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MOZAMBIQUE

Rising bread and fuel prices drove protestors to the streets of Maputo in early September 2010. The protests led to violent clashes between protestors and the authorities; 13 people lost their lives, and the authorities arrested hundreds. Blaming a viral text message for fueling participation in the protests, the National Communications Institute of Mozambique (INCM) ordered Mozambique's two major telecom companies to block SMS messaging. The government cited national security concerns to justify this step, which ignited more anger. The protests reveal much about Mozambique's media, showcasing the growing use of new media tools and the government's evolving reaction to this changing tide.

The media coverage of the protests reflected the differences between Mozambique's public and private media. Panelists noted that private media agencies covered the September scene live—prompting figures close to the government to accuse the press of encouraging the protestors. During the demonstrations, the public generally applauded coverage by the independently owned STV television station. Unsurprisingly to the panelists, public agencies provided no reports in the early stages of the crisis.

Other panelists believed the media's failure to provide adequate space for dialogue on public interest topics was a factor in the clash. They suggested that if the media provided a better forum for those affected by the rising cost of living to air their concerns, the violence might have been avoided. The panelists agreed, though, that the use of Twitter and other new media tools and blogs gained new respect as they helped spread news of the protests internationally. For example, diplomats based in Mozambique and international news agencies cited the blog of a Mozambican sociologist as an independent, alternative information source on the protests.

Despite the government's reactions to the protests, and shortcomings in Mozambique's libel and information access laws, the panelists generally praised Mozambique's legal and social standards for strengthening and protecting the freedom of expression and the press. In particular, they pointed to the diversity and plurality of news sources, the absence of legal restrictions to access of information, and the emergence of an informed and increasingly more active civil society, capable of advocating for the effective exercise of rights and freedoms of citizens and journalists.

Accordingly, panelists scored Objectives 1 and 3 in the upper half of "near sustainability," believing that the gains are fairly solid. Objectives 2 and 4 scored lower because, despite the atmosphere of press freedom, there are very serious deficiencies and shortcomings in training—both theoretical and practical—and technological modernization, which undermine Mozambican journalism. Mozambique's media outlets must boost professionalism and editorial independence to strengthen their financial footing and improve management practices.

MOZAMBIQUE AT A GLANCE

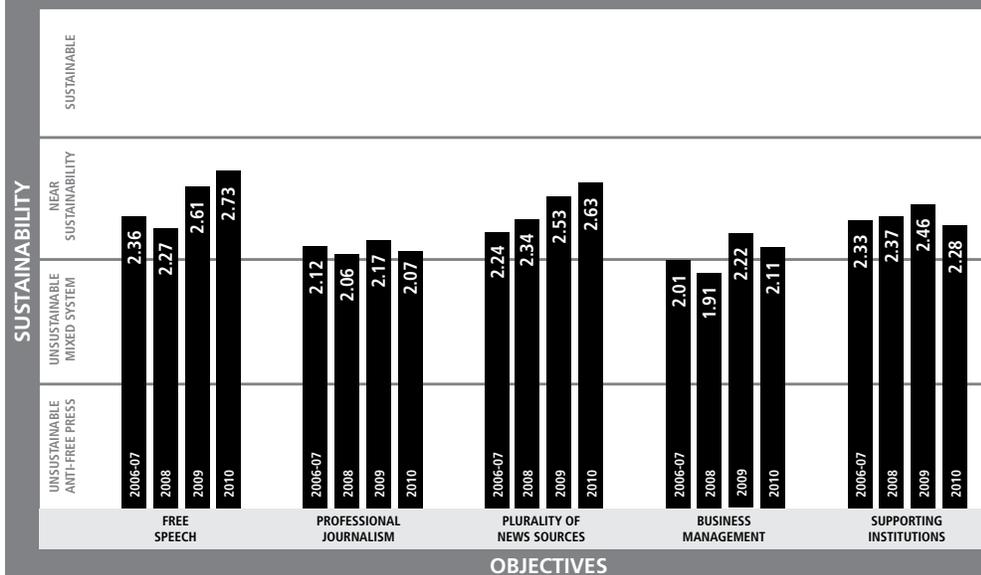
GENERAL

- > **Population:** 22,948,858 (July 2011 est., *CIA World Factbook*)
- > **Capital city:** Maputo
- > **Ethnic groups (% of population):** African 99.66% (Makhuwa, Tsonga, Lomwe, Sena, and others), European 0.06%, Euro-African 0.2%, Indian 0.08% (*CIA World Factbook*)
- > **Religions (% of population):** Catholic 23.8%, Muslim 17.8%, Zionist Christian 17.5%, other 17.8%, none 23.1% (1997 census, *CIA World Factbook*)
- > **Languages (% of population):** Emakhuwa 26.1%, Xichangana 11.3%, Portuguese 8.8% (official; spoken by 27% of population as a second language), Elomwe 7.6%, Cisena 6.8%, Echuwabo 5.8%, other Mozambican languages 32%, other foreign languages 0.3%, unspecified 1.3% (1997 census, *CIA World Factbook*)
- > **GNI (2010-Atlas):** \$10.34 billion (World Bank Development Indicators, 2011)
- > **GNI per capita (2010-PPP):** \$920 (World Bank Development Indicators, 2011)
- > **Literacy rate:** 47.8% (male 63.5%, female 32.7%) (2003 est., *CIA World Factbook*)
- > **President or top authority:** President Armando Guebuza (since February 2, 2005)

MEDIA-SPECIFIC

- > **Number of active print outlets, radio stations, television stations:** Print: 263 total; Radio Stations: 88, including community stations; Television Stations: 5
- > **Newspaper circulation statistics:** N/A
- > **Broadcast ratings:** N/A
- > **News agencies:** Mozambican Information Agency (Agência de Informação de Moçambique; state-run); GMGmedia (private)
- > **Annual advertising revenue in media sector:** N/A
- > **Internet usage:** 613,600 (2009 est., *CIA World Factbook*)

MEDIA SUSTAINABILITY INDEX: MOZAMBIQUE



Unsustainable, Anti-Free Press (0-1):

Country does not meet or only minimally meets objectives. Government and laws actively hinder free media development, professionalism is low, and media-industry activity is minimal.

Unsustainable Mixed System (1-2):

Country minimally meets objectives, with segments of the legal system and government opposed to a free media system. Evident progress in free-press advocacy, increased professionalism, and new media businesses may be too recent to judge sustainability.

Near Sustainability (2-3):

Country has progressed in meeting multiple objectives, with legal norms, professionalism, and the business environment supportive of independent media. Advances have survived changes in government and have been codified in law and practice. However, more time may be needed to ensure that change is enduring and that increased professionalism and the media business environment are sustainable.

Sustainable (3-4):

Country has media that are considered generally professional, free, and sustainable, or to be approaching these objectives. Systems supporting independent media have survived multiple governments, economic fluctuations, and changes in public opinion or social conventions.

OBJECTIVE 1: FREEDOM OF SPEECH

Mozambique Objective Score: 2.73

Objective 1 drew the highest scores from the panel, reflecting the strength of the relevant legislation, although the panelists feel that awareness of the laws supporting free speech could be improved, as journalists generally consult only the relevant legislation when a crisis occurs.

Mozambique's constitution guarantees the freedom of expression for media professionals, and Law 18/91 of August 10, also called the Press Law, provides a regulatory infrastructure. There are no regulations that explicitly inhibit free speech. Carlos Coelho, chair of CoopNorte Management Group and manager of the electronic newspaper *WamphulaFax*, noted that Mozambique's freedom-of-speech legislation is among the strongest in Africa. In view of this, the panelists concluded that freedom of speech in Mozambique is increasingly exercised and protected, and the media facilitate democratic debate between various social groups on the most varied political, social, and cultural topics.

Florentino Escova, director of Radio Terra Verde (RTV) and a member of the High Media Council, added that the Press Law extends the right to enjoy freedom of speech to citizens, journalists, and leaders. When violations occur, the law allows victims the right of appeal or recourse to the appropriate authorities, including the courts. The judiciary is legally empowered to settle disputes related to the abuse of press

However, Escova commented on the distance between the letter of the law and reality: "There are laws regulating entry into the media market, but the laws are not enforced, illustrated by discrepancies in the treatment of the public and private media."

freedom; however, the panelists believe that there are still problems concerning the appreciation of the Press Law.

In general, the legislation is upheld, but violations continue to occur in some cases due to ignorance of the principles and laws governing the media, or because of the arrogance of powerful leaders. Isaias Branco Sebastião Natal, journalist and correspondent for the weekly *O Público (The Public)*, expressed his concern about harassment of journalists who criticize the government. Furthermore, while theoretically Mozambique's laws do not contradict international standards of human rights, Mozambique is sometimes slow to adopt specific supporting laws or regulations. For example, the regulatory framework for television broadcasting in general, and community broadcasting in particular, lags.

Strengthening broadcast regulations would widen the enjoyment of freedom of expression, according to some panelists. Amílcar Pereira, a professor at Eduardo Mondlane University (UEM), said the biggest problem for the country is not a lack of laws and legal norms. It is their application, or enforcement, that is problematic. He said there have been notorious instances of the government's and the ruling party's exercising control over the public media, and even the private media. As an example, he pointed to efforts to control commentators on political television and radio programs. During the November 2009 elections, Pereira revealed, a list of names of people approved to participate in political debates on television circulated. Alfredo Libombo Tomás, a journalist and the executive director of the Media Institute of Southern Africa in Mozambique (MISA), touched on a similar issue, remarking that while the president outwardly appears to respect free speech, people who speak before the president and his entourage seem to be pre-selected.

Ezekiel Mavota, a journalist and director of information at the public Radio Mozambique (RM), provided a slightly different perspective. He commented, "In Mozambique, there is a good legal environment for the work of media professionals, but these journalists do not always respect the rules their profession requires, and the laws themselves seem disconnected from the Mozambican context. One is

LEGAL AND SOCIAL NORMS PROTECT AND PROMOTE FREE SPEECH AND ACCESS TO PUBLIC INFORMATION.

FREE-SPEECH INDICATORS:

- > Legal and social protections of free speech exist and are enforced.
- > Licensing of broadcast media is fair, competitive, and apolitical.
- > Market entry and tax structure for media are fair and comparable to other industries.
- > Crimes against journalists or media outlets are prosecuted vigorously, but occurrences of such crimes are rare.
- > State or public media do not receive preferential legal treatment, and law guarantees editorial independence.
- > Libel is a civil law issue; public officials are held to higher standards, and offended parties must prove falsity and malice.
- > Public information is easily accessible; right of access to information is equally enforced for all media and journalists.
- > Media outlets have unrestricted access to information; this is equally enforced for all media and journalists.
- > Entry into the journalism profession is free, and government imposes no licensing, restrictions, or special rights for journalists.

often under the impression that many laws and conventions are imposed by the forces of global financial powers and, therefore, are hardly sustainable.”

To an extent, the Press Law protects the confidentiality of information sources. However, judges tend to ignore this aspect of the law in court and demand that accused journalists reveal their sources. Gabriel Chihale, a High Media Council (Conselho Superior da Comunicação Social) media monitoring technician, added, “There is quite a discrepancy between laws and reality. On the one hand, specific laws are missing, and, on the other hand, some laws are interpreted incorrectly. For example, when journalists are accused of libel or defamation, the judge demands that they denounce their sources. The reporter often refuses to do this, and this alone constitutes sufficient grounds to be sentenced.” However, the government cannot intervene because this issue lies outside the jurisdiction of the government’s executive powers.

Chihale also underlined the culture of secrecy that surrounds justice: “Often, managers and government officials refuse to give information to journalists to enable them to reach the most relevant officials, a right enshrined in number 1 of Article 48 of the Constitution of the Republic. Officials excuse their refusal with the rationale that justice or state confidentiality must be protected.” Chihale added that a specific law addressing this problem could benefit all.

In fact, during 2010, a coalition of civil-society organizations, headed by MISA, and the relevant public institutions established a mechanism for cooperation on the Draft Law on the Protection of Access to Information Sources, which augurs well for its approval by the Assembly. However, in the meantime, Coelho said that some inappropriate legislation continues to prevail, while the revised Press Law draft, which has yet to go to parliament for approval, sits in the hands of the Council of Ministers.

The panelists agreed that there are no restrictions or requirements imposed by the government for access to the Internet or to any other media platform.

As in previous reviews, this year’s panelists were unanimous that broadcast licensing is fair and apolitical, and there are no limitations or bias in the licensing of broadcast media and telecommunications. They noted that the criteria are primarily technical; therefore, they are not easily circumvented.

Further, the panelists believe that the private and public sector are treated equally in this regard, and they were not aware of any cases of refusal to grant a license or to withdraw a license. However, the process can be agonizingly slow. A number of institutions are involved in processing applications, including the Council of Ministers, which approves permits to radio and television operators; the INCM,

which controls the distribution of frequencies, particularly for radio and television, and handles technological issues inherent in the use of such frequencies; and GABINFO, which oversees public operators, coordinates the government communication strategy, and issues licenses for all media operators, once approved by the Council of Ministers. Additionally, the High Media Council oversees the broadcast content of the media, in terms of ethics and conduct, and reacts to press freedom abuses, Press Law violations, and harm to social ethics and public morals. The High Media Council also issues an opinion prior to approval and granting of permits, while the Ministry of Trade and Industry approves and issues licenses to advertisers.

In fact, with the exception of the High Media Council, these institutions all depend on the government. However, the panelists consider the licensing criteria very clear and public, and not generally disposed toward bias and manipulation. Any possible bias is reflected in the delay in allotment of broadcast channels. The procedures for setting up an information agency are fair and without political prejudice.

Coelho, for his part, said the setup of radio stations is difficult, in contrast to print media. His organization, he said, experienced no trouble obtaining permits for its two newspapers (tabloid and electronic) but still has not managed to secure a radio license and has been waiting since 2009 for the allotment of a broadcast channel.

In Mozambique, entry into the market is free and equal for any lawful business, including the print media, broadcasting, and the Internet. All kinds of media are regulated under the Press Law, which does not differentiate between print and broadcasting, and there is no differential treatment among public, private, and community media according to the law. However, Escova commented on the distance between the letter of the law and reality: “There are laws regulating entry into the media market, but the laws are not enforced, illustrated by discrepancies in the treatment of the public and private media.” Both sectors pay the same amount of taxes, but the public pays for the broadcasting licenses for public agencies. Public media also receive more government advertising publicity.

Palmira Piedade Velasco João, president of the Association of Women in Social Communication (AMCS) and director of Radio Muthyiana, agreed, noting, “There are some hidden restrictions, felt through the high tax rates for the import of raw materials, such as paper for newspapers and equipment for private radios and televisions. That is where a difference is seen in the treatment of private and public entities.” Also, there is no law that regulates the Internet in general, and blogs in particular. Legally, Internet companies are treated like any other.

Mavota touched upon the differences between launching a media business and other types of businesses. "On one hand, any person or legal person who decides to join a business must be aware and prepared to face the challenges of the prevailing business environment, and, on the other, the market itself has to be flexible and not hostile toward the new actors/business agents." Specifically, the media sector must be viewed differently from others, since it is different, for example, from a juice factory, panelists believe. However, Ouri Pota Chapata Pacamutondo, deputy director of programs for RM, argued that the public sector requires greater protection because it has the responsibility to serve a broader, national audience, reaching all social classes. As for tax issues, existing discounts and tax breaks result from bilateral agreements—for example, between certain media organizations and the Tax Authority of Mozambique (ATM), the Ministry of Science and Technology, etc. The government itself has not taken broad measures to reduce the operating costs of media companies.

As in previous years, crimes against journalists were not very frequent in 2010, but threats and intimidation persist. Manuel Matola, a journalist of the LUSA News Agency, thinks that in Mozambique, there are really no serious cases of harassment of journalists, so one cannot speak of crimes against journalists. Rather, there are threats and random acts against journalists—usually by people who realize they are the subjects of journalistic investigations—that can be classed under this indicator.

However, along with other panelists, Pereira expressed his concern about serious incidents in the provinces and districts of the country in particular, where the press is more tightly controlled. In one highly publicized example, a citizen was arrested and accused of defaming a local administrator after speaking at an open forum with the president. Noting that some district administrators, particularly in the provinces of Tete, Sofala, and Niassa, have interfered in the activities and the content of community radio programming, panelists called for specific regulations to address this interference.

Crimes against journalists or media organizations are investigated by civil-society organizations like MISA and the Mozambican Human Rights League (LDH), which publish an annual list of these types of incidents in the country. Sanctions by the courts or court trials result mostly in the imposition of fines.

Escova believes that libel and slander crimes are common; however, few journalists are sentenced for reporting on corrupt government officials. The investigative reporters suffer the most persecution, he said, because their investigations tend to touch powerful people. Chihale revealed that journalists suffer a great deal of censorship in

the newsroom from their superiors; in his view, censorship counts as one of the most frequent crimes against journalists, along with death threats. Politicians, businesspeople, and government leaders are behind most of these crimes, and they are never punished.

In 2010, most reported threats against journalists were registered in the provinces of Maputo and Tete, but the perpetrators of these threats were not pursued. For example, Louis Nhandote, a *Zambezi* journalist, was harassed and received death threats for reporting on drug trafficking, and Celso Manguana, from the same newspaper, suffered persecution and death threats from the police for his reporting on a personal affair concerning a government official's daughter. Accused of libel, Manguana had to launch an alert on the Internet to protect himself. The panelists also noted that independent newspapers generally report harassment, threats, and so on against journalists more frequently than in the public media.

Regarding the question of preferential legal treatment of the state media, the panelists noted that legally, there are no stipulations that the media give special treatment to certain categories of people. Yet in practice, they observed that the public broadcast media (TVM and RM) and the pro-government press, although they may strive for professionalism and objectivity, devote more time and energy to covering the government and the ruling party. In effect, these media agencies are vehicles to disseminate the government's communication strategy and agenda. Escova said, "In this case, complying with the law is not enough. Public media agencies receive funding from the state and, editorially, depend on what is dictated by the government. Furthermore, the appointment of the Chairmen of the Boards of Directors (PCA) is biased and made on the basis of political trust."

Chihale also commented on the appointment of officials. He said, "The public media, in a way, serve the interests of the public; however, there are cases of preference for some parties over others, particularly those from the opposition. In my opinion, the error starts with the appointment of top managers of these publicly owned companies by government officials in power. This situation contributes greatly to compromising the editorial independence of the public media, and, since they depend financially on the state, the programs produced in these companies tend to promote the interests of members of government—in particular, those who appointed them."

Chihale also said that while the law guarantees editorial independence, there are people who use their positions to try to influence the editorial policy of the media, especially in the private sector. He pointed to an example from the Tete

province, where he said certain private media groups were excluded from covering government functions after they took issue with officials who asked journalists to fabricate data/facts in their reports. And, even in the private sector, certain media publishers and other professionals have been overlooked for leadership positions for their failure to adhere to the positions of the political authorities.

Panelists also commented that the private press, particularly the written press, is sometimes considered to be at the service of the political opposition, perhaps because it reveals an independent editorial line and journalistic aggressiveness in relation to those wielding political power and the government.

As for libel, the panel concluded that the situation remains essentially unchanged from earlier MSI studies. Defamation is treated as a criminal and civil violation, and the president enjoys immunity. Mozambique's legal system separates the private sphere from the public sphere for important personalities and government officials. In addition, the burden of proof rests with accused journalists in defamation cases.

Generally, there is equality under the law in cases of defamation, and the background of the victims, or whether the victim plays a public role, is not a factor influencing the sentences handed down by judges. Yet there are cases of corruption among judges and magistrates. Such cases, when detected, are handled by an organization that oversees and disciplines judges and magistrates: the Supreme Judiciary Council (CSMJ), chaired by the president of the Supreme Court. Chihale said that many corruption cases against judges or magistrates can be tied to influential victims of defamation. Often members of the government are politically connected, socially well-positioned individuals, and they try to influence judges to decide in their favor in libel cases.

The panelists were not aware of any situations in which Internet providers and web hosting companies have been held liable for information published. Partly, this has to do with the lack of legislation in this specific area, but also with the fact that these technologies are not sufficiently publicized and popular.

Escova believes that information is not universally accessible to all journalists, especially those from the private sector. Journalists in the public sector, on the other hand, can access information without any difficulty—provided it flatters the state. Edson Inacio Magaia, a TVM editor, expressed his view that access is declining, due to the attitude of the institutions and the charisma and strength of those who oversee them, and that recourse to or consultation of the legislation generally occurs only in crisis and conflict situations.

Tomás said the outlook on information access changed very little in 2010; he said that although the constitution guarantees the right of access to information, the absence of a supportive law on the right to information discourages many from releasing information of interest to the public. A Law on Access to Information Sources is sitting before the parliament but has not been passed.

Furthermore, not only is the legislation lacking in this regard, but a culture of secrecy within public institutions also prevents researchers, journalists, and citizens from getting the information they need. Coelho and Natal agreed with Tomás, stressing that the media culture has not developed to the point that federal and state officials feel obligated to make information of public interest available, either to the general public or to journalists.

Additionally, the panel said that journalists and media houses do not stand up for their rights as forcefully as they might. The National Union of Journalists is less interventionist and acts like an arm of the government. Because of this, Tomás said that MISA often assumes the role of a union, either in relation to the Movement for the Elaboration, Lobbying, and Advocacy for the Law on Access to Information Sources or to fund the legal defense of journalists prosecuted in the course of carrying out their jobs.

Magaia commented that the lack of information to develop journalistic reports renders the media unable to fulfill their duty to give voice to the voiceless in Mozambique, and to bring the public information on social and other issues directly impacting their lives. Magaia, backed by all the panelists, said this was precisely the case with mob violence that occurred in early September 2010. If the media had served as a forum for dialogue regarding the rise in the cost of living, and had given those affected a place to air their concerns, the violence could have been averted.

Regarding the professional capacity of journalists to collect information of public interest, the panelists said there are many gaps, although national and foreign organizations have provided some training activities. Mavota mentioned, for example, that there is now a tendency by journalists to talk directly to a minister, rather than looking for department heads, directors, or spokesmen.

Still, 2010 was a historic year for the media in this regard because of two events: the parliament held talks with the network led by MISA on the need for debate and adoption of the Law on Access to Information Sources, and the media became the subject of a draft study by the Committee on Public Administration, Local Government, and the Media. The panelist suggested that this be a sign of growing recognition that the work of the government belongs to the taxpayers.

The panel agreed that in Mozambique, access to international news and news sources is not restricted. Matola emphasized, though, that journalists in Mozambique have no resources to purchase content from news agencies, which limits their ability to obtain international news. The panelists also agreed that almost all newsrooms now have e-mail addresses and Internet access. However, not all employees have Internet access at home, and only a handful of the smaller media organizations have websites, due to the expense. Media firms with the financial resources and the necessary equipment are able to purchase material to reprint and rebroadcast news from foreign agencies, generally respecting the procedures that apply, for example, in citing the original source.

Regarding the ease of entry into the profession, panelists were not aware of any special privileges or restrictions imposed by the government. Both private- and public-sector journalists are invited to cover presidential visits, ministerial events, and other government events in different parts of the country and abroad, and the inviting institutions cover the journalists' expenses. In general, there are no restrictions on the coverage of public events and government-specific events. The panel also noted that the government does not restrict people from taking journalism courses, nor does it issue professional press cards or impose an official definition that journalists must meet.

For now, bloggers are not considered journalists, but rather people who share information and opinions and stimulate discussions that draw in the public. John Boden, deputy editor of *Diário de Moçambique*, and Felizardo Massimbe, program director of Televisão de Moçambique (TVM), said the constitution guarantees freedom of association. The SNJ exists to help journalists defend these and other rights, and journalists are also free to create other socio-professional organizations to defend their rights. Massimbe pointed out that the Press Law resulted from the joint efforts of journalists determined to establish a legal means to democratize the journalistic profession in the country.

OBJECTIVE 2: PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISM

Mozambique Objective Score: 2.07

Massimbe summed up the challenges that Mozambican journalists face in their efforts to elevate professionalism. "The quality of our journalism has fallen, possibly because the quality of education in the country has decreased. There are no restrictions on news coverage, but journalists see little returns in the relation between work and reward. Journalists are poorly compensated for the risks they face, which makes them even more vulnerable. Moreover, the working

conditions of journalists are still very poor: we need all kinds of resources, from chairs, desks, computers with Internet access, to cameras and print and broadcast equipment. All this contributes negatively to the practice of journalism and weakens its ability to respond to important issues."

Pereira also believes that the quality and professionalism of Mozambican journalism is still quite low, but some panelists pointed to slight improvements following the availability of college courses in journalism—though there is still little diversity in these courses. News reports tend to emphasize the sensational aspects and lack objectivity. There is little evidence of effort to seek out various opinions. On the one hand, the behavior of many journalists does not meet ethical standards of quality journalism; on the other hand, panelists agreed that professional journalists are not fairly compensated. According to Tomás, "The standards of journalism in Mozambique are not yet those one would hope to find; many factors contribute to this, from the lack of professional standards and principles to low salaries to weak trade unions." Other panelists agreed with Tomás, noting that journalists often do not consult two or more relevant sources, and research is very defective. Journalists frequently blame these shortcomings on the lack of working phones. Regarding the quality of journalism, Pacamutondo added that competition among outlets to break a story first also contributes to lower professional standards because some agencies opt to disclose information without taking steps to verify it—preferring to publish now and apologize later if the news turns out to be false.

Still, Pacamutondo argued that for the most part, Mozambican journalists tend to follow professional standards of quality; however, the difficulty of communicating with

JOURNALISM MEETS PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS OF QUALITY.

PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISM INDICATORS:

- > Reporting is fair, objective, and well sourced.
- > Journalists follow recognized and accepted ethical standards.
- > Journalists and editors do not practice self-censorship.
- > Journalists cover key events and issues.
- > Pay levels for journalists and other media professionals are sufficiently high to discourage corruption.
- > Entertainment programming does not eclipse news and information programming.
- > Technical facilities and equipment for gathering, producing, and distributing news are modern and efficient.
- > Quality niche reporting and programming exists (investigative, economics/business, local, political).

For example, Mavota said, “During the September riots, the diplomatic corps based in Mozambique and some international news agencies consulted and cited the blog of Carlos Serra, a sociologist at the Center for African Studies of EMU, as an independent, alternative information source on the violence in Maputo.”

sources (i.e., spokespeople or media advisers of the state, public, or private institutions) frequently undermines quality. Although access to public sources is limited, journalists are free to address different issues without interference. Mavota added that in the broadcast media, at least, professional standards vary from station to station.

Most of the panelists agreed that the work of bloggers is still restricted to certain sectors of society. Blogs differ greatly in quality; some attempt to air different sides to an issue, while others stick to publishing their opinions. While blogs are used as information for certain sectors, the panelists agreed that parameters to assess the practices of bloggers have not yet been set.

For example, Mavota said, “During the September riots, the diplomatic corps based in Mozambique and some international news agencies consulted and cited the blog of Carlos Serra, a sociologist at the Center for African Studies of EMU, as an independent, alternative information source on the violence in Maputo.” Regarding the role of specialists and experts consulted on various topics, the panel expressed no doubts as to their importance, since journalists do not have sufficient knowledge to address in depth all the issues. However, it was noted that there is little substantive preparatory work between journalists or talk-show hosts and the experts consulted.

Weighing all of these concerns about flagging professionalism and the profession’s reputation, the panelists said there is a growing debate over whether Mozambique has a journalistic class, noting it is a controversial but necessary discussion that could pave the way for renewed appreciation for journalists.

The National Union of Journalists and other associations that fight for press freedom have worked to establish ethical codes, and there are recognized and accepted ethical standards, reflected in the Code for Election Coverage and the relevant monitoring organizations (SNJ and MISA), the Proposed Code of Conduct, Professional Card, and the Statute

of the Journalist (which has already been drafted but not yet signed by the members or representatives of the journalism sector), and the Press Law, which governs the newspaper business (a revision of this law has not yet been passed). However, the media do not always observe universal ethical principles, especially by certain newspapers that opt for sensationalism and groundless, defamatory reports. Escova noted that the reasons for journalists’ failure to observe ethics range from a lack of training, to corruption, and to the lack of a sense of ownership in their work.

The panel confirmed that there are media professionals and even senior editors who accept payments and gifts in exchange for journalistic coverage. These cases are not publicized but are well known within the field to occur in both the public and private media. Younger and less experienced professionals are regarded as being more prone to corruption.

Magaia commented that a media outlet’s adherence to professional standards might be gauged in direct proportion to the media’s dependence on the political, economic, and business authorities. Given that this dependence has grown along with the media’s financial struggles, there is a tendency for journalists to take on outside jobs and, in extreme cases, to demand payments for coverage—a phenomenon called *telenegócio* (tele-business). Magaia said this reduces investigative reporting to a secondary role and ultimately undermines the relationship among the media, citizens, and the authorities.

The panelists said self-censorship is a reality among journalists and editors in almost every media. Escova said censorship in news agencies, especially in stories referring to powerful individuals, stems from a fear of reprisals. Matola commented that, while censorship is not officially sanctioned, it is understood that media organizations tend to self-censor due to economic and political interests.

Panelists cite pressure from publishers, who require special treatment of news stories concerning certain individuals and institutions, as a major reason leading editors to censor journalists and journalists to self-censor. As Natal explained, “Censorship persists in the media, and there is too much interference from the editors who censor articles that clash with the interests of figures wielding political and economic power.” He also feels that some media companies make their journalists turn a blind eye and avoid reporting on problems touching on their sponsors.

There are some brave exceptions. In a prime example, in 2010, the panelists noted that all media groups reported on the fact that the government had authorized the steel production company MOZAL a “bypass” for

emissions. The media coverage presents a rare example of professionalism and displays the courage of journalists and the public in Mozambique to protect the population's environmental health.

In general, panelists agreed that journalists cover key events and issues, and they could not name specific events that journalists are deterred from covering. What often stands in their way is the lack of financial resources and equipment, as well as self-censorship. There are editors who "correct" the work of their journalists in a clear reflection of agreements and pacts made with powerful individuals covered in the news. Escova stated his opinion: "Public media organizations present only partial coverage of certain events for fear of reprisal from the country's rulers."

For example, the private media agencies covered the events of September 1 and 2 of 2010 live—prompting figures close to the government to accuse the press of encouraging the protesters. However, unsurprisingly to the panelists, public agencies provided no reports. In contrast, STV television station, owned by the independent media company Sociedade Independente de Comunicação (Independent Communications Company), won public approval for its presentation of events.

STV and the Record (Miramar) informed many people, in a timely manner, about the demonstrations and warned people to take necessary precautions if they had to venture outdoors. The panel agreed that issues related to defense and national security must be handled with care and responsibility; however, when there are direct threats to people's health and safety, such as the "bypass" to release toxic emissions by MOZAL in 2010, reporters assumed and exercised their freedom and duty to inform and discuss this issue in the media, which the government had tried to restrict to the sphere of national security and economic policy.

Mavota and Pacamutondo added that some events not covered by the national media are covered in blogs or other social networking tools; however, for these panelists, the information circulating on Twitter, YouTube, and Facebook—though popular—is unreliable and difficult to access for most people.

The panel agreed that corruption is not directly tied to salary levels and that statements to the contrary are false. Still, many media agencies continue to pay their reporters, editors, and staff low wages. Notable exceptions include RM, TVM, and the newspaper *Notícias* (News), which offer far higher wages than other media companies. Mauelele said low wages and poor working conditions are primary reasons behind the brain drain from the journalistic profession to other fields. Tomás added that private media companies have no

contracts with their employees and owe back wages. While salaries for editors and journalists are low, though, directors, administrators, and PCAs receive very high salaries.

Salaries are not disclosed publicly, but panelists said there is a disparity between wages paid to state and public media professionals and those from the private/independent sector. Teachers at all levels, public servants, doctors, and nurses are also very poorly paid. However, there are a number of public companies, including the RM, TVM, Telecommunications of Mozambique (TDM), and the state banks, whose workers, at all levels, are very well paid and can have a relatively decent life.

Matola emphasized the need to fix wages for journalists: "There is no justification for companies to continue paying low wages, sometimes even below the minimum wage, when the journalists are well trained in the field. Moreover, many news companies already have journalists possessing diplomas or pursuing higher education in the field." He added, "Although I do not agree with the suggestion that low wages encourage corruption, the SNJ should be more engaged in efforts to improve pay if we want improve the outlook for the Mozambican media."

Some panelists believe that, in the public media, entertainment programming does not overshadow news programming. Mavota, however, said that in the public broadcast media, program scheduling depends on editorial policies. Thus, RM allots eight hours for news and children's programming, while educational and recreational programs run 16 hours a day.

A major reason that private broadcasters tend to prioritize entertainment programs is the lack of quality news-gathering and production equipment. Mavota added that the slow migration from analog to digital media affects the entire broadcast media, including RM and TVM, and affects the preference for entertainment programs. The transition to digital also would facilitate coverage across the country.

Massimbe shared his opinion that technical development seems to be slowing. For example, he said, TVM put on many live broadcasts in the 1990s, but they have recently become a rarity. It is always easier to schedule entertainment programs than to seek news and information sources. According to Pacamutondo, there are more radio and television stations today, and people have more choice. Furthermore, he said that in the mass media entertainment programming outstrips news because managing publishers and editors do not share a sense of the need for a balance between entertainment and news programming. This is likely because managing publishers are focused on attracting funding from sponsors, while editors usually incur costs for the media company.

For this reason, Pacamutondo said, "Media companies do not fund research to improve and develop news coverage, because management is not on the same page as the editorial staff." Aggressive advertising agencies and corporations sometimes force the operators of radio and television stations into a difficult position: choosing between a healthy balance in programming and selling advertising spots. Audiences, for their part, demonstrate greater interest in the quality and originality of programming than in a balance between news programming and entertainment programming. Younger audiences, the panelists noted, tend to be more drawn to entertainment programs.

The technical facilities and equipment for gathering, producing, and distributing news cannot be described as modern and efficient. The lack of equipment is a serious problem for all media, particularly small independent outlets and community media. This is one reason that solid reporting is totally absent from many publications and broadcasts, which instead feature editorializing, debates, and low-budget soap operas and movies. In Escova's view, "The lack of equipment has greatly impacted some agencies... they limit themselves to recycling stories from newspapers or from the Internet, synthesizing reports and press releases because they do not have the equipment to do field work or even online research." Some agencies cannot afford to pay the rent for their facilities or even their phone bills, forcing them to constantly switch their phone numbers. However, according to the panelists, all newsrooms now have computers, even if they are not the latest models. Some new media organizations receive equipment donations from various supporters. Also, Maputo and Beira now have new graphic-design centers; thanks to the new Sociedade de Notícias graphic design center, *Notícias* is no longer printed in black and white and is now comparable to *O País*, owned by SOICO, which also boasts a newly installed graphics center. In Beira, the capital of Sofala province, a graphic-design center produces *The Daily of Mozambique*, the second-largest national daily.

According to the panelists, the entire news production cycle is problematic, from the availability and competence of the teams, their technical and intellectual abilities, to the collecting and synthesizing of information from various sources, to the observation of technical criteria for presentation and publishing. The panel feels that support for journalism in Mozambique should go toward practical and focused training, whether for radio, television, online, print, or community media. Training is also needed for scientific and cultural journalism, photojournalism, and helping journalists improve their language skills in English and Portuguese.

Despite the innumerable difficulties besetting journalism in Mozambique, quality niche reporting can be found. In the private media, for example, STV and *O País* have reporters who offer bold coverage, reporting and conducting debates on newsworthy topics, such as the problems of minorities. This reflects a positive trend in the field of research journalism.

Private weeklies such as *Savana* and *Zambeze* demonstrate greater capacity and inclination to cover niche topics than the public media, the panelists said, but investigative journalism stands to be improved in both private and public media. There are agencies that produce specialized programs, but, paradoxically, the journalists responsible for such programs themselves are not specialized. Even experienced journalists, reporters, and editors need training or retraining, particularly in the management of new technologies.

Due to financial constraints, there are still very few journalists and reporters able to conduct investigative research and specialized reporting. As for bloggers, the panelists expressed doubt as to whether they are able to produce investigative reports and reliable news or to cover niche topics.

OBJECTIVE 3: PLURALITY OF NEWS

Mozambique Objective Score: 2.63

Mozambique has several newspapers, radio stations, and television stations, both private and community, allowing consumers to make comparisons among the different sources of news. As far as the array of viewpoints available

MULTIPLE NEWS SOURCES PROVIDE CITIZENS WITH RELIABLE AND OBJECTIVE NEWS.

PLURALITY OF NEWS SOURCES INDICATORS:

- > A plurality of affordable public and private news sources (e.g., print, broadcast, Internet) exists.
- > Citizens' access to domestic or international media is not restricted.
- > State or public media reflect the views of the entire political spectrum, are nonpartisan, and serve the public interest.
- > Independent news agencies gather and distribute news for print and broadcast media.
- > Independent broadcast media produce their own news programs.
- > Transparency of media ownership allows consumers to judge objectivity of news; media ownership is not concentrated in a few conglomerates.
- > A broad spectrum of social interests are reflected and represented in the media, including minority-language information sources.

in the media, the editors on the panel claimed that one editorial policy tends to prevail in each organization. Pereira commented, "In many cases, news reports do not differ greatly, and people tend to rely more on private media than on public." Furthermore, Pacamutondo argued that although there are multiple sources for news, they still do not provide national coverage.

Among available media, radio comes the closest in this respect. RM, for example, has expanded its transmission; it covers the greatest territory and is accessible to most people. For many decades, RM has been deployed in all provinces and blankets the entire country with local programming—using the dominant local languages in each of the 11 provinces of Mozambique. Tomás, however, lamented that the public RM is the only station that covers a large part of the national territory; he said this is a prime example of the technical weaknesses that result from a shortage of resources, which leave national coverage looking like an elusive dream.

As for television, the public TVM has offices in almost all provinces and also offers local programming in some cities, including Beira and Nampula. Although the news media have experienced difficulties in providing coverage for the whole country, private media organizations have made efforts to broaden the geographic scope of their coverage as well. A few television stations—the Miramar station, Record, and STV—already cover some provincial capitals.

Although the Internet has begun to be used in academic circles and among the youth of the nation's largest cities, it is still not popular among broader segments of the population. Mavota said there are blogs, SMS, and Internet news sources that the public generally trusts. In fact, many radio broadcasts and television programs are tapping new media platforms to interact more with the public. The shift in this direction was brought to light in the coverage surrounding the September protests; the Committee to Protect Journalists provided a snapshot of citizens' and journalists' use of Twitter, Ushahidi, and Facebook to share news and videos of the violence. CPJ quoted one Maputo resident who noted on Twitter that few local broadcasters were relaying information: while RM played music, only RTP Africa and STV provided news. CPJ also described how *Jornal a Verdade* "overcame the logistical problems by using its website and Facebook fan page to post dozens of articles and videos in Portuguese. The paper's editor, Erik Charas, was one of the first journalists to disseminate news of the crisis in English, helping to turn this local event into an international news story. Charas integrated an Ushahidi crisis reporting tool on the paper's

website and used his Twitter feed (@echaras) to post updates, crafting an English hashtag: #maputorlots."¹

In Mozambique, the authorities do not directly restrict access to national and international media, although urban residents can access news with far greater ease than those living in the small towns and villages. Pereira explained, "There are many sources of information, but access is limited by cost and geography. People in the country's capital and in provincial capitals generally find more diverse sources of information. In rural areas, radio is the media most within reach, while access to the print media and even television is much more challenged. Additionally, one of the strongest limiting factors is the low level of education across much of the population." The panelists agreed that while technological development is slow, some rural residents can access radio (community radio and RM), television, SMS, and even the Internet as long as they have suitable equipment and other means to access the radio and television, as well as the financial capacity to buy newspapers and get access to mobile technologies. Even the most disadvantaged portions of the population can afford radios and alternative sources of power, such as alkaline batteries and scrap car batteries. Television, newspapers, magazines, and the Internet, on the other hand, are out of reach for many.

Although expensive for the average citizen, Internet access is not otherwise restricted, and work is under way to introduce regulatory legislation. Unfortunately, there are no recent, reliable statistics on the percentage of people with access to the media and their income levels, but the consensus is that income does affect access to the Internet via satellite—even among the panelists. International media circulate freely, but prices make them inaccessible to ordinary people; costs to watch online broadcasts are high.

The panelists also feel it is likely that the government can take indirect measures to restrict access to national or international media. For example, in 2010, the government ordered the registration of all mobile-phones users, reportedly in response to the violent demonstrations in September 2010, which were organized via SMS.

According to Escova, the public media are not fulfilling their role entirely because they tend to favor the party in power rather than the general public. Tomás commented, "We can hardly state that they serve the public interest and reflect the views of all sectors of society. However, RM is the only one making an effort, albeit with many ups and downs. TVM

¹ Keita, Mohamed. "New Media Tools Bring Mozambican Crisis to the World." Committee to Protect Journalists Blog: September 3, 2010. Available at: <http://www.cpj.org/blog/2010/09/new-media-brings-crisis-in-mozambique-to-the-world.php#more>.

Pereira explained, "There are many sources of information, but access is limited by cost and geography. People in the country's capital and in provincial capitals generally find more diverse sources of information."

openly reflects the state's views and provides little coverage of opposition events."

Natal believes that the editors of the public/state sector try to uphold the principle of objectivity, but they are required to follow the guidelines set by political authorities. João said the appointment of public-sector leaders by the prime minister restricts the ability of these organizations to fully serve the public, because often the government's interests collide with those of the citizens.

Lobao João Mauelele, deputy publisher of the *Daily of Mozambique*, Natal, and Escova all agreed that TVM and RM, operating with taxpayers' money, do not serve the public interest. They referred to the delay of these media groups in reporting on the September demonstrations and the favorable bias they give to politicians and supporters of the ruling party. Magaia said, "There is a prevalence of political debates in the news media, and the media adhere to the political hierarchy: those in power receive the most coverage, followed by those with a parliamentary seat, then, finally, those with little electoral expression. Social issues, meanwhile, remain in the background, particularly in public media. However, extending his reflection to independent media, Magaia observed that they also suffer from the tyranny of sponsors, rendering their independence relative, as the large companies buying advertising space often influence media companies as well.

The panelists feel that independence is growing more and more compromised; according to some panelists, public and private media content differs only in presentation. Independent newspapers lure consumers with a more open, splashy, sensationalist approach. Public media are more restrained, secure in their guaranteed state funding.

The only news agency distributing news to independent and public media is the state AIM. It is entirely government-funded, and some panelists believe it operates in a free and apolitical manner. There are one or two other national agencies, but they do very little in terms of distributing news material. Foreign agencies are free to pursue their activities; moreover, there is a foreign agency

with offices in Maputo, Mozambique: the Portuguese News Agency (LUSA).

Mavota informed the panel that MISA is a sponsor of a nonprofit specialized news agency, the Agency for Journalists Against HIV/AIDS, and owner of the electronic *Daily News*, which provides news services to various organizations. According to the panelists, the news is not expensive, but still most newspaper companies are not in a position to buy news programs. AIM is the agency most often used by the national media, but other media sources and both national and international publications are used as references. National agencies provide both print and online news services, but audio and video services are not yet available. National media use the services of all international new agencies they have access to, and they cite their sources.

Panelists noted that in recent times, independent broadcasters have taken steps to produce their own newscasts, although there is still a tendency to read stale newspaper reports as news of the day. There are glimmers of progress, though, as seen on STV. However, in this respect, private stations cannot yet compete with the public/state media, which have greater experience and better conditions to produce news and information programs. RM and TVM delegations in the provinces produce their own local news but open their programming with the national news. The public, private, and community media have access to information from various sources, including governmental and international organizations.

Despite facing many difficulties, community broadcast media produce their own news programming, and the state helped create a partnership to share RM news and other programs in community radio.

Mauelele noted that the expense is the greatest obstacle for private broadcast media in producing their own news, because many cannot afford to pay travel expenses to send journalists to distant provinces. Thus, many programs display themes and scenes from the capital, where many of these media organizations are based. In the panel's view, rather than producing their own content, bloggers generally recycle content from the media and other sources.

Escova noted that there is no transparency in media ownership, for both public and private media—although blog owners are identified. Furthermore, Mavota said that people show little interest in learning who the owners are, although this information should be available on the cover sheet of technical publications and government bulletins. The government owns AIM and ICS and is involved in RM and TVM through state funds. The Sociedade de Notícias, with major participation from the Central Bank (Banco de

Mozambique, or BM) owns *Notícias*, the weekly *Domingo* (Sunday) and *Desafio* (Dare); the SOICO Group owns a daily, a radio station, and a television station; the journalists' cooperative Mediacoop owns the weekly *Savana*, daily fax and e-mail newspapers, and a radio station. The CoopNorte Group owns a daily fax newspaper, a tabloid, and a weekly and has applied for a radio license. Regarding foreign investments, the law stipulates that foreign ownership is fixed at 20 percent. Considering whether an increase to this level of investment would be beneficial, the panelists' opinions diverge. Some feel that a greater foreign presence in media would imply editorial interference, while others think it would be beneficial for the development of the media in general, given the financial difficulties they face. Despite the law, the panelists noted that in many organizations, private foreign investment in the media is far above the reported 20 percent.

The panelists believe that the media reflect and report on a wide variety of social, religious, ethnic, and sexual topics. Still, Mavota said that the press mirrors society and added that there are forgotten minorities—for example, homosexuals. Some panelists noted that the media are beginning to cover issues related to gay groups, but Massimbe commented, "Mozambican society is somewhat puritanical."

According to Magaia, "Minorities are heard from only in certain areas and when they launch organizations or campaigns, or during times of crisis. For example, the press mentioned albinos murdered in Kenya and Tanzania, or when they launched an advocacy organization in Mozambique in 2010. However, while some minorities, such as albinos, are beginning to have their own space in the media, others, such as homosexuals, have not yet reached that point."

For instance, public television virtually ignored a conference of homosexuals, despite the fact that some of its events were held near TVM. Moreover, in the case of Mozambican albinos, it is unclear whether their sponsorship by the Minister of Health has helped promote their cause to the media. In reality, panelists said, there is resistance within media organizations to reporting on issues affecting minority groups. Journalists who cover issues on minorities are simply ignored. There are no minority media openly available to the public, although there is no legislation prohibiting their circulation.

OBJECTIVE 4: BUSINESS MANAGEMENT

Mozambique Objective Score: 2.11

In essence, the panelists' view on this objective differs little from the conclusions reflected in earlier MSI studies. Tomás said, "Independent media in Mozambique are still very poorly managed. Most managers are journalists without any management training." Coelho agreed with Tomás, as well, that editorial management skills should not be confused with business management knowledge.

In Mozambique, former journalists, not business entrepreneurs, own most newspapers and radio stations. This sometimes results in poor management. Pacamutondo said it is difficult to say whether the independent media operate as businesses that allow editorial independence, noting that the public media receive much more support from the state. In the public media, editorial management is separated from financial administration, and revenue is not as critical as in the private sector. Here, both branches of management have solid and professional structures, panelists said, and with the benefit of financial support from government and public fees, operational difficulties are less apparent in comparison to their private counterparts. In addition to their direct support, they enjoy exemptions on imports of equipment and supplies, giving them an unfair advantage over independent outlets when it comes to advertising.

Neither the public nor private media advertise their activities and financial reports. In principle, RM and TVM should at least publish their balance sheets in the government bulletin. Escova and Mavota commented that even when companies—

INDEPENDENT MEDIA ARE WELL-MANAGED BUSINESSES, ALLOWING EDITORIAL INDEPENDENCE.

BUSINESS MANAGEMENT INDICATORS:

- > Media outlets and supporting firms operate as efficient, professional, and profit-generating businesses.
- > Media receive revenue from a multitude of sources.
- > Advertising agencies and related industries support an advertising market.
- > Advertising revenue as a percentage of total revenue is in line with accepted standards at commercial outlets.
- > Independent media do not receive government subsidies.
- > Market research is used to formulate strategic plans, enhance advertising revenue, and tailor products to the needs and interests of audiences.
- > Broadcast ratings and circulation figures are reliably and independently produced.

In Mozambique, former journalists, not business entrepreneurs, own most newspapers and radio stations.

for example, the Sociedade de Notícias—publish their accounts in newspapers, neither the public nor journalists are trained to read and interpret balance sheets. Only RM, TVM, the Sociedade de Notícias, News, SOICO Group, and Mediacoop prepare consistent business plans and strive to follow international accounting and finance standards, and they seem to manage human resources reasonably, according to the panelists.

Community media outlets, in particular, face substantial problems building sustainability, and, with very few exceptions, planning, programming, and management are all deficient. There is no way to judge whether the state or public media use taxpayer funds responsibly, because accountability is not public—which is why Escova argued that public media lack management transparency and publication of balance sheets of both public and private agencies would be of considerable value to the public. Chihale was the only panelist to defend, categorically, the management of newspaper companies as professional and profit-generating.

The common assessment is that all organizations are generally susceptible to influences. The media, in general, receive revenue from their owners, advertisements, sponsorships, and selling of services. Additionally, the public media receive government funds and remain susceptible to political interference. While the community media receive funds from the state, their budgets are rounded out by national and international NGOs, such as UNESCO, IBIS, and religious organizations.

Private media businesses may find enough resources to survive, but these are not secure enough to guarantee their editorial independence. Magaia noted that relationships with sponsors can be harmful. For example, a media house sponsored by a bank might ignore or manipulate coverage of a strike by bank staff.

The advertising industry is dominated by developing Mozambican agencies, flourishing businesses that share a greater presence in the capital, Maputo, with the largest media companies. Further, the panelists added that most of the advertising seen in newspapers, radio, and television seem to come from the same sources: the two major mobile-telephone companies.

Smaller advertising firms produce other quality ads for small and medium-sized businesses, industries, and services.

There are two main agencies in the Mozambican advertising market, and one of them, Golo13, wins international awards nearly every year. Small advertising agencies complain that businesses do not provide enough advertising opportunities for the mainstream media, but media operators also complain that they earn scant profits from advertising. In fact, according to panelists, the well-established advertising agencies, as well as institutions and companies, prefer the corporate mass media to advertise their products and services.

For example, RM, RTV, and TVM include ads from advertising agencies in their channels but also use their internal resources and capacity to produce about 10 percent of their ads in-house, using their own professionals, with acceptable results in terms of quality. The panel could not say whether similar opportunities exist for the private media. According to Pacamutondo, advertising revenues are buoyant; the high points are usually at Christmas and surrounding the entrance exams to universities and ministries. Much of this advertising is targeted to the broadcasting public, the journal *Notícias*, and *O País*.

Although they were not aware of international standards, the panelists believe that the quality and percentage of advertising, especially in radio and television programs, could be increased. Furthermore, as the public media also receive government funds and licensing fees, the private media must resort much more to advertising than their public counterparts. However, even with state support, the public media still try to gain as much advertising as possible to improve their financial standing.

Subscriptions are insufficient to sustain the press, but they are still the most reliable source of revenue. Recently, the line between advertising and programming has become blurred, among both public and private broadcasters.

All of the panelists agreed that the government is not a significant source of funds for private organizations. Although government advertisements appear in private-sector newspapers, the bulk of official advertising continues to be channeled to public-sector outlets. Chihale noted the obstacles private organizations face in securing funds, “Advertising is not distributed fairly, and the public sector is privileged over the private. Furthermore, the receipt of government grants may somehow affect the independence of these organizations; often the grantor expects something in return.”

There is no definite plan of equitable distribution of advertisements between private and public media. Advertising agencies work with government ministries and large corporations that wield tremendous power, and they want to see their advertisements carried by the large media

groups. However, the panelists said there is no information that political authorities have retaliated against private media groups that have criticized government content by withdrawing advertisements in such situations. On the other hand, the panelists noted that many private press agencies already receive government ads, and if they were subsidized as well, they questioned whether the private media would be strengthened or become less independent editorially.

In terms of market research, broadcast media outlets periodically announce changes to the programming schedule, seek input from listeners and viewers about programming, and announce the results of audience surveys. Yet, no significant changes seem to stem from these efforts. As Mauelele said, "The research on audience levels results in self-flattery; the organization sponsoring the research is always first in the poll." Magaia added that getting publicity is a battle for survival, and many press outlets believe that all means are valid to extol the "quality" of the media and win advertising.

In this sense, the results of audience surveys are used exhaustively to attract advertising, which is important to balance the finances of public organizations and vital to the survival of private media. Therefore, the panelists concluded that however many studies are carried out, they are unreliable given their character and, in general, the panel finds that there are no clear or specialized criteria; nor are there any effective research organizations to perform serious and independent surveys.

There are companies that perform market research for various types of businesses, but the panel is not aware of any experienced, specialized agencies engaged in media issues. The broadcaster's commission sponsors research studies that have been publicized, but these are not deemed reliable. The panel is not aware of any research studies on the distribution of media, and the audience surveys are not reliable in terms of their analyses and research parameters. Similarly, there are still no reliable assessments related to print media circulation.

OBJECTIVE 5: SUPPORTING INSTITUTIONS

Mozambique Objective Score: 2.28

There are no trade associations to represent the independent media. The Association of Journalistic Companies is nonfunctional and is not even properly registered with the Ministry of Justice. It was designed to represent the media bosses, including representative members of the administrative councils of the public media. It does not include publishers and unions, and, although a Mozambican

Publishers Association has been in the works for a number of years, it has not launched yet. The only existing union, the SNJ, represents individual members, not corporations. The Association of Advertising Agencies works as an industrial-level organization and represents member agencies, all of them private.

The only organization that brings community broadcasters together is FORCOM, a network that represents and protects the common interests of member radio stations. FORCOM promotes cooperation and collaboration between radio stations and the government, private sponsors, and development programs. FORCOM lobbies on behalf of the interests of its members and provides facilities for training and capacity building. Although membership is free and voluntary, the panel said there is weak participation of the private groups in relevant associations.

Mozambique's professional associations operate independently from the government. Tomás continues to believe that professional associations are almost nonexistent, or, at a minimum, their work is not visible. Again this year, the panelists felt that among media advocacy organizations, MISA-Mozambique works most actively on behalf of journalists and the general public in advocating for freedom of press, speech, and access to public information. It also provides legal support to reporters.

Apart from offering training activities developed in conjunction with other national institutions (mainly ministries and other government agencies) and interested foreign NGOs, the SNJ does not properly execute its mission to defend the interests of journalists, and new members are rare. Also, the Association of Newspaper Companies, and the still unofficial Publishers Association, has failed to defend or

SUPPORTING INSTITUTIONS FUNCTION IN THE PROFESSIONAL INTERESTS OF INDEPENDENT MEDIA.

SUPPORTING INSTITUTIONS INDICATORS:

- > Trade associations represent the interests of private media owners and provide member services.
- > Professional associations work to protect journalists' rights.
- > NGOs support free speech and independent media.
- > Quality journalism degree programs that provide substantial practical experience exist.
- > Short-term training and in-service training programs allow journalists to upgrade skills or acquire new skills.
- > Sources of newsprint and printing facilities are in private hands, apolitical, and unrestricted.
- > Channels of media distribution (kiosks, transmitters, Internet) are private, apolitical, and unrestricted.

Many graduates of journalism courses enter the profession with unacceptable deficiencies—for example, poor knowledge of the Portuguese language, unsatisfactory writing ability, and a lack of practical, hands-on training. Mavota emphasized the need to improve command of technologies and foreign languages.

promote the corporate interests of newspapers. At this time, there are still no organizations representing specific sectors of journalism.

According to Pacamutondo, there are some supporting institutions that have cooperated with independent media organizations by sponsoring journalists-in-training courses, providing supplies, and financing advertising campaigns or media campaigns. There are also active, locally managed NGOs that work with the media, particularly in the areas of training journalists and organizing thematic workshops and conferences. They include MISA, FORCOM, AMMCS, the Mozambican Association of Photography (for photojournalists), Photo Training Centre, Parliamentary Network of Journalists, the Mozambican Association of Filmmakers, AMCS, and SNJ.

Partnerships between NGOs and news organizations generally occur at the regional level of SADC, as well as at the national and local level, and aim at improving the coverage on various development issues, human rights, good governance, improving health quality, journalism techniques, etc. MISA responds to violations of media freedom, monitors the situation throughout the country, and actively engages in the review and drafting of laws on media and legal support to journalists.

MISA also cooperates with regional African organizations, such as the Southern African Broadcasting Association, the Publishers Association of Southern Africa, Gender and Media in Southern Africa with the Committee to Protect Journalists, and organizations from the Nordic countries. Traditionally, the SNJ has had strong links with the International Federation of Journalists.

A number of public institutions offer journalism courses, including the School of Communication and Arts of Eduardo Mondlane University, the Intermediate School of Journalism, the Advanced School of Journalism, and the Training Center for Photography. A handful of private institutions

also provide graduate courses: The Polytechnic University, the Catholic University of Mozambique, the Institute of Science and Technology of Mozambique, and the Institute of Technology and Management, among others. Vacancies for public journalism courses are very limited in comparison with the private sector. Panelists agreed that, although there are courses in journalism in high school and at the university level, the quality of work provided by many journalists remains weak.

The panelists point to low-quality teaching in the national education system as a cause. Many graduates of journalism courses enter the profession with unacceptable deficiencies—for example, poor knowledge of the Portuguese language, unsatisfactory writing ability, and a lack of practical, hands-on training. Mavota emphasized the need to improve command of technologies and foreign languages.

There are many young people who obtain their degrees in journalism abroad, mainly in Brazil and Portugal, and many of them return to their country after graduation. Generally, the training offered abroad is more solid than the training available locally. Although media organizations employ these returning individuals, retention is poor across the profession because of low wages. Tomás remarked, “Although there are schools of higher education for journalists, they are not supplying professionals to the media because many students prefer careers in marketing, advertising, and public relations”—fields that pay higher wages.

Chihale, in turn, admits the existence of gaps in the training of journalists but said that there are well-prepared journalists as well. Panelists also noted that media NGOs have supported and encouraged women to participate in short- and long-term training, as well as in higher education.

Several organizations offer training courses or practical training to journalists, either through government organizations, or through international or domestic NGOs. UNESCO has supported many training courses for journalists in the public sector, as well as in the private and communitarian sectors. The Nordic-SADC Journalism Center, which panelists said provides some of the best free training for all media sectors, unfortunately ceased functioning due to management problems, almost completely shutting down the program exchange of journalists in the SADC region. Most recently, in 2010, the PANOS Institute established an office in Mozambique, which already provides vocational training aimed at improving the quality of coverage and journalistic work throughout the production cycle.

According to the panelists, public speaking and broadcast presentation courses are currently most in demand. RM, through its Vocational Training Centre, offers short-term

courses for both basic training and more advanced topics in publishing, advertising and marketing, and management. It also provides courses on production, speech, management of information and communication equipment and technologies, and more.

Except for internships for graduate students, beneficiaries or media houses generally pay for staff to attend Vocational Training Centre courses. RM and TVM also take in and train interns in the final year of their journalism course. In terms of needs for short-term practical training courses, panelists said that, given the magnitude of training needs, it is difficult to highlight just a few challenging areas, because the entire production cycle suffers from a shortage of skilled professionals.

The sources of print media and printing facilities are private, apolitical, and unrestricted and are managed as for-profit businesses. They provide graphic services not only to the newspaper industry, but also to other industries or organizations. Almost all newspapers are headquartered in Maputo; privately owned printing facilities are also centered in Maputo. The main printing houses are Tempográfica (Timegraphic), of *Notícias*, the SOICO Group, and, in Beira, the graphic company that serves the *Daily of Mozambique*. They are not subject to official pressure and do not receive government grants. However, the panel found that printing options are insufficient for the needs of the newspaper market; the costs are high for many, so many opt to take their business to more affordable South African print shops.

There are no companies specializing in distribution. Instead, media organizations forge direct trade agreements directly with distributors. Typically, in small towns and villages, there are fewer distribution channels, but these channels are private, apolitical, and unrestricted. The distribution of print media throughout the country is problematic.

Magaia commented that the kiosks and other distribution agents are not completely disinterested and tend to benefit from their relationship with the media. "The public company Mozambique Airlines (LAM), for example, acts as distributor of print media but establishes a commercial relationship with the media, including public media. Relationships with graphics firms are also commercial, and there is no evidence of imposed restrictions on certain content of the media in relation to that connection," he concluded.

In principle, the private national broadcasters are responsible for their own equipment. Technically, Internet access is controlled by various public companies (CIUEM, TDM), but some are privately owned Internet service providers, operating with licenses issued by the government. It is unknown what degree of political influence these Internet service providers may eventually come to exercise.

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