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MOZAMBIQUE

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Between 2011 and 2012, the political, social, and media environment was mostly stable in Mozambique. Aside from sporadic demonstrations from former soldiers who fought in the war of independence, maintenance of the status quo prevailed. This is also true with regard to the media. Despite the broad expansion of television stations, radio remains the dominant form of media in Mozambique, with Radio Mozambique retaining its preeminent status.

Despite this stability, the panelists continue to point to a lack of training in the journalism sector, from journalists and editors, to media managers and government regulators. There is significant concern not only about the quality of the end products, but also about the quality of reporting that goes into the news, salary, safety, and support that journalists and companies receive.

There has also been some regression due to political interference and censorship, particularly with regard to district authorities in relation to community media. In 2011, this also affected the media more widely due to the deplorable performance of Edson Macuácuà, the former secretary for mobilization and propaganda of the governing Mozambique Liberation Front (known by its Portuguese acronym, FRELIMO). Macuácuà's repeated partisan interference through editorial directives, the confiscation of the opposition-supported *Jornal O País*, and the suspension of a popular TV Mozambique (TVM) program drew the ire of both journalists and politicians and led to his dismissal. This series of events demonstrated the willingness of officials to act capriciously against media outlets, but also the resilience of a society willing to challenge such behavior.

The panelists for the MSI observed that the basic legal framework that exists in Mozambique is not enough to ensure media freedom, as there are gaps in terms of regulations and regulatory mechanisms. Furthermore, as evidenced by the lack of progress on the Press Law, the Broadcasting and Media Law, or the Access to Information Act, there is little political willingness to pursue even short-term solutions for the legal and regulatory issues that the media do face.

MOZAMBIQUE AT A GLANCE

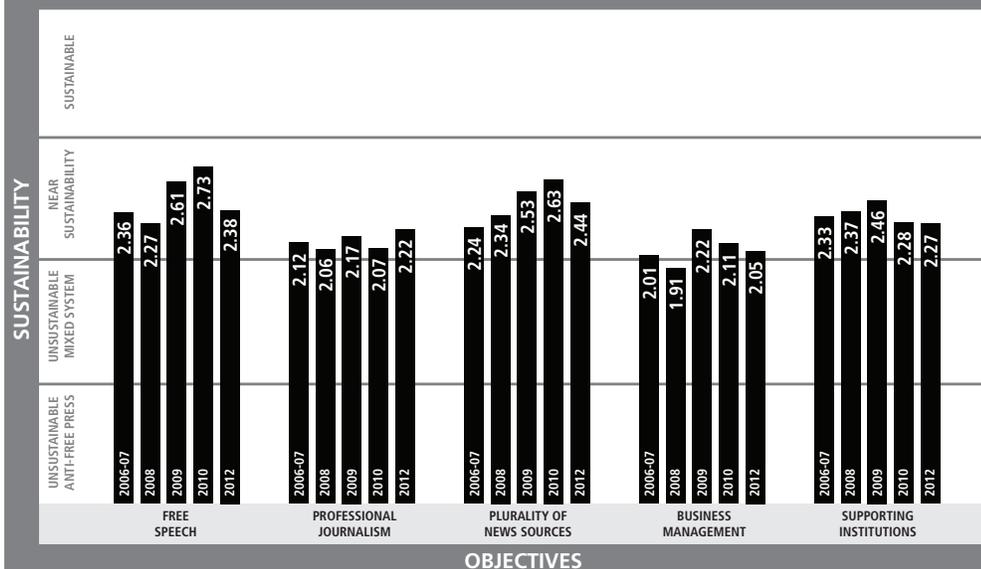
GENERAL

- > **Population:** 23,515,934 (July 2012 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 (2011-Atlas):** \$11.24 billion (World Bank Development Indicators, 2012)
- > **GNI per capita (2011-PPP):** \$980 (World Bank Development Indicators, 2012)
- > **Literacy rate:** 56.1% (male 70.8%, female 42.8%) (2010 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: 2.38

The constitution of the republic of Mozambique and Law 18/91, also known as the Press Law, ensures the freedom of speech. That right is used frequently and increasingly by citizens and organizations who seek to express themselves and complain about various problems. The media have also been making increased use of this principle in their broadcasts and publications, which often present reports and news that show human-rights violations and opposition viewpoints, including those accusing the government of wrongdoing.

The entire panel agreed that, in legal terms, the constitution and the Press Law enable an environment that favors free speech and access to information. However, the panel also agreed that there is a great distance between these rules and their implementation. As Luís Couto, economist and general director at Intercampus-Mozambique, said, “We need more than good laws. If journalists want to keep the fourth estate, they have to be able to practice indignation. To that end, they have to follow up on the subjects they report.”

João Carlos Colaço, a professor of sociology at Eduardo Mondlane University, highlighted that “the main problem is not the absence of legal and social rules, but the implementation or application of such rules and the respect that should exist for them.” Too often, the laws that exist are either not enforced or enforced only selectively.

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.

Maria da Anunciação Mabui, a school director and community radio producer, as well as a panelist from Manhiça district, described how these laws are often ignored in outlying areas. “Many community radio stations have no freedom to say what they want. The material recorded cannot be fully broadcast, and there are always some censored portions. Also, it is difficult to work, because the governing party and the district administration determine what should be broadcast, when, and who should cover a certain event.”

While they establish a workable framework for media freedoms, the media laws of Mozambique are not perfect. Ismael Mussá, a member of the Assembly of the Republic from the opposition Democratic Movement of Mozambique, complained, “There is no law to protect the editorial independence of state-owned and public media. The lack of such a law to ensure the right to information has contributed to information’s not being provided openly to journalists—I imagine to citizens in general.”

In a country like Mozambique, community radio stations are an essential vehicle for the promotion of popular participation, but, according to radio newsman Carlos Coelho, “the level of freedom and editorial independence at these community radio and TV stations is closely related to the supporting entity,” whether that is the government or opposition groups.

During the panel discussion, as Colaço said, it was clear that “there is an illusion around democracy and freedom of expression and the press: the farther from the country’s capital, the harder it is to find democracy.” Colaço gave the example of the Community Radio Station of Alto Molócuè, where, with direct interference of the FRELIMO ruling party secretariat in community radio stations, its radio announcers have felt limited and under control when they report facts that may affect that party. There is a wide diversity of experience among community radio stations with regard to interference and censorship, which illustrates the disparity that exists between the laws as they are written and as they are practiced across regions of the country.

Alfredo Libombo Tomás, a freelance journalist, media consultant, and activist in the defense of media rights, said that it is hard to ensure free speech, as “such intolerance against media professionals doesn’t come only from the governing party, but also from RENAMO, the most important opposition party, which not long ago prosecuted journalist Vasco da Gama for his report on an alleged wedding of the party’s leader with a member of the Assembly of the Republic. More recently, in February 2012, RENAMO members attacked in Nampula two journalists from TVM, a public television station, who were covering the living conditions of 300 former soldiers encamped in the party’s office in that city.”

As in previous MSI studies, the panel found licensing to be generally fair and apolitical. Only technical and financial limitations constitute practical restrictions. Although exempt, most online media outlets are registered by their owners, and there is no registration system for blogs. The panelists considered registration and licensing to be one of the strongest aspects in support of independent media in Mozambique.

The licensing rules for media in Mozambique have been the same since the first MSI panel—that is, the same provisions, requirements, and procedures have been in effect since 2007. Refinaldo Chilengue, journalist and editorial director of electronic *Correio da Manhã* and magazine *Prestígio*, said that the licensing system is liberal and simple, which is a good thing, as it does not place print media under pressure. Couto partially agrees with Chilengue, noting, “The registration system in Mozambique is good, because it is neither restrictive nor controlling, and it adapts to the environment in which the demographic concentration and the access to radio signals are not a problem.” He also expressed his belief that licensing “is favorable in terms of quality and quantity, as Mozambique has 11 TV channels and 190 radio stations, but the market is not saturated; licenses are easily obtained, and only four channels have nationwide coverage.” Over the past several years, no refusal of registration or license has been reported.

In Mozambique, the entry of any organization into the media market is not restricted, though registration is mandatory. According to Chilengue, registration “to print and operate online media is easier [than broadcast], because the law is liberal, the requirements are extremely transparent, and the registration procedures are simple.”

Couto said that, “Given its nature, media business registration should have a different procedure from the other [industries],” highlighting that “Taxes are so high for both media and other business sectors, and when compared with other African countries, the tax burden in Mozambique is extreme.” For Coelho, preferential treatment should be offered to the media industry. “As media companies pay taxes, they should have the right to pay reduced or zero customs duties for equipment and consumables, particularly newsprint.”

Radio Mozambique (RM) and TVM, the largest public media outlets and boasting nationwide coverage, receive financial support through a program contract they have signed with the government. Ouri Pota Chapata Pacamutondo informed the panel that TVM has a program contract that ensures exemption from product import taxes. But Couto said that there are some “legal provisions that enable the reduction or exemption from taxes when promoting investments.”

However, it is not clear the extent to which media companies might benefit from such possible privileges, considering that promotion of investments implies foreign capital, which is unlikely to flow into media in Mozambique in the near future.

In general, the environment for the practice of journalism was considered by the panelists to be decent because there have been no violent crimes against journalists, reporters, or photographers, including amateurs and bloggers. However, little is said about those who operate through blogs, the Internet, or cartoonists, as they are not considered media professionals. As a result, crimes and persecutions against them are not treated with the same attention as when the victim is a broadcast or print journalist. Panelists did report widespread talk about threats from unspecified politically connected sources, including individuals with government connections, but no concrete examples could be cited.

The panelists expressed a variety of views on the subject of censorship and state control. Panelist and professor Hortêncio Jeremias said, “When themes that provoke the government are addressed, journalists are threatened, and, as they are afraid of retaliation, they draw back and change their way of addressing certain topics.” Mabui recalled a colleague in the regional community radio sphere who refused to divulge a source to the administration and was fired. João Lobão noted, “Although no records and publication of cases have been reported, there is increasing intolerance from authorities for the work of journalists, and intimidations and threats are made almost every day.” For Colaço, this situation is a result of how journalists relate to the economic and political power—something that, according to Tomás, may be aggravated by the approaching cycle of elections that will start with local elections in 2013 and general elections in 2014.

In legal terms, editorial independence of public media is guaranteed. All media agencies are required to have an editorial board and statutes to promote self-regulation. But, just like the previous indicators, there is a great distance between the law and the practice. Except in those cases where their rules explicitly require diversity, the board members for most public media agencies in Mozambique are assigned by the ruling political party. Chairpersons of boards or general directors of public media agencies, including RM, TVM, Instituto de Comunicação Social (ICS), and the Mozambique News Agency (known by its Portuguese acronym, AIM), are assigned by the government based on political affiliation as well as professional qualifications. Private media agencies are increasingly dependent on the governing party, and, in this context, Tomás noted that in the past two years, “Reports produced in the country have been

biased by this party. For instance, all FRELIMO events in 2011 and 2012 were given broad coverage.”

The laws establish and protect editorial independence, but these laws do not mandate that state-owned or public media grant equal and systematic access to different political factions and minority groups; there is no clear regulation concerning air time. Mussá stressed that the constitution should provide for this regulation, but it has not been added.

Libel and defamation are considered similarly with other common crimes. Coelho explained, “It is necessary to distinguish between crimes and threats against journalists [as opposed to libel] and when judging cases involving journalists, the Press Law should be applied.”

Deputy State Attorney General Eulália Maximiano has acknowledged that shortcomings in the media law should be eliminated immediately. At a seminar for the 20th anniversary of the Press Law, hosted in the summer of 2011 by the Higher Mass Media Council (known by its Portuguese acronym, CSCS), Maximiano said, “One of the factors that undermines the [Press Law] is the fact that press crimes are not distinguished, which results in the application of other national laws to resolve them.”¹ Regarding such crimes, Coelho reiterated that, “Defamation is treated as a criminal-law problem and not a civil-law problem. Journalists are held criminally liable, and their associated outlets are notified” over suits. He believes that the burden of proof, which relies only on the offended party, is also a problem.

In theory, there is no law that favors some or blocks other media outlets in terms of access to information. All journalists have equal access to sources of information, but, in fact, everything depends on the media outlets’ financial and logistic capability, along with the individual skills of the journalists and the government employees themselves. Although the government has press agents, spokespeople, and communications offices at the ministries and other public institutions, access to information is still hard to achieve, with excuses for withholding information citing “state secrets.”

The panelists, in particular the journalists, confirmed that the practice—and not the law—is that there are imposed restrictions on the access or availability of statements made by representatives of state institutions. Refinaldo said that, “Even spokespeople or press agents refrain from giving information or making statements, explaining that ‘they are not allowed to talk about such subjects’ or ‘the head officer is not available.’” Colaço made a broader analysis of some aspects under this indicator, considering the difficulty

found “in clearly defining what state secrets, secrecy of legal proceedings, etc. refer to.”

Media outlets are not subject to any type of legal restriction in terms of access to news and sources of international news using available sources, including online platforms. Likewise, there is no obstacle to citing foreign sources. In theory, media professionals are aware of and observe the international standards of how to cite sources when reproducing news or programs. Selma Marivate said that, as a rule, intellectual property is protected.

The official definition of a journalist is defined in the Press Law, which says: “A journalist, for the effects of this law, is a professional that studies, collects, selects, elaborates, and publicly presents facts, using a news, informational, or opinionative character, through social communication vehicles, and those keeping this activity as their main, permanent, and remunerated profession.” Despite this definition, there are no restrictions for anyone who desires to become a journalist. Further, there is no law limiting private media outlets from covering certain government or parliament events or activities.

Regarding the instruments to regulate this profession, the National Union of Journalists (known by its Portuguese acronym SNJ) has tried, for more than 10 years, to establish an ethical and good conduct code, as well as a professional labor record booklet, but the journalists have not reached any consensus and relevant government institutions or the CSCS have never promoted discussions on the subject.

OBJECTIVE 2: PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISM

Mozambique Objective Score: 2.22

Panelist Marivate summarized the duality of professionalism in the Mozambican media sphere concisely. “Today, [journalists] will either take up the work ‘for the love of the profession,’ respecting ethical and good conduct rules, or they will adopt less decent habits, such as corruption and extortion, selling information, and providing suspect service in exchange for favors. Despite insufficient compensation, some media professionals make immeasurable efforts, rigorously following the principles of the media profession.”

The panelists said that journalism in Mozambique has grown and attempted to follow the principles and rules of the profession. However, they reported that insufficient professional training and experience, absence of investigation, sensationalism, self-censorship, and the financial difficulties of many media outlets are still the Achilles’ heel of the profession. While some panelists believe

¹ From *Boletim do CSCS (CSCS Newsletter)* (2011:4).

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).

that reporters make an effort to be fair and objective, most bemoan the lack of training, especially in community radio stations. Furthermore, Tomás said that, “The financial and working conditions of media outlets do not allow for the good practice of journalism.”

Colaço said that the media have become “more vulnerable and susceptible to corruption, violation of professional ethics, and questioning their independence and autonomy, many times becoming producers of ‘convenient’ information to bosses—that is, to those with economic power. Regarding loyalty, information is often doubtful due to lack of sources and lack of trustful sources. The economic frailty of the media makes them vulnerable to political pressure.” Regarding the attention to analysis and confirmation of facts, the panelists said that such attention is higher in radio and television stations than in journals. Ouri Pota said that public media “make notable use of multiple sources, especially unofficial sources.” However, limited revenue often forces the private-sector outlets to ignore the principle of using and confronting multiple sources.

The lack of objectivity and impartiality seen in the work produced by most media, according to Tomás, is reinforced by the insufficient operations of outlets that should create and affirm ethical standards.

While many organizations have internal ethical and editorial codes that follow international standards in theory, they are routinely violated by bad actors. There is still no comprehensive set of ethical standards established across Mozambique, and the Ethics Committee of the National Trade Union of Journalists has no power to impose itself as the preeminent authority in this regard.

Tomás considers that ethical standards are not always respected due to the “economic fragility of the independent media, which often makes journalists become involved in corruption. Their dependence on taking trips [in return for per diems] to cover certain events does not allow them to cover other news. Then, it affects the way the events are reported.”

The panelists considered self-censorship, caused by economic vulnerability and the fear of involving certain political and commercial interests, to be a significant issue in Mozambique. Whether practiced individually by journalists, or through editorial or management control, the panel unanimously agreed that, despite being prohibited by law, there have been many cases of obvious censorship, and that self-censorship is common, both in public and private media.

According to Tomás, “Cases of self-censorship are still seen, mainly in public media, and, combined with that, the governing party monitors, at a distance, some programs that have the participation of critical personalities.” In its August 30, 2012, issue, online journal MediaFax reported on a meeting conducted by Edson Macuácuà, FRELIMO’s secretary for mobilization and propaganda, on August 6, 2012. MediaFax reported aggressive and coercive attempts at censorship applied to editors, editorial heads, thinkers, and commentators of various channels and programs, and the pretension of direct interference in the secretary’s speech: “The meeting on August 6, 2012, simply ended with notices to commentators of their respective programs to stop criticizing FRELIMO, start to moderate speech, and help keep up the governing party’s reputation.”²

While there are no legal restrictions on covering important events and issues, the financial and logistic problems of the media in general are the main causes behind their limited journalistic coverage. Although not indicating any concrete example, the panelists believe that there are cases of threats and intimidation against journalists and editors by certain representatives of political and economic powers. Some panelists asserted that the private media have not shied away from, or been barred from, any significant event, including street protests, where in some cases the state media have limited, self-censored, or controlled coverage of such events.

In general, media professionals are not well paid, except those of RM, TVM, and *Notícias*. Media in the private sector, which survive with resources obtained from the sale of information and advertising spaces, sometimes pay less than the minimum wage. In community media, volunteers receive

² http://macua.blogs.com/moambique_para_todos/2012/08/afinal-a-liberdade-de-express%C3%A3o-e-opini%C3%A3o-continua-um-mito-frelimo-d%C3%A1-um-pux%C3%A3o-de-orelhas-aos-analistas-e-comentadores.html

very low support, as they depend on usually low contributions from the community. According to Marivate, “It should be noted that quality, in certain types of activity, is intrinsically linked with the level of investment that it receives. Salaries are not encouraging, and that is why hundreds of recent graduates in journalism and communications sciences migrate to other areas, such as public relations and marketing.”

Low salaries and economic vulnerability expose media professionals to several types of pressure, from the previously mentioned self-censorship to constant job searching. Low salaries force people to look for other complementary sources of income, with journalists also working as press agents of ministers and managers of private companies.

Pota thinks that, in some media outlets, politics gets mixed with entertainment—that is, “When entertainment comes first, the politician is highlighted, and not the event.” Even so, he points to RM as a model of balanced programming, as it has hourly news, two long news programs (one in the afternoon and one in the evening), and several informational and entertainment programs. Cândida Bila, a playwright and television personality, said, “Despite the fact that public channels have an educational and entertainment-skewed lineup, this programming does not overshadow the news. However, when prioritizing political and economic events, the media overshadow the coverage of social and cultural issues, but private TV stations present more entertainment than news.”

Private media, though, are often forced to prioritize entertainment over news, as Marivate explained: “Private media outlets are independent and need money, and entertainment brings money. Their sustainability comes from entertainment, and because of this system, news is overshadowed.”

The question of production facilities and equipment remains a problem that involves several aspects. For instance, Pota said, “We can say that the technical facilities and equipment for news production and distribution are modern and efficient, but it is useless if the operators are not prepared to use them correctly and make the best possible use of them for a long time.” There is, however, progress in the Internet distribution systems that many printed publications use, as well as the television broadcasting infrastructure across the country.

With increasing availability of mobile technologies, individuals, including journalists, are better equipped for news gathering, but the panelists emphasized that problems could arise with the pending transition to digital broadcasting. There is some concern among panelists that

this migration will be uneven and that there will be problems with the availability of up-to-date equipment.

Most panelists agreed with Chilengue when he said that, “Quality and niche reports exist, but they are not as desirable due to the lack of resources to cover them and revenue to fund them.” Reacting against the opinion of Tomás, who said that managers or owners of the media and journalists are resistant to specialization, Manuel Matola said that it is possible to overcome this situation, provided that media companies make all efforts to “analyze the academic level of journalists and the needs of media outlets to subsequently think of the specialization of such journalists.” Interactive programs and specialized reports, mainly about health, the economy, and gender relations exist in all media, and radio and television stations usually present interviews and debates with professionals from these areas. However, the consensus among panelists was that journalists still show an alarming lack of capacity in collecting niche material, processing information, and presenting niche programs and specialized reports.

OBJECTIVE 3: PLURALITY OF NEWS

Mozambique Objective Score: 2.44

Colaço defined the difference between the variety of news outlets and the frequent dearth of information on events that they supply. “Despite the evident increase in the number of media outlets, their sources of information are not so varied, and many times, they are even scarce. The current

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.

sources are practically the same, although some differences can be found in opinions or interpretations of events.”

The panelists agree that the number of print, broadcast, and community media outlets has increased, as well as media that use Internet and mobile technologies, but the number and availability of sources that enable a broad and diversified presentation of viewpoints have not increased. This is due to both the lack of training for journalists and the general lack of both information sources and efforts to find or verify new sources. At the national level, the main source of news is AIM, which completely favors the government. There is also a private agency, Gilmedia, which is not frequently mentioned. This paucity of sources serves to negate the growing number of media outlets by limiting the number of viewpoints available. Marivate said, “There are multiple sources of news, but diversity does not mean quality. In this aspect, there is so much that can still be done.”

Although no updated and reliable data are available, the panelists agree that there are already online journals, magazines, radio stations, and various online sources of news, but according to Pota, access is limited for several reasons. While the use of mobile phones and the Internet has increased, the costs associated with mobile and home Internet access can be prohibitive. Also, while the use of SMS, blogging, Facebook, and other social media tools has also increased, they are not always used for news, and the news that is published on those platforms is not always reliable.

The law does not limit the population’s access to national or international media. Every restriction in this sense is the result of financial inability to acquire equipment and/or obtain subscriptions for the access to print media, the Internet, satellite, or cable, given the low salaries and absolute poverty that still affects most urban and rural populations. In certain places of the country, the lack of access to electricity and transmission systems of communications, including restricted Internet coverage, determine the exclusion of citizens from such media. The limited access also involves linguistics—in Mozambique, many people do not speak or read materials in Portuguese or the main foreign languages the media use.

The panelists were unanimous when considering that public media, RM and TVM, are relatively open to a diversity of opinions and try to reflect such opinions while performing their work, but partiality favoring the governing party and the government has been particularly notable in 2011 and 2012. Indeed, the attention given by public media to events of FRELIMO and its leaders was particularly evident. Opposition parties do not get nearly the coverage of the ruling party, whether due to less power or less interest.

Balance has been increasingly reduced at RM and TVM, and, as Tomás highlighted, “The country is in a moment of transition with the upcoming elections, starting in 2013 with local elections and general elections in 2014.” Because of this, the government platform and its candidates have received increased attention.

At the national level, the main source of news is the state-run AIM, and to a lesser extent a national private agency, Gilmedia, and LUSA, an agency from Portugal. In theory, news distribution by the agencies is not discriminatory and is based on business decisions. In practice, however, AIM is most often used, in some cases due to affordability, and in other cases, due to its political ties.

The development of Mozambican media in general and the private media, in particular radio and television stations, is more and more evident in several sectors. Many private media are gradually showing their ability to produce and develop their own programming and news with resources from local or external sources or obtained from other media outlets and news agencies. This is still hampered by self-censorship and the lack of training for journalists, but the panelists were encouraged by the progress on this front.

There is little effort in most cases to hide ownership of media outlets, but there is also little effort made to publicize that information, or even make it accessible to the public. Media control remains largely a privilege of the government, which owns AIM, ICS, and is involved in RM and TVM through state funds. Even institutions that are not directly controlled by political concerns are still subject to their pressures. Some media are managed by cooperatives of journalists, which are more independent and follow their respective editorial lines more rigorously, almost never accepting external interference. However, the majority of outlets are concentrated in a small number of hands, often with political influence behind them.

Although the media most frequently cover political themes, growing importance has been given to social, ethnic, religious, and cultural problems, including those involving rights of children, women, and senior citizens. As observed by the 2010 panel, media outlets for minority groups are not well known because they are not usually exposed to the general population. A careful analysis shows that progress has been seen in the ability of some media professionals to observe and capture the social reality, and agencies have encouraged them with prizes for media reports, appreciating the impact of cultural, social, and religious interests in the news. For instance, Marivate received the annual CNN/Multichoice Journalist of the Year Award in 2011 for a report about the life of a Rastafarian community in Maputo.

Many times, news or reports about certain themes are prevented, and this is closely related to commercial commitments of companies that use advertisements or sponsors to help cover specific events. Editorial heads can also impose explicit censorship on certain themes to journalists, and journalists self-censor in some cases, which narrows the spectrum of social topics covered.

The dissemination of content for specific social groups may occur through major media outlets, but more often these stories are found online or in other nontraditional formats. Community media are supposed to reflect local interests and their diversity; however, as demonstrated in Objective 1, the interference and censorship of district administrative authorities does not always allow community media staff to work freely. Community radio does have a strength in that different stations often broadcast in local minority languages, which at least allows those groups some access to information.

The panel agreed that, in part, media outlets maintain broad coverage of local, national, and international issues. The main difficulties arise in terms of coverage, as very few outlets broadcast or distribute nationally. Thus, people are left with fewer choices and less information about either local/regional issues, in the case of city dwellers, or international issues, in the case of rural citizens. While some places, particularly cities, have good coverage of a variety of issues, the reach of most media outlets, including community radio, is not far enough to cover multiple news levels—local, national, and international.

OBJECTIVE 4: BUSINESS MANAGEMENT

Mozambique Objective Score: 2.05

Panelist and *Diário de Moçambique* deputy editor Lobão João Mauelele highlighted the practical limitations of the economy as the overall barrier to well-functioning media enterprises. “It is impossible to practice journalism without money. The media industry is still located in provincial capitals, and particularly in Maputo, leaving much of the country without coverage, due to lack of funds for reporting trips. Large public companies invest in trips of their journalists to produce advertising reports and publicity, but the media enterprise itself is weakened. Government structures also act similarly, limiting the ability of journalists to perform critical analyses of events.”

The panel recognized that media outlets still present many management and sustainability problems. According to Tomás, “Few journals have closed down recently due to

management problems, which is a good sign. Likewise, considerable efforts have been made to introduce commercial standards of management at some journals.” From a management perspective, public media vehicles, such as RM, TVM, and AIM, operate as well-organized, stable institutions with recognized financial sustainability. Their experience has enabled their consolidation and the ability to clearly distinguish administrative and management. Although the revenue for these organizations comes largely from state funds, this is not likely to change, although it does tend to make public media outlets favorable of government positions.

Regarding private media, in addition to the agencies that belong to the *Sociedade do Notícias*, which include its morning daily *Notícias* and weeklies *Domingo* and *Desafio*, there are quite a few outlets that have shown a good level of sustainability and strong presence in the Mozambican media, thanks to their business planning ability. As such, a number of organizations follow competent business plans that help ensure their operations, make decisions concerning costs and work teams, and plan capital expenditure. However, this does not ensure editorial independence for many organizations, as the competition for revenue is fierce and commercial and political interests thus can infringe on their independence.

Whereas in more robust media outlets the editorial functions are separated from the others, in smaller emerging media, supporting structures are almost non-existent, and the editorial management is overloaded with administrative, financial, and marketing functions.

Sources of funding to the media include contributions from owners or partners, subscriptions, sales of broadcast time and advertisements, news publications, sponsors, donations,

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.

coverage or event reports, and other services. All panelists agreed that financial vulnerability has been the main cause of reduced editorial independence and absence of investigative journalism, mainly in private media. But, regardless of the diversity of income sources and clients, some partiality persists while addressing the topics, as a result of an explicit or implicit political alignment.

For instance, *Domingo* journal has declared its support to FRELIMO and the government. Índico and Terra Verde radio stations favor their owners, the governing party, and the largest opposition party, respectively; other journals are clearly against all politicians, regardless of the party they represent. Mussá summarized the situation: “The media are greatly dependent on publicity to survive, especially the private media, but most of the earnings remain with the advertising agencies. The government advertisements benefit daily print media of high circulation, which affects almost all private media. The distribution of advertisements has not been balanced, and the government often avoids the publication of ads in media that criticize it, thus assigning financial support directly to RM, TVM, ICS, and AIM. Such unbalanced distribution of support ends up benefiting some outlets.”

Mabui said that, except for the ICS, community media in general have neither adequate nor consistent funding: “They survive from publicity, advertisements, and donations that they receive from time to time.” In these cases, as in the cases of most private media outlets, they take whatever funding they can get, which only sometimes comes from a multitude of sources.

The advertising market keeps growing to keep up with business development and diversification, as well as the emergence of new business centers outside the capital of the country. Advertising agencies, therefore, are also growing in Mozambique.

They have not managed to diversify advertising strategies; however, the panel observed that many outlets disseminate highly similar advertisements. The companies with greater visibility are mobile communications companies and government institutions. With audience research companies already operating in Mozambique, Couto explained to the panel, “Audience analyses show media progress in terms of, for example, coverage, quantities, and ranges of audiences they reach. In this context, advertising agendas control prices that the media outlets charge for publicity and thus the way clients spend their money with media promotion of their products.”

Before the media market liberalization, most advertising materials were produced internally, by commercial

management within the media. Today, the advertising agencies negotiate advertisement placements with commercial sectors. However, some advertising is still produced internally by professionals with or without marketing training, to generate income. Large commercial, industrial, and service companies work with major advertising agencies, but based on the variety in terms of size and social line of the advertisements, including the Internet and mobile phones, the conclusion is that advertising agencies work actively with all sectors. Most of this advertising, however, has little reach outside of the major cities, as the agencies do not operate in those areas.

Advertising as a source of income for media outlets is crucial to complementing profits obtained from the sale of news and information, including subscriptions and fees charged from users of their services. The panelists consider that, in today's circumstances, both public and private media increasingly rely on advertising to fulfill their sustainability plans. In this sense, the panel agreed that publicity and advertisements are given priority even over news and information in some cases.

Public and state-owned media outlets receive state resources to operate and invest in their infrastructure. The panel recognized that there is no state or government privilege in the form of direct financial support to private media. However, the government does subsidize the travel of journalists when convenient—for instance, to cover the trips of the prime minister and other officials throughout the country and abroad. Regarding the financial support from the government, Couto said, “Historically, RM, TVM, and *Notícias* inherited benefits from times when the state was obliged to fully guarantee access to information. Today, there are several private information outlets operating without state support. Thus, the tax subsidies that support public media have become discriminatory, because they were created to ensure that state media could provide information to everyone in the country [at a time when private media could not].”

State advertising has a considerable and permanent volume and, according to some panelists, is preferentially directed to public and pro-government channels. Whether intentional or not, this does have the effect of subverting editorial independence in those institutions, and of creating small distortions in the market for advertising in private media outlets.

The employment of opinion and market surveys is a very recent development, and as such, it affects only a small number of outlets. Some internal management adjustments may occur as a result of the audience or market surveys, but they do not usually have immediate or direct effects on broadcast programming. When confirming that, Bila said, “Reliable market surveys are very recent and are not

yet considered a big influence—for instance, for [schedule] reformulation.” Public media have their own departments of statistics that act as survey units, but they do not make a big difference in terms of editorial work. Advertising agencies end up receiving the benefits from audience surveys, because, according to Couto, they “impose the lowest ad placement prices, submitting media to very low values gained with advertising.”

So far, some survey companies seem to produce reliable analyses of media circulation based on objective criteria, but it is difficult to judge their accuracy, particularly outside urban areas. Also, the utility and culture of using survey results is not yet incorporated into most media outlets; whatever information is produced goes mostly unused.

OBJECTIVE 5: SUPPORTING INSTITUTIONS

Mozambique Objective Score: 2.27

Mauelele noted that the independent media have few allies to help them achieve sustainability, though society supports them in spirit. “Independent media basically use their own resources to survive... Mostly European organizations support independent media and are now affected by the international financial crisis. Media funding programs, which used to be more common, are now scarce or non-existent.”

In Mozambique, the creation and operation of socio-professional associations to represent the media has legal support. Existing associations include the Association of Mozambican Editors, the Association of Journalism Companies (known by its Portuguese acronym, AEJ), and the Forum of Community Radio Stations. The services they provide were

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.

not considered by the panel to be particularly good, though this is consistent with institutional history in Mozambique.

For instance, Matola does not accept the inconsistent activity of the SNJ, which only “sporadically appears to condemn acts of clear violation of rights of journalists.” More radical in his analysis, Tomás said he “feels sorry for the AEJ deficiency, because that should be a supporting platform in negotiations between the government and commercial associations that operate regularly in the country.” Colaço said it is “very hard to speak of independence or [total] autonomy of associations or civil society in Mozambique, as this is a society still under the influence of a single-party mentality.”

Some socio-professional associations by nature protect journalists and promote quality journalism, such as the SNJ, the Mozambican Association of Women in the Media (known by its Portuguese acronym, AMMCS), which is an arm of the journalist trade union and ensures balanced relations of gender and interests of women in journalism, and the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA-Mozambique), a civil-society institution that works to protect individuals and journalists, as well as media institutions. Solidarity of this working class is sporadic, many times seen only in cases against a colleague; the activity of the SNJ is very deficient, and MISA-Mozambique is undergoing an internal crisis.

By definition, these organizations are independent of the government and should provide support when journalists are prosecuted as a result of their professional activity. Matola was more positive about their efforts: “The organizations that represent journalists have made constant efforts to unionize press professionals and strengthen the union organization and awareness, always respecting the principle of free association and trade-union autonomy. These organizations have also defended the free practice of journalism, attempting, through all means, to ensure the full freedom of thought and professional action.” However, Matola noted that these organizations have not been capable of providing their members with the access to legal support services that are sometimes necessary. It is common to see institutions that should defend the professional interests of the independent media publishing notices that show the opposite, many times accusing journalists and media outlets of not respecting professional standards.

There are a number of NGOs working in Mozambique, with projects and activities supporting free speech, and even a few that support media organizations. Organizations such as IBIS, MISA-Mozambique, UNICEF, Mechanism for Civil Society Support, and the Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa have lent support to free speech and to media outlets, particularly through the formulation of a proposal for the

Community Radio Law.³ However, most of these organizations are not exclusively focused on media freedoms and independence and are not always capable of advocating on behalf of media professionals.

Most institutions of higher education offer journalism degree programs of acceptable quality, as well as opportunities for training abroad to individuals who can afford it or who successfully apply for scholarships offered by specialized institutions. The number of openings for journalism programs at all schools is sufficient, but access to these programs is limited at public institutions due to competition resulting from the much lower price. The establishment of communication programs at the Universidade Pedagógica has reduced the pressure on the Universidade Eduardo Mondlane to limit entrants in the field to its Arts and Communication School. Pota and Matola confirmed that these are quality programs; however, the deficiencies of the primary and secondary school systems in Mozambique present significant limitations. Also, according to Mussá, "Not all institutions can provide significant practical training, due to the lack of equipment laboratories and practice opportunities."

Between 2011 and 2012, short-duration training programs offered by organizations that support the media have become scarce, with speculation that this situation is due to the international financial crisis that affects the countries that provide funds for these purposes, especially the Nordic countries. Thus, local organizations like AMMCS and SNJ are dependent on funds from other NGOs to organize trainings, lobbying, and representation activities. MISA, which used to have autonomy to collect financial and human resources, is practically inactive in Mozambique. However, Mozambican companies and training centers, such as the Photography Training Center (owned by the state) and the Professional Training Center at RM and TVM, organize training programs in some media specialties, but the students must pay the costs individually.

Media companies rarely pay for trainings for their journalists, mostly for financial reasons. This means that even in cases where trainings are available, the journalists who need the skills most are not able to access the necessary programs and courses.

In Mozambique, the sources of print media and print facilities are private, apolitical, and unlimited. It should be noted that no companies specialize in distribution, and no graphic company is supported or owned by the government. Most of these materials, however, are imported, and government institutions and associations from the media sector have not yet achieved any understanding toward the promotion

of imports on a collective basis. This creates the de facto restriction of high costs that not all media outlets can meet.

The panelists have not heard of any pressures or restrictions imposed by the government, political parties, or media companies on the systems of media distribution. Isolated cases may occur, such as that during the 10th Congress of the FRELIMO party, which ordered the confiscation of copies of the *O País*⁴ journal kept by members of congress, supposedly for reasons of national security. This case, though, is an exception to the norm. According to the panelists, the equipment failures, Internet outages, and failures of other data transmission systems that sometimes occur are not intentional, but rather the result of poor equipment and infrastructure.

There was some suspicion from panelists about a particular incident in 2010, where SMS and mobile telephone services were blocked in Maputo following the organization of a widespread anti-government SMS survey.

Mozambique shows a very notable deficiency in terms of the information and communications technology (ICT) infrastructure in place for the media and population. In the Report on Digital Inclusion in Mozambique, elaborated in 2009, Pota reported a direct relation between the availability and the capacity of ICT use; the report shows that Internet access was 3 percent (4.5 percent in 2011), which reflects a significant difference between urban and rural areas. The greatest ICT capacity exists in cities with varied access forms, while rural areas are forced to rely on satellite services, which are very expensive, or dial-up connections, which are very slow.

The low level of access to such technologies is closely related to the lack of finances and results in a widespread lack of knowledge about how to use them. Partly due to this, ICT in Mozambique does not fulfill the needs of the media industry, especially in terms of connection stability and transmission capacity. While the needs of the media are often higher than those of the general population, it can also be said that the infrastructure that exists does not meet their needs, due to high costs and slow or unreliable connections. Internet access through mobile phones is readily available, but once again, the problems of cost and speed hinder access.

³ From *Savana Journal*, issue no. 976, of September 21, p.18.

⁴ From blog "Reflectindo sobre Moçambique," September 26, 2012 <http://comunidademocambicana.blogspot.com/2012/09/congresso-da-frelimo-jornal-o-pais.html>

List of Panel Participants

Alfredo Libombo Tomás, freelancer, Maputo

Cândida Bila, playwright; professor of sociology, University of St. Thomas; editor and presenter, *Smile* on TV Mozambique, Maputo

Carlos Rodrigues Coelho, chairman of the management board, Coop Norte; editorial director and chief, North Zone News, Nampula

Hortêncio Jeremias, professor; coordinator, Namaacha Community Radio Station, Vila da Namaacha

Ismael Jamu Mussa, journalism professor, Eduardo Mondlane University; member, National Assembly, Maputo

João Carlos Colaço, professor of sociology, Eduardo Mondlane University, Maputo

Luis Couto, director, Intercampus-Mozambique, Maputo

Manuel Matola, journalist, Lusa Agency, Maputo

Maria da Anunciação Mabui, director, Condlana Primary School; program publisher, Nkomati Community Radio, Vila da Manhica

Ouri Pota Chapata Pacamutondo, deputy director of program management, Mozambique Radio, Maputo

Refinaldo Chilengue, editorial director, *Correio da Manhã* and *Prestígio*, Maputo

Selma Inocência, information director, *Miramar*, Maputo

Moderator and Author

Julieta M. Langa, professor and head of Linguistics Section, Eduardo Mondlane University, Maputo

Logistics and Administrative Support

Rosa da Conceição Mitelela, docent, Eduardo Mondlane University, Maputo

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