible once agreed upon because the funds were released for specific purposes. The two respondents pointed out that if for some reasons TVM had to change the scheduling of any of the programmes, TVM would have to communicate in writing explaining the reasons for the changes to donors so that the donors would

not lose their confidence. TVM was supposed to communicate the reasons for rescheduling in advance before the day the programme was supposed to be broadcast. Usi pointed out that TVM was under strict orders from donors not to divert project funds until consent is obtained from the donors. The study also found out that ADRA-Malawi agreed to provide TVM with vehicles to be used for field work including the collection of Aids programmes footage as way of making sure that TVM does not use the money for car hiring.

v) *What are the impacts of the messages?*

Producers, donors and NGOs agreed that Aids programmes broadcast by TVM had positive impact to Malawians as the “infection rate decreased from 15.0% in 1999 and 14.0% in 2005” (NAC 2007: 2). Moreover the deaths caused by the disease also decreased by 75% in comparison with the Aids-related deaths in 2003/2004 (www.nationmw.net). Although the NGOs and producers argued that attitude and behaviour change were difficult to measure, one could use the decrease in the rate of infections to argue that positive changes were being achieved. The donors insisted that the content of the Aids programmes were culturally sensitive to local cultures hence the positive results. The producers of the programmes said they knew that viewers were following their programmes through letters to the producer, market street talks, lunch-break-talks and viewers phone calls.

vi) *What do donors pay for?*

The study found out that donors provide funds to meet the production and operation costs of the HIV/Aids programmes. For example NAC ensures that television producers are mentored to understand and appreciate the donors’ agenda and objectives and how the programmes were supposed to be presented. The donors argued that this induction process was necessary in order to share with television producers the facets of Aids and the impact it has on the Malawi economy and the different sectors of development. The donors also said they used the training workshops to share with TVM producers the global picture of Aids and research work that is ongoing and the challenges that these programmes are facing. The donors concurred that the aim was to allow the donors and television producers to discuss what was really happening in the Aids arena. Some of the money given to TVM was to procure cars, cameras and other equipment to be used by TVM in the production of Aids programmes. Dr Mwale says donors partnered with TVM in the fight against HIV/Aids with conviction that the availability of the mentioned facilities would help in mitigating HIV infection.

The money from the donors was also used meet the cost of shooting, editing and writing of treatment scripts as well as previewing the episodes. In this context, for example in the case of *Tikuferanji* programme. TVM only earns money through airtime sales for commercial advertisements broadcast in between the programme. For example, if *Tikuferanji* programme is expected to be on air for an hour, TVM will be allowed to use only 5 minutes for commercials. When production was done at ADRA-Malawi, NAC still funded the training workshops for TVM producers. Donor's money also went into securing the intellectual property of the programmes and as such even TVM would not air the programmes without consent from the donors.

vii) *What are the differences between Tikuferanji, Let's talk and Tikambe za edzi?*

In order to compare *Tikuferanji*, *Let's talk* and *Tikambe za edzi* programmes, this section discusses the funding and making of these three programmes. The comparison emerges from their funding, accountability of the money and decisions processes in the making and funding of these programmes. The money earmarked by DANIDA through ADRA-Denmark and the thirteen donors through NAC for the attitude and behaviour change messages at TVM was used in the making and broadcasting of *Tikuferanji*, *Let's talk* and *Tikambe za edzi*. The first two programmes were funded by ADRA-Denmark, an international NGO that subscribes to the teachings of the Adventist Church, according to Chitosi. Chitosi contends that since most religious institutions such as Adventist and Catholics do not subscribe to the use of condoms and other contraceptives, both programmes do not talk about the use contraceptives in family planning. He posits that is the reason why producers for *Tikuferanji* and *Let's talk* programmes do not mention anything to do with contraceptives as a way of HIV prevention in Malawi. In other words the money from ADRA-Denmark according to Chitosi has got a certain way of presenting the attitude and behaviour change messages by not mentioning anything to do with contraceptives such as condoms and pills. I now turn to the comparison of the programmes in terms of the contents.

5.8 Differences of the programmes in terms of content

The differences can be seen in terms of their differences in terms of who the donors are. As such the main distinction is how the funding worked for two different donors who have been financing *Tikuferanji* and *Let's talk* and *Tikambe za edzi* programme which was sponsored by another donor. *Tikuferanji* was sponsored by DANIDA through ADRA-Denmark while *Tikambe za edzi* is financed by thirteen international donors via NAC. As Chitosi observes, the programmes that are

sponsored by ADRA-Denmark, its contents are devoid of patronising services of contraceptives. Chitosi notes that most of the contents of both categories of programmes put emphasis on abstinence of sex and be faithful to one sexual partner as a best way of HIV prevention. To the contrary, *Tikambe za edzi* include messages of encouraging safe sex messages such as the use of contraceptives. Chitosi argues that these differences in the content of the programmes are as a result of the different background of donors. He says the first two programmes follow a religious direction such as that of Adventism just like their counterpart Catholics which does not recognise the promotion of the usage of condoms.

There are also similarities in the way donor money was used by the producers. For instance, the money from both ADRA-Denmark and NAC was used in the collection of footage throughout the country, buying tapes, allowances for the producers and participants: such as studio live audiences and artists. Usi stresses that the money from ADRA-Denmark was also used for the payment of airtime and purchase of fuel. This contention concurs with what Dr Mwale referred to the money from NAC which was spent in the production and broadcast processes of *Tikambe za edzi*. Dr Mwale explains that TVM spent the money on the purchase of television accessories such as tapes, editing suites, cameras, laptops, software, television sets and projectors for video screening. On his part, Mbwana argues that the channel used part of the money from the donors through NAC to purchase a vehicle in order to ease the task of footage collection by producers. Unlike ADRA-Denmark that offers its vehicles to be used for footage collection by TVM, NAC buys the vehicles as part for TVM but should have the programmes and vehicles branded with NAC logo and stickers.

On another note, both projects sponsored by ADRA-Denmark and NAC are similar in that the messages to be talked about relate to Aids discourses and that the programmes must be aired on prime times. That means both ADRA-Denmark and the thirteen donors through NAC are interested in maximising viewership. It is in this vein that Dr Mwale contends that his organisation is interested in *Tikambe za edzi* broadcast on peak hours. He adds that producers in *Tikambe za edzi* are given liberty to criticise the themes and subjects as suggested by donors in order to localise Aids messages so that relevance is registered for the Malawi viewers. Dr Mwale explains that NAC's donors are liberal and are secularly-oriented unlike those donors of *Tikuferanji* and *Let's talk* whose faith-based beliefs play a part. Of course this does not mean that Denmark is not secularised. It is only that the money comes through a Seventhday-Christian NGO ADRA-Denmark to another Seventhday-Christian local NGO, ADRA-Malawi. On his part Mbwana explains that this

could be the reason why *Tikambe za edzi* programme usually takes a format of news and current affairs so that the programme responds to contemporary issues as regards Aids. *Tikuferanji* takes the genre of drama with specific themes and storylines developed by the donors. I now turn to the comparison of *Tikuferanji*, *Let's talk* and *Tikambe za edzi* programmes in terms of funding.

5.8.1. Comparison of the programmes in terms of funding

First, in 2004/5 fiscal year, Pie Charts 1, 2 and 3 have shown that five HIV/Aids donor funded programmes contributed to 12% of the total amount of funding at TVM. Three out of five programmes are: *Tikuferanji*, *Let's talk* and *Tikambe za edzi*. These programmes contributed to 10% of the total budget that fiscal year. In the following year, the three programmes contributed to 5% of the total budget at TVM. This is a drop of 5% from the previous year. One of the reasons for such a fall in revenue is that the production costs of *Tikuferanji* shifted hands from TVM to ADRA-Malawi. This means more money went to ADRA-Malawi which was used for the production of the programme than the airtime payment effected to TVM. In 2006 fiscal year, the three programmes contributed to 10% of the total TVM annual budget. This is a rise of 10 % from the previous fiscal year. The rise came about due to the funding of *Tikambe za edzi* which brought MK10-million to the channel. This was the first time for the channel to get such a huge amount of money on one programme. The money came from thirteen foreign donors as development aid to Malawi.

Second, in terms of how the money was spent, in the 2004/5 fiscal year, ADRA-Denmark spent the money in funding the making of these programmes as the production costs and airtime payment were done by donors directly to the channel as illustrated by Pie Charts 1, 2 and 3. However, in the two years that followed, the money given by ADRA-Denmark was spent in payment of airtime only for the broadcast of the programmes at the channel although we cannot see this when we look at the money received by TVM. This is the reason why in the 2004/5 fiscal year, there was a 10% contribution by these three programmes which was reduced by 5% in the following year and rose to 10% in the third fiscal year. The fall in total contribution to the budget by these three programmes came about as a result of the withdrawal of payment for production costs to TVM by ADRA-Denmark since the producer ADRA-Malawi are using its own studios in the making of *Tikuferanji*. Since *Let's talk* is studio based with a live audience, it is a co-production between ADRA-Malawi and TVM. Third, is the comparison of these programmes in terms of how decisions were made by both producers and their money sources.

5.8.2. Comparison in terms of decision making processes

In separate interviews, Usi, Dr Mwale and Mbwana contend that there were some levels of consultation between producers and donors. For instance, in *Tikuferanji* and *Let's talk* programmes, Usi explains that ADRA-Denmark involved TVM through ADRA-Malawi in the planning, budgeting and broadcast processes of both categories of the programmes. He adds that ADRA-Malawi brought TVM to a round table discussion as regards its media strategy. Several decisions were made at that meeting. ADRA-Malawi discussed with TVM reasons to expand their advocacy programme through *Tikuferanji* radio play on MBC Radio 1 and added the drama *Tikuferanji* on TVM. The outcome of that meeting saw both TVM and ADRA-Malawi adjusting their policies in order to accommodate the input of the meeting. Thus, as a result of their meeting ADRA-Malawi and TVM as producers presented the amendments to ADRA-Denmark and government respectively. Therefore such involvement in the programme making and funding by both parties: TVM and ADRA-Malawi showed some participatory levels of decision making of the making and funding of *Tikuferanji* and *Let's talk* Aids programmes.

Similarly, decision making in as far as *Tikambe za edzi* is concerned, was that TVM first saw the need to have the programme *Tikambe*. Since the failure to approve the channel's budget in two consecutive fiscal years from 2006 by Parliament contributed to the financial crisis, TVM had no option but to present a project proposal to NAC. NAC approved the proposal and funded the channel with MK40-million that financial year. TVM was invited for a meeting with NAC and guidelines were given to the channel through a legally binding contract that was signed between NAC and TVM. In his view, Chitosi describes such training workshops as intended to manipulate producers' mindset on what type of information to be released in the programmes and who to interview. Chitosi posits that the workshops emphasised on the need to have the programmes broadcast on fine prime times in order to reach out to a wider audience.

viii) *Who selects the themes that are discussed on the programmes?*

The respondents concurred that all the themes and issues discussed on the programmes are prescribed by the donors who sponsor the particular HIV/Aids programmes.

As Mbwana and Dr Mwale put it: The donors give TVM a template of the issues they want to be discussed before they provide the funding. In fact the donors take all the producers and presenters of the HIV/Aids programmes for a workshop on how they want such programmes to be conducted.

The fourth question was:

4. What happens if the presenter deviates from the scripts provided by the donors?

The respondents were unanimous in their answers to the above questions.

As Mvonye points out:

“We have a precedence of one presenter: Gladys Gandali who invited a traditional healer popularly known as Dr Chambe on the *Tikambe* programme. The traditional healer claimed that he had concoctions in form of herbs that could treat Aids patients. The donors protested and stopped funding the programme. Not only that, the donors also threatened to withhold development aid to Malawi. So it’s a straight jacket”.

Chimkango, Mbwana, Dr Mwale & Michael Usi add that ADRA-Malawi has set conditions for the airing of the programmes should be on mini DVcam or Betacam formats. The donors demanded that *Tikuferanji* be run at finest prime times. ADRA-Malawi also requires that the programme schedules be advertised on TVM adequately.

5. Do you think the programme is achieving its objectives?

Dr Mwale explained that *Tikuferanji* would have more impact to the people if footage was collected from most parts of the country. Since the people featured on the programmes are from urban areas as some media reports indicate that people in the rural areas are not well covered and consulted in the programmes hence the impact is minimal. This is compounded by the high illiteracy level Malawi is in.

ix) *Why is TVM failing to influence the programming?*

Dr Mwale and Larsen said that TVM has inadequate funds to broadcast the Aids messages in the public interest. Both added that it was not a secret that some traditional sponsors stopped providing money to TVM alleging that it favoured the ruling political party.

Mbwana adds:

In 2003, TVM started broadcasting an HIV/Aids programme called *Tikambe*. TVM could not broadcast the programme for a year because of lack of money. Second, the Malawian

Parliament rejected the budget proposal that was also meant to cover the Aids programmes. On the other side ADRA-Malawi has had adequate funds and negotiated an agreement with TVM that they will fund the production costs and payment for airtime. ADRA-Malawi also pledged vehicles to facilitate outside filming including the making of news, current affairs and documentaries.

One should also point out that TVM is the only free-to-air national broadcaster and licensed as a public service broadcaster (PSB). As such it is the only television channel that HIV/Aids campaigners can broadcast to the viewers in Malawi. Donor aid in HIV/Aids activities also helps TVM to fulfil its role in civic education. Above all some people believe the HIV/Aids messages when they are broadcast on TVM because they believe that their elected Government is credible in the eyes of the right thinking members of the society.

x) *Why did you choose television as the medium for communicating HIV/Aids messages?*

Anja Larsen and Dr Mwale concurred that it is easier for people to make meaning out of a television picture than to read a newspaper or listen to a radio. Both agree that since the majority of the people in Malawi are illiterate, it is impossible for them to read and write. They add that although the illiterate can listen to a radio, there are language barriers as most radios prefer English to vernacular languages. In television, the visual means a thousand words and hence the message retention is higher than in radio and newspaper.

Some of the respondents believe that television codes including pictures, sound, words and animation are capable of convincing people to believe those messages. As they say in local Chichewa language-*kalowa kayaza* 'show me the evidence of what has come to stay and I will believe.'

5.9 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed broader structural conditions experiences, political economy structural context represented in tables 2-3 and Pie Charts 1-3. Also, the chapter described the making and funding of Aids programmes and dwelt much on the comparison and contrast of programmes in terms of content and decision making processes. The chapter has also highlighted the interview techniques in order to mine answers from respondents. In-depth interviews were also discussed.

6. CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses findings of the research and the recommendations for future studies. It starts from the premise that argues that the political economy theory states that the contents of the media and the meanings carried by their messages are largely influenced by the economic base of the organisation in which they are produced (Curran & Gurevitch *et al.* 1982). This is the gist of this thesis as the findings have investigated the power relations between Aids television producers and donors. Political economy as Chandler (1998) argues deal with control, ownership and dominance over decision making processes in production. It is in this light that the study interrogated the making and funding of Aids programmes broadcast by TVM from 2004 to 2007. The study has gained an insight into the socio-economic power relationships of HIV/Aids funding and programming at a public television in a developing country, Malawi.

6.2 Summary of findings

The study established that donor funding activity in Aids programming at TVM between 2004 and 2007 increased considerably as deduced from tables 2-3 and Pie Charts 1-3 in chapter five of this thesis. TVM had seven Aids programmes dependant on donor money. Apparently these were the only Aids programmes broadcast by TVM. In general, government funding decreased.

The donor-dependent Aids programmes at TVM paved way for donor dominance as the channel adhered to the donor's interest. Failure to adhere to the strings attached to the donor money meant automatic withdrawal of donor funding to TVM and Malawi as a country. The withholding of donor money would therefore lead to poor quality of Aids programming which could lead into little impact of HIV/Aids prevention communication to the people. The dominance of donors in the content output of the programmes came about through programme schedules, funding magnitude, frequency of funding, funding ceiling, capacity building, deciding who to interview on what subject, type of themes and processes of accountability in decision making as well as the production costs of the programmes.

6.3 Key findings of this study include that:

Television Malawi (TVM) HIV/Aids producers avoided using information which could offend donors and force them to stop funding the programmes;

Both the donors and TVM producers believed that the availability of reliable funding to Aids programmes increased the chances of good quality and quantity of the programmes;

HIV/Aids producers avoided controversial Aids content in the programmes for profit maximisation;

Donors selected programme scheduling slots for HIV/Aids programmes in order to maximise audience size (see Appendix 11);

The relationships between producers and donors shows pull and push in the Aids programming. Thus producers are pulling together information from various sources while donors are pushing their agendas and frames of their own understanding of development into the channel with minimal consultation with producers and that the interface between the public service role of TVM and the aims of donors' was minimal;

The study has established that donor funding at TVM lead to erosion of basic values of public service broadcasting (PSB) such as production of programmes without vested commercial and political interests. Also, the PSB principle of universality of appeal through wide programme range which includes interests of low-income groups such as children, farmers, old people and vulnerable minorities is lost. Donor funding logic advocates for programming that draws viewers with disposable powers to make and legislate policies in this view.

Another PSB principle which is sacrificed as a result of donor funding at TVM is programming for citizenship, which usually involves controversial issues and commitment to fair play and provision of balanced information. One could argue that donor funding at TVM led the broadcaster to give "crude" statistics about Aids epidemic without considering the cultural aspect of the viewers. This is so because donors yield more power in decision making than the public service broadcaster, TVM.

6.4 Aims of the messages

Generally put, the HIV/Aids messages are focussed on sexual attitude and behaviour change. The aim of the programming is to have a healthy nation free from HIV infections. This premised on the political economy and communication for development notions which argue that only a healthy people can be productive and speed up the economic growth of Malawi. The study found out that the donors preferred Aids prevention to Aids treatment messages.

6.5 Recommendations

TVM should have a policy on how they can reduce overwhelming influence of donors. The policy should articulate how TVM can retain its PSB integrity and independence.

TVM must allow private independent producers to make HIV/Aids programmes and compete with donor made programmes. TVM must try to produce at least one HIV/Aids programme on its own. TVM must not give all the peak hours to the donors only as this can be argued to be unfair to other programmes aired on the same station. TVM must also produce simplified HIV/Aids programmes for children below the age of 15 as donors' messages target the 15-49 age groups.

The messages must also focus on vulnerable groups such as old people, farmers who are also burdened with a responsibility of looking after orphans due to the deaths of their parents because of the pandemic.

6.6 Future research

This research is limited to giving an overview of the dominance of development aid logic in Aids programming at TVM. This has been done through an investigation into the power relationship between television producers and donors as they interface during the production process of Aids programming. Future research can take the ethnographic study approach to find out the impact of donor funded HIV/Aids on TVM viewers. Since television broadcasting is not an end in itself, there is need to investigate the social implications of mixed funding system of PSB on minority interests, for instance people living with Aids (PLWAs), informal educationists, children and farmers. Such study might include what could be articulated in Aids content for the programmes to have an effective means of further reducing HIV infection in Malawi. This thesis only offers a partial understanding of the influence of donor funding in Aids programming. There is need for additional research to examine all aspects of donor funding in all the programming at TVM including a detailed feasibility of alternative funding systems to TVM.

6.7 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed findings of the research and have made recommendations for future research. The discussion centred on the political economy approach as applied to public service broadcasting (PSB) and informed by communication for development theories. Key findings

have been presented as illustrated in tables 2-3 and Pie Charts 1-3. The chapter establishes that HIV/Aids messages at TVM are focussed on the prevention rather than treatment of the disease. It also concludes that an HIV free nation is regarded a health nation and can have a workforce to accelerate the socio-economic development of a nation.

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Appendix 1

Questionnaire

My name is Rodrick Mulonya from the School of Journalism & Media Studies at Rhodes University in South Africa. I am conducting a research examining how political and economic pressures inform notions of donor-funded HIV/Aids programmes in public service broadcasting (PSB) of Malawi. Your responses will be for academic purposes. Neither your name nor any other information that could identify you will be used in the final report without consent.

1. How much money do the donors put towards the funding for HIV/Aids on TVM?
2. What is the process involved in making *Tikuferanji?* (Why are we dying?), *Let's talk programmes* and *Tikambe za edzi?*
3. How do you balance donors and the public service broadcasting interest: Who selects themes discussed in the programmes? Who scouts for artists and participants to appear in the programmes?
4. What happens if the presenter deviates from the scripts provided by the donors?
5. Do you think the programmes are achieving their objectives?
6. Why is TVM failing to influence HIV/Aids programming as a public service broadcaster?
7. Why did you choose TVM which regarded as a public service broadcaster (PSB) as a medium for communicating HIV/Aids messages in English, Yao and Chichewa Languages?

Thank you.

TVM DAILY SCHEDULES
WEDNESDAY
28/07/04

TIME	PROGRAM	IN POINT	OUT POINT	DUR	SOURCE	PRODUCER
	BBC/ VOA/ Africa Network		Live		Satellite	
07:00	TVM News		Repeat	27:00		News & Current Aff.
07:30	Youth Magazine			27:00	2 nd TX	Tamara
08:00	DWTV News	DWT	Live	1hr	Satellite	
09:00	BBC/ VOA/ Africa Network		Live		Satellite	
	Programme Line Up			01:00	Graphics	
18:00	Nkhani Mwachindunji		Recorded	25:00		Chichewa Desk
	Inde Bank Promo	00:00:11:00	00:00:44:00	00:33	Promo	
	AD: ARET English	06:00:00:00	06:02:23:16	02:23	Commercial	
18:30	Decentralization	02:00:00:00	02:13:55:06	13:55	Commercial	
	Nkhani Promo	00:00:00:00	00:00:52:00	00:52	Promo	
	Business News Promo	00:00:58:05	00:02:25:18	01:27	Promo	
	Izeki ndi Jakobo Promo	00:02:26:13	00:03:26:23	01:00	Promo	
	Algebra Made Easy Promo	05:00:00:00	05:00:27:01	00:27	Promo	
	Ear Eye Promo	00:03:57:00	00:05:35:18	01:38		
	AD: ARET Chichewa	05:00:00:00	05:02:12:10	02:12	Commercial	
	AD: Palmolive	00:00:12:00	00:01:00:00	00:48	Commercial	
18:55	Chibuku Tikiti Ya Mwai	00:01:16:00	00:06:21:10	05:05	Commercial	
19:00	KICC - The positive Power of God's Favour	10:30:00:00	10:57:56:08	27:56	Commercial	
	AD: Colgate Herbal	00:00:00:00	00:00:31:00	00:31	Commercial	
	AD: Darling	00:02:33:22	00:03:43:10	01:20	Commercial	
	AD: Lifebouy			00:60	Commercial	
19:30	Music Splash			27:00	Commercial	Tamara Mkandawire
	AD: ELMA High School	01:01:00:15	01:02:07:03	01:07	Commercial	
	AD: ESKOM- Aids	00:36:59:22	00:37:21:17	00:22	Commercial	
20:00	TVM News- AD: Surf and Geisha Mid News		Recorded	30:00		News & Current Aff
	Weather Update			02:00		Met Dpt- Chileka
	AD: NAC- Footballer	00:00:06:00	00:00:55:15	00:50	Commercial	
	AD: Mega Gospel Show				Commercial	
	AD: U-Fresh Mpatali	00:02:51:00			Commercial	
20:30	Tikutiranji			13:00	Commercial	Sweeny
	AD: ARET English	06:00:00:00	06:02:23:16	02:23	Commercial	
20:45	Grab A nap			13:00	1 st TX	Gloria/ Beat
	AD: Colgate Herbal	00:00:00:00	00:00:31:00	00:31	Commercial	
	Algebra Made Easy Promo	05:00:00:00	05:00:27:01	00:27	Promo	
21:00	Nkhani Mwachindunji		Recorded	25:00		Chichewa Desk
	AD: Palmolive	00:00:12:00	00:01:00:00	00:48	Commercial	
	AD: ARET Chichewa	05:00:00:00	05:02:12:10	02:12	Commercial	
	Nkhani Promo	00:00:00:00	00:00:52:00	00:52	Promo	
21:30	BBC/ VOA/ Africa Network		Live		Satellite	

Schedules:.....*NM*.....Nellie
Commercial:.....*J*.....
FCC:.....*J*.....

D G

TVM DAILY SCHEDULES
WEDNESDAY
11/08/04

TIME	PROGRAM	IN POINT	OUT POINT	DUR	SOURCE	PRODUCER
	BBC/ VOA/ Africa Network		Live		Satellite	
07:00	TVM News		Repeat	27:00		News & Current Aff.
07:30	Youth Magazine	01:00:00:00	01:25:45:01	25:45	2 nd TX	Tamara
08:00	DWTV News	DWT	Live	1hr	Satellite	
09:00	BBC/ VOA/ Africa Network		Live		Satellite	
11:30	Mwaswera Variety Show		Recorded	0hr30	Repeat	
	Today's Line Up			01:00	Graphics	
18:00	Nkhani Mwachindunji		Recorded	25:00		Chichewa Desk
	Nkhani Promo	00:00:00:00	00:00:52:00	00:52	Promo	
	Business News Promo	00:00:58:05	00:02:25:18	01:27	Promo	
	Izeki ndi Jakobo Promo	00:02:26:13	00:03:26:23	01:00	Promo	
	Algebra Made Easy Promo	05:00:00:00	05:00:27:01	00:27	Promo	
18:30	Decentralization				Commercial	
18:45	Izeki ndi Jakobo	01:00:00:00	01:16:55:08	16:55	1 st TX03of03	
19:00	KICC - The Word Of God - Part 1	10:00:00:00	10:28:00:15	28:00	Commercial	
	AD: Cash Build- English	03:02:36:21	03:03:37:01	01:01	Commercial	
19:30	Music Splash	02:00:00:00	02:28:52:18	28:52	Commercial	Geoffrey
	AD: ELMA High School	01:01:00:15	01:02:07:03	01:07	Commercial	
20:00	TVM News- AD: Surf and Geisha Mid News		Recorded	30:00		News & Current Aff
	Weather Update			02:00		Met Dpt- Chileka
	AD: Cash Build- Chichewa	03:00:02:00	03:01:09:23	01:07	Commercial	
	AD: NAC- Chief Chikumbu	04:00:00:00	04:01:00:03	01:00	Commercial	
	AD: U-Fresh Mpatali	00:02:51:00	00:03:54:15	01:03	Commercial	
20:30	Tikuferanji				Commercial	Sweeny
	AD: Eleventh Hour Laborers				Commercial	
	AD: Celtel				Commercial	
20:45	Chibuku Tikiti Ya Mwai	00:00:50:10	00:05:40:06	04:50	Commercial	
	AD: Celtel				Commercial	
	Nkhani Promo	00:00:00:00	00:00:52:00	00:52	Promo	
	Algebra Made Easy Promo	05:00:00:00	05:00:27:01	00:27	Promo	
	Music Filler (Aphofomoka)	00:15:59:06	00:20:28:13	04:29	Filler	
	Izeki ndi Jakobo Promo	00:02:26:13	00:03:26:23	01:00	Promo	
	AD: Olympic Giants	00:00:00:00	00:01:45:00	00:45	Commercial	
21:00	Nkhani Mwachindunji		Recorded	25:00		Chichewa Desk
	Business News Promo	00:00:58:05	00:02:25:18	01:27	Promo	
	Algebra Made Easy Promo	05:00:00:00	05:00:27:01	00:27	Promo	
21:30	BBC/ VOA/ Africa Network		Live		Satellite	

Schedules:.....
 Commercial:.....
 FCC:.....

TVM Programme Schedules - Block 2004/5/6

Jul-05 TO Jul-31

	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDA	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY	SUNDAY
05:00	BBC World News, World Net, Africa Network Channel	BBC World News, World Net, Africa Network Channel	BBC World News, World Net, Africa Network Channel	BBC World News, World Net, Africa Network Channel	BBC World News, World Net, Africa Network Channel	BBC World News, World Net, Africa Network Channel	BBC World News, World Net, Africa Network Channel
07:00	TVM News Repeat	TVM News Repeat	TVM News Repeat	TVM News Repeat	Islamic Hour	Manna	Mapemphero
07:30	UK Today	Through the Camera	Youth Magazine	UK Today			
08:00	DWTV News	DWTV News	DWTV News	DWTV News	TVM News Repeat	TVM News Repeat	Melody Hour
08:30					African Soccer	TVM Sport, Zakwathu	
09:00	BBC World News,	World Net, Africa	Network Channel			Face To Face	Apostolic Ministries
09:30						African Stars	BBC,VOA,A- Network
10:00						French Corner	
10:30						Tikambe	KICC
11:00						Mwaswera	
11:30							
12:00							
12:30							
17:00							Live Variety Show
17:30		Kids Buzz		Kids Buzz			
18:00	Nkhani Mwachinduchi	Nkhani Mwachinduchi	Nkhani Mwachinduchi	Nkhani Mwachinduchi	Nkhani Mwachinduchi		Nkhani Mwachindunji
18:30	Crossrhythms	Youth Magazine	Malawi Soccer	Crossrhythms	African Soccer		Winners Chapel
19:00	KICC	KICC	KICC	KICC	Islamic Guide	TVM Exclusive	Season of Favour
19:30	Tikambe	Time of Power	Music Splash	Face To Face	TVM Sport/ Zakwathu	Music Splash	Power for the Hour
20:00	TVM News	TVM News	TVM News	TVM News	TVM News	Week In Review	TVM News
20:30	Through the Camera	Comm. Window	Tikuferanjir Grab a Tip	Comm. Window	On Camera		Inter-Gospel Mix
21:00		Malawi Soccer	On Camera		African Stars	Superstory	

TVM Peak Hour Programme Schedules - Master 2004/7

17:15							
17:30							
17:45							
18:00	Nkhani	Nkhani	Nkhani	Nkhani	Nkhani	Nkhani	Nkhani
18:15	Mwachindunji	Mwachindunji	Mwachindunji	Mwachindunji	Mwachindunji	Mwachindunji	Msabatayi
18:30	KICC	KICC	KICC	KICC	Privitisation	Patsogolo ndi Ulimi	Winners
18:45						Nkhwazi the Eagle	Chapel
19:00	Season of Favour	Grab a Tip	Business News	Ndinafikako	Islamic Guide	Ufulu ndi Udindo	Feed Me
19:15		Nkhwazi the Eagle		Chlengedwe		Rpt	
19:30	Ufulu ndi Udindo	Privitisation	Music Splash	Ufulu ndi Udindo	Zakwathu	Music Splash	Power for the Hour
19:45					TVM Sport		Izeki ndi Jakobo
20:00	TVM News	TVM News	TVM News	TVM News	TVM News	Week in Review	TVM News
20:15							
20:30	Phungu	Feed Me	Church &	Tikuferanji	African Stars	Hot Seat	Privitisation
20:45		Rpt	Hot Potatoes				
21:00	Generations	Malawi Soccer	Face to Face	Mbiri	TVM	Superstory	Inter- Gospel
21:15					Weekend		Mix
21:30	Crossrhythms	Ufulu ndi Udindo	Tikambe	Crossrhythms	Flex		Phungu
21:45		Rpt			Live		Rpt
22:00	Nkhani	Nkhani	Nkhani	Nkhani	Nkhani	Nkhani	Nkhani
22:15	Mwachindunji	Mwachindunji	Mwachindunji	Mwachindunji	Mwachindunji	Mwachindunji	Msabatayi
22:30	Turning Point	Makweleru	Tikuferanji	Education Corner	Superstory	Weekend	Makweleru
22:45		Music	Rpt	Rpt	Rpt	Flex	Music
23:00	African	Show	Hot Seat			Rpt	Show
23:15	Explorerr	Rpt	Rpt				Live
23:30	BBC NEWS	BBC NEWS	BBC NEWS	BBC NEWS	BBC NEWS	BBC NEWS	BBC NEWS
23:45							
00:00							
	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY	SUNDAY

Tvm Programme Feeds to supplement local programming 2004/7

21:30							
22:00	BBC,VOA, Africa	BBC World, World	BBC World, World	BBC World, World	BBC World, World	BBC World, World	BBC,VOA,
22:30	Network Channel	Net, Africa Network	Net, Africa Network	Net, Africa Network	Net, Africa Network	Net, Africa Network	Africa Network Chanel