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SENEGAL

With a marked thaw in tensions between the press and the Senegalese political establishment in 2010, harassment and violent acts against individual journalists and vandalism against media outlets decreased significantly. Although journalists reported some verbal harassment, none were imprisoned in 2010. MSI panelists noted a sharp drop in the number of times that police summoned journalists and publishers to headquarters to defend their work.

The shift in mood is also symbolized by the new press code, which prompted optimism among last year's MSI panelists and has encouraged the media community. Issued by Assises National (a forum for national dialogue), the code's provisions decriminalize libel, improve access to information, and stimulate the production of more local content. The new code steers at least 70 percent of the advertising from public companies to the private media, addressing those outlets' major financial disadvantage. However, at the time that the MSI was prepared, the Senegal Parliament had not yet voted on the code.

Another significant media event was the launch of Television Futurs Medias (TFM), a privately-owned cultural television channel sponsored by the Senegalese singer Youssou N'Dour. N'Dour owns the Futurs Medias press group, which includes a daily newspaper (*L'Observateur*) and a privately-owned commercial radio station (Radio Futurs Medias, RFM). TFM met all sorts of delays; for two years, the state had refused to grant N'Dour a broadcasting license.

Despite these optimistic signs, problems remain. Self-censorship poisons much reporting, and ethical and professional lapses, such as the acceptance of payment for coverage, continue. Media equipment in many outlets is severely outdated, and training is not keeping pace with technology—sounding alarms that Senegalese media might not be prepared for Africa's swiftly approaching 2015 switch from analog to digital technology. In addition, poor management practices at many media businesses, coupled with the global economic crisis, have pushed many outlets to the brink of financial disaster.

After a troubling downward trajectory for the past couple of years, MSI scores for Objective 1 (freedom of speech) improved in 2010—albeit just slightly. The scores highlight the ease in tensions between the government and the press. Scores for Objective 3 (addressing the plurality of news sources) and Objective 5 (focusing on the associations that support the press) changed little from previous MSI panels, confirming the relative sustainability in those areas. However, lower scores for Objective 2 (professional journalism) and Objective 4 (business management) reflect the lingering problems facing Senegalese journalists and media outlets. Although Objective 2 scores showed slight gains over last year, Objective 4 scores declined further over the past year.

SENEGAL AT A GLANCE

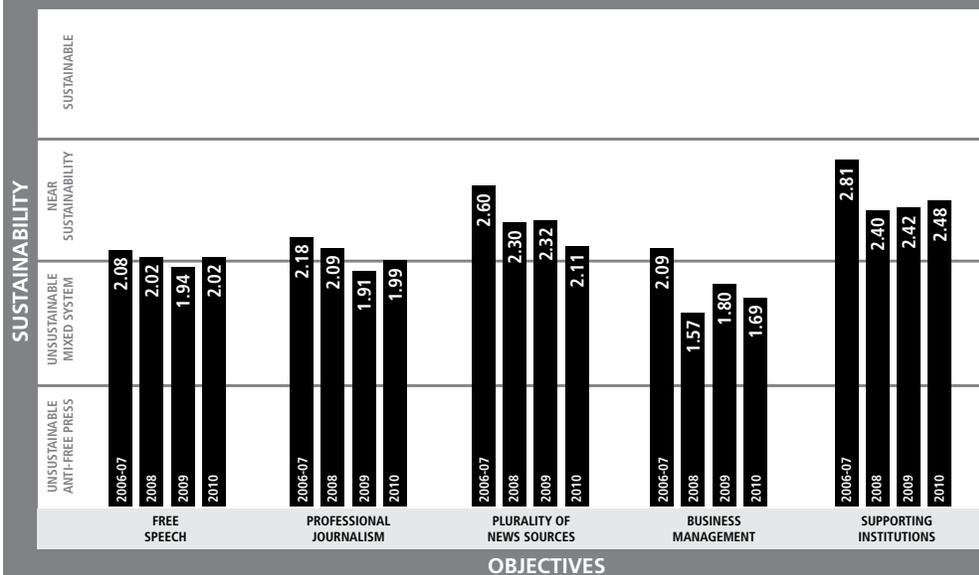
GENERAL

- > **Population:** 12,643,799 (July 2011 est., *CIA World Factbook*)
- > **Capital city:** Dakar
- > **Ethnic groups (% of population):** Wolof 43.3%; Pular 23.8%; Serer 14.7%; Jola 3.7%; Mandinka 3%; Soninke 1.1%; Europeans and Lebanese 1%; others 9.4% (*CIA World Factbook*)
- > **Religions (% of population):** Muslims 94%; Christians (predominantly Catholics) 5%; indigenous religions 1% (*CIA World Factbook*)
- > **Languages:** French (official language); Wolof; Pulaar; Jola; Mandinka (*CIA World Factbook*)
- > **GNI (2010-Atlas):** \$13.53 billion (World Bank Development Indicators, 2011)
- > **GNI per capita (2010-PPP):** \$1,850 (World Bank Development Indicators, 2011)
- > **Literacy rate:** 39.3% (male 51.1%, female 29.2%) (2002 estimate, *CIA World Factbook*)
- > **President or top authority:** President Abdoulaye Wade (since April 1, 2000)

MEDIA-SPECIFIC

- > **Number of active print outlets, radio stations, television stations:** Print: 18 daily newspapers, including *Le Soleil* (state-owned), 15 periodicals and 5 online newspapers; Radio Stations: 2 state-owned radio channels, 18 private commercial radio stations, 50 community radio stations; Television Stations: 2 state-owned channels, 7 private stations (2008 estimate, Dakar Agency for Strategic and Research Studies, Agence Dakaroise d'Etudes Stratégiques et de Recherche)
- > **Newspaper circulation statistics:** N/A
- > **Broadcast ratings:** N/A
- > **News agencies:** Senegalese Press Agency
- > **Annual advertising revenue in media sector:** N/A
- > **Internet usage:** 1.818 million (2009 est., *CIA World Factbook*)

MEDIA SUSTAINABILITY INDEX: SENEGAL



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

Senegal Objective Score: 2.02

The freedom of speech is relatively well protected by Senegal's constitution, according to Mbaye Sidy Mbaye, former manager of Radio Senegal. He quoted the 2001 constitution's Article 8, which guarantees the freedom of speech and defines it as among civil and political liberties. Mbaye added that Law 96-04 of 1996 (known as the Senegalese press code) also protects the freedom of the press, but Abdoulaye Thiam, secretary general of the Convention des Jeunes Reporters du Sénégal, pointed out that this legislation includes ambiguous legal mechanisms that can be used to threaten or obstruct press freedom. The mechanisms purport to protect national security and guard against contempt for the head of state.

All in all, the panelists said that they believe that Senegalese laws officially protect the freedom of the press and the freedom of speech, but regret that protections are not enforced often. The lack of enforcement is due mainly to pressure from political and religious forces that have systematically used violence to deter the media. The 2009 panelists decried that informants had heavily infiltrated the Senegalese government, that the authorities would frequently summon journalists to justify their work, and that telephone tapping had increased. This year, however, panelists reported far fewer such incidents, and appeared

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.

confident that the new press code will pass and strengthen free speech protections further.

But Ibrahima Benjamin Diagne, RFM regional correspondent in Fatick, disapproved of the fact that the new code gives magistrates and prosecutors the right to suspend any press identity card in cases of "serious offense." In his opinion, if the offense is proven, a panel of journalists should make the decision to suspend the offender's press card. Otherwise, he argued, the risk is that the state may use the judicial system to muzzle the press, especially since the judicial power is not independent from the executive.

Just as in previous MSI studies, this year's panelists criticized the broadcast licensing process harshly. They said that they consider the process politically biased, with the state granting licenses only to political allies. According to a law dating back to 2001, applicants must file requests with the Ministry of Communications to acquire broadcast licenses. If accepted, an application is forwarded to the Agence de Régulation des Télécommunications et des Postes (ARTP), the agency that issues licenses. But last year's panelists commented that ARTP has become a political tool. This year, panelists denounced the "intrusion" of the president in the television license granting process, noting that even Youssou N'Dour had to visit President Abdoulaye Wade in person to receive a license. In Mbaye's opinion, the president should not interfere with licensing procedures; the Ministry of Communications and the ARTP should handle the process.

In terms of market entry, print media outlets continue to enjoy advantages over their counterparts in broadcasting, according to the panelists. It takes less than 48 hours to launch a newspaper, in contrast to the hurdles involved in obtaining broadcast licenses. The panelists were unanimous that media businesses are not granted any special privileges, however, and expressed a wish for the state to make good on its promise to implement tax amnesty for media companies. But according to Bacary Domingo Mané, a member of the National Executive Office of the Senegalese Union of Information and Communication Professionals (BEN/SYNPICS), the idea that press companies are not treated favorably is inaccurate, as long as newsprint and audio-visual equipment are tax exempt. On the other hand, Mané was skeptical that tax amnesty could be possible, due to the lack of transparency in this area. He said also that an amnesty program might do more harm than good for journalists; for example, if press owners had the idea that they need not pay taxes for a given period of time, they also might not pay the required pension contributions for journalists. This is why press publishers have lobbied the Ministry of Finance in favor of a tax amnesty, and why SYNPICS prefers to abstain on the question, Mané concluded.

Regarding criminal acts against media members and the judicial treatment of journalists, the panelists recognized that the Senegalese press did not suffer from as much repression in 2010. The participants saluted the courts' progressive stance in the case of the police officers that attacked journalists Kambel Dieng and Karamokho Thioune, and panelists were encouraged by the Ministry of the Interior, which controls the national police, and its promise to not obstruct justice. Nevertheless, Mame Diarra Da Sylva of Dakar community radio station Manoore FM said that the number of physical attacks against Senegalese journalists and media outlets might have decreased relatively in 2010, but there are still acts of verbal aggression. As an example, she cited threats by Farba Senghor, a transportation minister, who suggested that journalists lack ethics and need to be taught a lesson in that respect.

Ibrahima Benjamin Diagne, an RFM correspondent in Fatick, brought up the problems that regional correspondents face out in the field, as well. Diagne was kidnapped when he went to the Saloum Islands, the "mystical" preparation place of Senegalese wrestler Yekini, to do a story on the Yekini versus Tyson match. Diagne said that if it were not for the intervention of the local authorities, he would not have made it out alive. He is convinced that he was going to be thrown into the sea—and indeed, the law enforcement teams that freed him from his kidnapers told him the same. Mbaye expressed regret that Diagne neither filed a complaint nor informed SYNPICS or the Comité d'Observation pour le Respect de l'Éthique et de la Déontologie (CORED). In his opinion, such matters must be brought to court and are never amicably settled privately.

Although the law guarantees the independence of journalists, in reality, the public and state-owned media receive preferential treatment, most panelists acknowledged. A clear model of favoritism is the state broadcaster, Radio-Television Senegal (RTS), which has a virtual monopoly on official information and receives most of its advertising from state-owned companies (Port Autonome de Dakar, Loterie Nationale Sénégalaise, etc.). René Massiga Diouf, an RTS reporter, said the notion of preferential treatment must be taken with a grain of salt, as the state has not protected RTS journalists from delayed salary payments. In such cases, the RTS CEO draws on his connections to solve any salary issues, even if that means he will become indebted to banks.

Mané said that the Senegalese press code regulates defamation and provides financial sanctions as well as criminal penalties for defamation by the press. He added that the new press code to be voted upon by parliament is a step forward, in that it changes the punishment from prison terms to financial sanctions for journalists found guilty of defamation. Not all the panelists agreed on this point, though. For Antanar

Ndiaye, of *L'Office*, decriminalizing press offenses may place journalists above the law. She said that she sees the need to redefine defamatory acts because, in her opinion, the problem lies in the ambiguity of the code. And Younoussé Diedhiou, of RTS-Ziguinchor, said that he fears that replacing criminal penalties with financial sanctions may kill off the press outlets, given that they are quite fragile financially already. He wondered whether decriminalization is a false solution. Mbaye, for his part, said that he leans toward decriminalizing press offenses. He said that such policies will help to establish fair treatment of journalists—who by profession report on the acts of other persons and institutions—are much more likely than regular citizens to commit defamation.

Again this year, the great difficulties in accessing public information generated much discussion. According to Oumoul Khairy Diakhate, a journalist with *Nouvel Horizon*, possession of "sensitive" information is still considered "concealment of official documents," punishable under the law. But the pending new press code brings significant improvements on this point, asserting the right of access to public information, Mané noted.

In terms of accessing domestic and international news sources, the panelists' high scores reflect the lack of restrictions. Internet access is readily obtainable, and journalists can tap foreign media such as France 24, Reuters, and AFP with ease.

The Senegalese press code defines "journalist" and regulates the process of entry into the profession. Under the code's definition, a journalist must make most of his or her income by practicing journalism. But the question of free access to the profession stirred a lively panel debate. For Mané, the law gives anyone with no prior training the right to become a journalist. He said that he is satisfied with the provisions of the new press code, which make access to the profession somewhat more challenging. Based on the new code, he said, a person that wishes to practice journalism must have one of the following: a degree from a state-approved school of journalism; a university degree and three years of journalistic practice; or ten years of journalistic experience as an editor. An applicant without a degree from a state-approved journalism school must go before a committee to be recognized as a journalist.

According to Gamby Diagne, a journalist with *La Voix Plus* and a Lamp Fall FM correspondent in Saint-Louis, the "journalist" definition that the new press code proposes has led to a false debate, since, in his view, the self-educated journalists have always been those giving the press its credentials. Besides, he concluded, a degree does not guarantee reliability, just as a doctor with an eight-year education is not error-free.

OBJECTIVE 2: PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISM

Senegal Objective Score: 1.99

The question of quality in reporting also led to animated debate. According to Da Sylva, reporting is objective in Senegal to the extent that the reporter does fieldwork and research. Ibrahima Lissa Faye, managing editor of the online paper Pressafrik.com, did not share this view. He said that the Senegalese press do less and less reporting, in the true sense of the term. He said that articles may be written well but not documented well. Moreover, reporters do not always check every available source, and opinion often prevails over fact. For Diagne, the major problem is that reporting is usually biased, usually in complicity with the editors-in-chief interested in presenting just one side of a story. Ndiaye lamented that journalists do not draw on experts to develop their stories, but recognized that experts are not always available—and some of them—particularly those affiliated with the government—invoke their duty to be discreet about certain cases.

The panelists were even more critical of the media's observation of professional ethics standards. They all slammed the journalists' practice of accepting money from event organizers. According to Mbaye, journalists are not forced to cover an event if their outlets do not pay for their transportation expenses; even more, the law gives them the right to refuse. Mbaye shared his surprise and outrage when journalists from Benin—a country whose self-regulatory agencies are regarded as exemplary for the African continent—revealed how the money from event organizers is redistributed throughout the Beninese media. In his opinion,

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).

journalists must fight with their supervisors for better wages, and not use low pay as an excuse to yield to corruption.

Self-censorship is the poison of the Senegalese press, panelists said. Usually, it occurs in cases concerning friendly high-standing officials, advertisers such as SONATEL, or certain religious groups. Mané observed that sometimes journalists pressure advertisers to provide more business for their outlets; then, once the contract is signed, the same journalists succumb to self-censorship with respect to the advertisers.

Some members of the panel, including Ndiaye, defended self-censorship on sensitive issues, such as legal cases in which journalists must report with a presumption of innocence. In the same vein, Ibrahima Benjamin Diagne admitted that he often finds himself practicing a partial self-censorship. For example, when he covered a scandal involving a police officer from the city of Fatik that used a false degree to apply for a position, he omitted the name of the accused person because, in his view, it was more important to raise the public's awareness about that type of offense.

According to the panelists, generally the Senegalese press cover key events and issues. Nevertheless, Faye observed, the media very rarely address environmental issues, although they have become significant. The same is true of information and communication technologies—now a major sector of the Senegalese economy. At the same time, Faye admitted that the lack of journalists specializing in those areas might explain why those subjects receive so little coverage, and why the Senegalese press seem infatuated with politics instead. Ibrahima Benjamin Diagne agreed with this view, and added that he regrets that the press only address homosexuality and freemasonry in a negative tone.

One of last year's panelists noted the unfairness of Senegalese pay scales: a journalist that invests five years in school to earn a degree earns a monthly salary of XOF 200,000 (\$395 at the time) while someone with the same level of education working in a different sector earns more. Furthermore, many journalists do not have a work contract, and their salaries vary, from XOF 25,000 to XOF 50,000 (\$55 to 110). But in considering whether or not low media salaries tempt journalists into corruption, Mbaye said that Senegalese journalists are not the worst-paid individuals in the country, and the collective bargaining agreement governing the profession is not so bad. Gamby Diagne disagreed, saying that the number of press companies that actually observe this agreement is negligible. He added that, contrary to expectations, the best-paid journalists seem to ask for higher bribes than others when covering certain events.

In defense of press owners, Faye (who is a press owner himself) pointed out that media companies are in a very tight

situation economically. Ndiaye, on the other hand, said that she sees no reason why press companies should continue to exist if their situations are that difficult. In her opinion, press owners excessively invoke the tough environment to justify why they break the labor law.

As reflected in the score for the indicator on the balance of entertainment and news programming, all the panelists denounced the supremacy of “infotainment” in the Senegalese media. Every single programming rule is broken, they said, particularly on commercial radio stations and private television channels that air musical shows and television soap operas almost around the clock. Today, entertainment is so prevalent that show hosts are paid better and held in greater esteem than journalists driven by their duty to inform the public.

The panelists also expressed that the Senegalese media must show greater effort to modernize the technical equipment necessary to gather, produce, and distribute news. Mané said that he deeply laments the low picture quality of privately owned television channels—a problem he blames on reporters, who often shoot with simple photo cameras equipped with video capability. He also complained about the poor audio quality of privately owned commercial radio stations. In his view, media equipment is severely outdated—a reality all the more alarming considering that the world will switch from analog to digital technology in 2015. Whether the Senegalese media will be ready is uncertain, he said. Mbaye concurred with Mané’s diagnosis on digital conversion, but argued that technical equipment is adequate; the real problem, he said, is the lack of competence of television and radio technicians. In his opinion, press owners must stop taking the easy way and either provide training for their technicians or hire more skilled staff.

Despite the shortcomings they detailed, panelists expressed the belief that Senegalese media provide selective, quality shows and reports on various subjects. Rene Massiga Diouf, a reporter with National Television, mentioned “Objections” on Sud FM and “Le Grand Jury” on RFM—two talk shows that he enjoys listening to on Sundays. Ndiaye, on the other hand, complained that the same specialists are being invited on every show and they speak on various topics that do not always fall under their scope of competence. He added that other people certainly are better suited to address specific issues. Diouf pointed out that the constraints involved in producing these shows may stem from press owners that dictate guest lists, specialists who cite lack of preparation as an excuse to refuse being on the show, and politicians who decline invitations if they believe their interlocutors are not “up to their level.”

OBJECTIVE 3: PLURALITY OF NEWS

Senegal Objective Score: 2.11

The panel saluted the diversity of news sources available to Senegalese citizens, be it public or private; in print, on radio, on television, or through the Internet. The panelists indicated that there are still obstacles, however. Most of the Senegalese people cannot read newspapers due to the high illiteracy rate, and privately owned commercial radio stations and the Internet are limited to the larger cities. Pointing to those discrepancies, the panelists praised the role of the community radio stations in producing and distributing local interest news in the rural areas.

According to the panel members, there are no legal provisions restricting citizen access to domestic media. At most, one can speak about technical limits. Younoussé Didhiou, a journalist with RTS-Ziguinchor, mentioned the southern city of Sedhiou, where people struggle constantly with reception of the national television channel. In his opinion, the problems are rooted in geography, as the city lies in a low plain area. As for Matam, in the north of the country, Thiam said that newspapers—almost all of them printed in Dakar—often take 48 hours to arrive, due to the remoteness of the region. People there find it easier to receive Mauritanian television than Senegalese channels. The panelists lauded efforts by some privately owned television channels, such as 2STV, to broaden their reach, and panel members emphasized that access to the main foreign television channels and radio stations is not restricted.

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 general, the panelists said, they do not believe that the public or state-owned media reflect a diversity of opinions, due to their strict subordination to the political regime. Gamby Diagne said that the proof is their systematic coverage of all the activities of the government, while anyone who is not a friend of the regime must pay for media coverage. For Diagne, the worst part is that the state is not satisfied with controlling the public media; it also funds biased media outlets in order to cloud public perception of all privately owned media. At the same time, to certain panelists, the problem lies mostly with the national television channel, as opposed to the governmental *Le Soleil* and the national radio station, which seem to show more respect for a plurality of opinions. As a whole, the panel agreed that the professionalism of state media journalists is not being questioned, but rather their editors' pro-governmental policy.

Senegal has only one national news agency: Agence S n galaise de Presse (APS). Most of the international news agencies (AFP, Reuters, etc.) are accredited in Senegal. The panelists acknowledged that these agencies are professional and politically independent, but they objected to the way that some agencies present news from Africa—in the view of some panelists, it comes close to stigmatization. Ibrahima Benjamin Diagne does not understand, for example, why almost all presidents are presented as dictators. For that reason, he said, does not take seriously certain international news agencies.

Concerning the production of original news programs, the panelists lamented that the privately owned television channels fill air time with Western soap operas. According to Da Sylva, some channels do try to produce original programs, but often they turn out to be mere imitations of foreign shows. Man  commented that is why the new press code stipulates that 60 percent of audio-visual programs be produced locally, and recommends that the political establishment subsidize such productions, because currently, Senegalese media lack the required resources.

As for the transparency of media ownership, the panelists denounced the fact that consumers do not know who really owns many of Senegal's press outlets, despite the requirement by law that press companies disclose their owners. To Mbaye, the most alarming phenomenon is the clustering several media outlets in the hands of one entity, making it easier to manipulate public opinion. But Man  reassured the panelists that the new, pending press code will not allow media conglomerates.

In general, the Senegalese media do not reflect a variety of social interests. Man  commented that minority ethnic groups such as the Balanta, Malinke, and Mankanya (in the south of Senegal) appear only once a year on television. And yet, he added, the rest of the country has so much to learn from these communities.

OBJECTIVE 4: BUSINESS MANAGEMENT

Senegal Objective Score: 1.69

According to the panelists, Senegalese press companies in general—and privately owned ones in particular—are not profitable and are on the verge of economic disaster. Although the global social-economic context can be blamed, all the panelists agreed that the main problem stems from poor management practices. Man  said that Senegal has accountants and financial experts capable of managing media businesses effectively, but even if media companies employed experts, they would not have much room to do their jobs. Press owners treat media outlets as their personal pockets; they can just take out cash as they please, regardless of standard management rules. Often, Man  continued, press owners push their accountants to hand over cash to their relatives.

The financial situation of the press companies in the public sector is not much brighter. In recent years, state-owned newspapers and audio-visual media have delayed salary payments for their journalists. The core problem is that the state requires these media to operate as public services, while being reduced to finding their own funding, mainly through advertising.

The panelists pointed out that the media sector has many sources of financing: advertising, newspaper sales, sponsorship, patronage, state assistance to the press, etc. Advertising is the most important source of revenue. The estimated advertising market is more than XOF 10 billion (\$21.63 million), although half of that does not go to the media. The panelists denounced advertising distribution

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.

practices, as public companies unfairly favor the state-owned media in granting advertising contracts. According to Mané, the imbalance is the reason for the new press code's requirement that the private media receive at least 70 percent of publicly sourced advertising.

As for community radio stations, their mission prevents them from selling advertising space, but they are permitted to accept the sponsorship of individuals or organizations in keeping with their social (rather than commercial) style of programming.

The advertising agencies and subsidiary businesses related to the advertising market in Senegal have enjoyed significant development in recent years. However, the panelists criticized them because they draw more than half of the nation's advertising business, and they require very high commissions from the media to air commercials and publish ads. Some panelists also blame them for the passive attitude of press company sales managers, while advertisers negotiate directly with advertising agencies. The advertising business exists only in the larger, more economically modern cities, panelists noted also.

The panelists said that the media are constantly breaking rules regarding media advertising revenue. Advertising takes up more and more space, especially on television and radio, to the detriment of news—leading some panelists to ask whether advertising revenues are the main incentive for some to create media outlets in the first place. Ndiaye expressed outrage as well that privately owned television channels broadcast editorial advertising masquerading as news programs, noting that 2STV is well known for this practice. Editorial advertising in disguise has become so widespread that, in its quarterly bulletin, the Conseil National de Régulation de l'Audiovisuel (CNRA) issues warnings repeatedly to press companies and commands them to stop using images of children for advertising purposes.

Panelists said that the only public subsidy for the press is the state assistance introduced in 1996; it amounts to XOF 300 million (\$643,000) per year. The panelists complained that this money is distributed irregularly, and the authorities do not adhere to the set criteria—channeling the funds to government-friendly media outlets that do not meet the prescribed conditions.

The panelists said that market studies to inform strategic business plans, improve advertising revenues, and tailor content to public needs and interests are rare in Senegal. Ratings reports are published periodically, but the panelists give them no credit because they are conducted mostly in Dakar and its outskirts, and their conclusions should not be extrapolated to the rest of the country. If serious market

research were conducted in Senegal, the country would not have so many daily newspapers, Thiam commented.

The production of audience ratings charts, circulation figures, and other statistics is not very developed, either, but some media companies do make efforts in this direction. Thiam said that *Sud Quotidien* has circulation and sales figures available, and even statistics on the most productive journalists. But to Ndiaye, such statistics must be taken with a grain of salt, because they are being used purely for commercial purposes and apply every bias possible.

OBJECTIVE 5: SUPPORTING INSTITUTIONS

Senegal Objective Score: 2.48

The only press owners' association in Senegal is Conseil des Diffuseurs et Editeurs de la Presse Sénégalaise (CDEPS). According to Faye, a media owner, CDEPS certainly has clout, as it recently finished negotiating a three-year tax amnesty with the state. Faye was willing to bet that when the amnesty expires, the business environment of Senegalese press companies will be much improved, and the journalists' salary problem will be solved once and for all. More skeptical, Diakhate said that he fears that these anticipated improvements will only fill up the personal bank accounts of media owners, to the detriment of their companies and staff. Most of the other panelists sided with Diakhate on that point.

Among the professional associations working to protect the rights of journalists, SYNPICS is the most representative, bringing together journalists from the public sector and the private sector. Generally, the panelists agreed that SYNPICS works hard to defend journalists' interests. According to

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.

Faye, for example, SYNPICS played a major role in designing the new press code, and is about to propose a new collective bargaining agreement for journalists and other media professionals. At the same time, Ndiaye said, only a handful of journalists benefit from its actions—namely the defense of Kambel Dieng and Karamokho Thioune—and SYNPICS does not budge when other journalists are harassed.

In Senegal, many NGOs are upholding the freedom of speech and the independent media. They include Institut Panos Afrique de l'Ouest (IPAO), dedicated to democratizing communication; the German foundations Konrad Adenauer and Friedrich Ebert; the human rights organization Rencontre Africaine de Défense des Droits de l'Homme (RADDHO); and Forum Civil. The panelists credit these NGOs with very positive work out in the field. Thiam, for example, expressed satisfaction that these NGOs funded media training seminars and provided legal assistance during the recent defamation trial of investigative journalist Abdou Latif Coulibaly brought by people close to the government.

The relatively high score that panelists gave to the indicator on quality of journalism degrees is credited largely to the prestige of the Centre d'Etudes des Sciences et Techniques de l'Information (CESTI), founded by the state in 1965. All the panelists agreed CESTI provides solid training, just like the Institut Supérieur des Sciences de l'Information et de la Communication (ISSIC), a private institution owned by the Sud Communication media group. On the other hand, the panelists regretted that the student capacity of these renowned training schools is too limited, given the growing demand for training—and as a result, the country is seeing a boom of shady journalism schools.

The panelists said that SYNPICS and Convention des Jeunes Reporters du Sénégal offer short-term training sessions. With financial support from NGOs such as Institut Panos Afrique de l'Ouest and Konrad Adenauer Foundation, SYNPICS organizes training seminars that many journalists in Dakar and the other regions of the country attend. Also, thanks to SYNPICS' lobbying efforts, 10 percent of the XOF 300 million in governmental press assistance is invested in training. The panelists lamented, however, that media owners exert little effort in providing journalist training, on the job or otherwise—in part to avoid dealing with salary and reclassification demands detailed by the collective bargaining agreement of Senegalese journalists.

As far as the panelists are aware, newspaper sources and printing houses are apolitical generally and free of any legal restrictions. In fact, the panelists pointed out that the privately owned media are increasingly autonomous, and some of them have even acquired their own supply sources and printing houses.

Senegal has two newspaper distribution sectors. The official sector, covered by the Agence de Distribution de la Presse (ADP), works with newsstand managers; while an unofficial sector is covered by street vendors and traffic-stop vendors in the larger cities. According to the panelists, both sectors are apolitical.

The state does not control radio broadcasters, but ARTP, the frequency-granting governmental agency, has the right to monitor the broadcasting quality and has issued specifications describing the technical characteristics of the equipment used in radio broadcasting. Internet access is available through subscriptions to private providers (SONATEL, SUDATEL) or prepaid connections in Internet cafés. Providers' goals are purely commercial, according to the panelists.

List of Panel Participants

Rene Massiga Diouf, journalist, Radio-Television Senegal, Dakar

Younousse Diedhiou, journalist, Radio-Television Senegal, Ziguinchor

Antanar Ndiaye, journalist, *L'Office*, Dakar

Oumoul Khairy Diakhate, journalist, *Nouvel Horizon*, Dakar

Mame Diarra Da Sylva, journalist, Radio Manore FM, Dakar

Bacary Domingo Mane, member, Senegalese Union of Information and Communication Professionals, Dakar

Mbaye Sidy Mbaye, former director, Radio Senegal, Dakar

Abdou Timera, journalist, Ferloo.com, Dakar

Ibrahima Lissa Faye, journalist and managing editor of Pressafrik.com, Dakar

Abdoulaye Thiam, secretary general, Convention des Jeunes Reporters du Sénégal, Dakar

Souleymane Bâ, manager, Radio Afia FM (community station), Dakar

Ibrahima Benjamin Diagne, journalist, RFM, Fatick

Gamby Diagne, journalist, *La Voix Plus*; correspondent, Lamp Fall FM, Saint-Louis

Moderator and Author

Mor Faye, professor of media and communication sociology, Gaston Berger University, Saint-Louis

Assistant

Mame Fatou Faty, journalist, Dakar

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