

# MEDIA SUSTAINABILITY INDEX

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2017

**The Development  
of Sustainable  
Independent Media  
in Mozambique**



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# MOZAMBIQUE

Tension between the government and the Mozambique National Resistance Movement (RENAMO), accompanied by an upsurge in violence since 2012, continues to dominate Mozambique's politics. After a fragile 2014 ceasefire fell apart, fitful peace talks involving domestic and foreign mediators resumed in July 2016. In December, President Filipe Jacinto Nyusi and RENAMO leader Afonso Marceta Macacho Dhlakama resumed direct contact, and RENAMO suspended its attacks. Talks continue, and the truce remains in place.

Heightening the sense of insecurity, however, was a rash of political violence, including attacks on and assassinations of members of RENAMO and the ruling FRELIMO party and their associates; the appearance of mass graves and corpses around the central Sofala province, where military tensions are highest; and kidnappings of businessmen.

Increasing violence, including domestic violence, has become a major worry. The media are full of daily reports of assaults, murder, rape, and sexual abuse of women and children; home invasions by groups that also torture, sexually assault, and kill their victims; and kidnapping and trafficking of organs and body parts from women, children, and albinos. At the same time, the country's serious economic crisis has been aggravated by the discovery of "hidden" debts, incurred secretly by government-owned companies, that have soured investors on Mozambique. Restrictions on the movement of people and goods in the zone that connects the south with the rest of the country have shaken the economy and jeopardized numerous families' sources of income.

As for the media, the panel highlighted the case of journalist André Catueira, who was subjected to psychological torture after reporting on mass graves and corpses left around Sofala. The plight of Mozambicans taking refuge in Malawi was the subject of many news accounts, opinions, and editorials in domestic and foreign media. The government insisted they were economic refugees, contradicting the Malawi government and the national and international media, which classified them as victims of the military conflict. The Mozambican Human Rights League, in its annual report, said the Mozambicans had fled attacks by defense and security forces. In the end, the government admitted the group were fugitives from Mozambique's political-military tensions and entered talks with the Malawian government to ensure that they could receive humanitarian assistance.

The nonfatal shootings of academic José Jaime Macuane and politician Carlos Jeque were a response to positions they had taken while acting as political analysts in the press.

Although the media covered all of these events, their relevance is questionable, given that many in Mozambique seldom read newspapers or watch television. Issues of safety and security, such as droughts and floods, are well-covered in the media, but reports on political issues reflect a well-founded fear of censorship. The Panelists blamed the government, whose officials show little tolerance for the work of the media. Still, Mozambicans learn about certain issues, including the hidden debts and opaque contracts in the extractive industry, via the foreign media. People hope for more responsiveness from their government agencies since the president made a round of visits in February and March to push bureaucrats, including ministers, to improve their performance.

In 2016, no laws were passed that would open or restrict the media environment specifically, but the Council of Ministers sent a proposed revision of the press law to the legislature for analysis and scheduling.

This Media Sustainability Index (MSI) received a general average of 1.93, the lowest score since 2012. The average results of Objective 1 were all competing at this low level, which the panel linked to the fact that legal norms protecting and promoting free speech exist only in legal texts and not in practice. Concerning Objective 2, the panelists were very critical and raised many questions about noncompliance with professional quality standards, adding up to only 1.77 points. Objective 4, with an average score of 1.47, reflects the old problems of professional management of journalistic companies, which, in essence, has not risen since the beginning of the MSI process for Mozambique, in 2006-2007.

# MOZAMBIQUE at a glance

## GENERAL

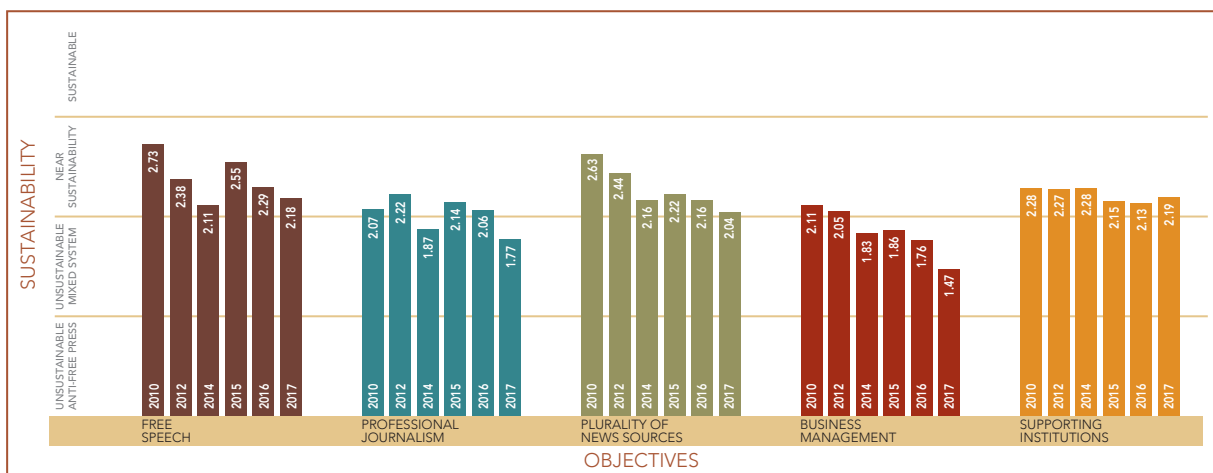
- > **Population:** 24,692,144 (July 2014 est., CIA World Factbook)
- > **Capital city:** Maputo
- > **Ethnic groups (% of population):** African 99.66, (Makhuwa, Tsonga, Lomwe, Sena, and others), European 0.06%, Euro-African 0.2%, Indian 0.08% CIA World Factbook)
- > **Religions (% of population):** Catholic 28.4%, Muslim 17.9%, Zionist Christian 15.5%, Protestant 12.2% (includes Pentecostal 10.9% and Anglican 1.3%), other 6.7%, none 18.7%, unspecified 0.7% (2007 est., 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 (2012-Atlas):** \$12.76 billion (World Bank Development Indicators, 2013)

- > **GNI per capita (2012-PPP):** \$1,000 (World Bank Development Indicators, 2013)
- > **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, online news portals:** Print: 513 total; Radio Stations: 95, including 65 community stations; Television Stations: 9; Online: 47 (GABINFO)
- > **Newspaper circulation statistics:** N/A
- > **Broadcast ratings:** N/A
- > **News agencies:** Mozambican Information Agency (state-run)
- > **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.

Scores for all years may be found online at <https://www.irex.org/msi>

## OBJECTIVE 1: FREEDOM OF SPEECH

Score: 2.18

The major problem is that information holders, those who actually have the moral, professional, and legal obligation to provide information to journalists, fail to do so not only because they simply do not want to, but also because they know that nothing is going to happen to them for withholding information. They will be neither sanctioned nor held accountable. (Fernando Mbanze)

Mozambique's constitution protects freedom of expression, freedom of the press, and the right to information, unrestricted by censorship. The panelists said the constitution, along with the laws on the press and the right to information, protect and promote free speech and access to public information. José Paulo Machicane, a journalist with the Lusa agency, said the country's body of laws and regulations meets international standards for the defense of free expression and media.

Practice, though, is another matter. Several panelists said public institutions flout the press and information laws. "Some official organs send out positive signals about press freedom, but from the political powers there is much maneuvering aimed at controlling the media," said Patrício Manjate, a journalist for Soico Television (STV). Alfredo Fernandes Libombo Tomás, a journalist, consultant, trainer, and activist, listed several hurdles for journalists who want to take advantage of the information law: a lack of properly organized files that would allow timely responses to requests for information, a lack of initiative by the

### 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.

government in disseminating information in the public interest, ignored deadlines for releasing the information, and corruption in the retrieval process.

In 2016, the Mozambique chapter of MISA (Media Institute of Southern Africa) released a report that found ad hoc compliance with the information law, which was passed in 2014. Alfredo Tomás Massequesse, a member of parliament from RENAMO, said, "There is a general understanding that the existing laws and institutions are reasonable and provide for good performance in the media sector, but the application of this legislation depends heavily on political powers and the information holders." Some panelists lamented that Mozambique lacks a rule-of-law culture, with elites and economic powers imposing functional boundaries on journalists and reducing laws to the paper they're written on.

Ernesto Nhanale, a journalist, executive director of MISA Mozambique, and a researcher at the Center for Communication Studies, added that the lack of a broadcasting law, which was being drafted as this report was produced, prevents "independent and customized management of public media enterprises with duties differentiated from other public companies.

Existing laws also need better enforcement and regulatory mechanisms. For example, Manjate said the freedom of information law stipulates no penalties for those who violate it. Often, both those who could benefit from the law and those charged with upholding it are ignorant about it, with the worst offenders in the executive branch, the panelists said.

Armando Nenane, a journalist and executive director of the Mozambican Association of Judiciary Journalism, said a subtle erosion of free speech comes from the predominance on public radio and television programs of members of the G40, an informal group of supporters of former President Armando Guebuza, who was also the leader of FRELIMO. Their editorial independence is called into questions because they are all members of the FRELIMO party, which influences the editorial managers.

Maria Palmira Velasco João, a journalist, researcher, and trainer who works in community media, said press freedom is under particular threat outside the cities, where there are reports of intimidation and persecution.

Similarly, Laurinda Cheia, a lawyer and member of parliament from the opposition Democratic Movement of Mozambique, said that although public radio and television are by law independent of the government, in practice, only members or allies of the ruling party appear on those broadcasts, where they disseminate government propaganda and attack critics.

Florentino Escova Chassafar, director of Terra Verde Radio and a member of the Supreme Council of Social Communication (CSCS), echoed that sentiment. He decried the "exclusion and marginalization of citizens who criticize the powers that be.



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Access to public information is blocked when the regime of the day does not want the people to know something because it's negative."

In addition to the discrepancy between laws and their application, sociologist and university professor João Carlos Colaço said the country's polarized politics "has created doubts and uncertainty about the effective enjoyment of freedom of the press and of expression." He cited a list of recent events he said "have sown panic and fear in society," including the trial of journalist Fernando Mbanze and academic Nuno Castel-Branco, accused of having insulted former Mozambican President Armando Guebuza; the assassinations of constitutional lawyer Gilles Cistac and journalist Paulo Machava; the shooting of lawyer and politician Carlos Jeque and academic José Jaime Macuane; and the attempted shooting of RENAMO's parliamentary whip in the legislature.

These attacks create the idea, he said, that there are "haunting limits to the freedom of expression, to the exercise of the journalistic profession, as well as to the hopes of building a more tolerant and democratic society, open to dialogue. As a result, a culture of fear has taken hold of society as a whole and is a major retreat from the progress achieved in civil and political freedoms safeguarded by the constitution."

The constitution and press law's guarantees of the right to establish media outlets, along with the existence of "voice of the people" spaces, where ordinary citizens can exercise their right to speak freely, are a measure of the value placed on free expression in Mozambique, according to Ouri Pota Chapata Pacamutondo, a journalist and program editor at RM, a major public radio station.

The media licensing and registration process had its critics and defenders on the panel. Chassafar said it is fair but drawn-out, and he complained that it is in the hands of the Council of Ministers instead of a more appropriate agency overseeing media. "There have been pending license applications in the Council of Ministers for more than five years," he said.

Velasco also said that the requirements for the registration of newspaper companies are not the same as those required for the opening of other types of companies. The difference is noticed when it comes to acquiring radio or television frequencies, because the process is very controlled."

Noémia da Graça Lourenço, a lawyer and head of the Broadcasting Department at the National Communications Institute (INCM), said broadcasters and telephone, cable, and satellite companies "are all subject to licensing by the responsible entity" and Internet service providers are licensed by the INCM. "For any licensing, the process follows the Telecommunications Law, which is fair—first come, first served—in the case of

broadcasting stations. As for mobile operators, the licensing goes through a public bid, which is transparent," she said.

But Cheia disagreed, arguing that no one who deals with licensing issues in Mozambique is independent. "It's the government itself, controlled by a political party, that does it, particularly through the prime minister's information office (Gabinfo). When you're going through the licensing process for radio or television, Gabinfo does it in coordination with the INCM under the supervision of the Ministry of Transportation and Communication."

Cheia noted that Mozambique missed the July 2015 international deadline to switch broadcasting from terrestrial to digital and said, "There are no clear signs as to what is currently being done."

The government has just reviewed a draft law on electronic transactions that was approved by parliament after the panel convened and would, among other things, shift management of the country's .mz domain from the Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo to a new government agency.

The panelists said Mozambique's tax regime, regulations, and certain benefits for public media make it difficult for private media to develop.

Cheia said high taxes and a law limiting foreign ownership in media companies to 20 percent are a drag on the industry, and Chassafar noted that private media organizations are not allowed to deduct expenses on their taxes.

Citizens pay a broadcasting tax that benefits the public Rádio Moçambique (RM), E.P., and TV de Mozambique (TVM) and is automatically discounted from citizens' electricity bills or annual vehicle tax. The private media see none of this money, even though Chassafar said they are "the organs most preferred by the populace for seeing the real picture of what is happening in Mozambique."

Lauriciano complained, "When it comes to tax treatment, there's no recognition that the media are a public benefit, with the same basic status as any other type of business activity. In importing the means for production, journalism receives no preferential treatment, being taxed the same as any other company."

Chassafar said the advertising field also unfairly benefits public media, which he said receive more than 70 percent of potential clients.

While the panelists acknowledged that crimes against journalists are not common, they said politically connected people try to intimidate journalists, media organizations, and even private individuals into keeping quiet.

No journalists have been killed because of their work since the murder of Carlos Cardoso in 2000, but the constant

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threats sow insecurity. Cheia said those who commit crimes against journalists and media organs go unpunished, and even uninvestigated.

Lauriciano complained of a lack of organized support from civil society or the professional union when journalists are the victims of violent crime, and of scant coverage from other media in the case of rights violations.

Likewise, Manjate said, “The population is not in the habit of protesting, especially when it comes to matters related to journalists.” As examples, she cited journalists from Savana, an independent magazine, and the Lusa agency being summoned to respond to authorities over their work.

More frequent than violence are closures of official sources and banning coverage of certain entities, including opposition parties, or interviews with citizens critical of the government. Chassafar said a journalist is more likely to face intimidation or threats when exposing something the authorities want concealed. Mbanze noted that community radio in rural areas has been the object of repeated threats and intimidation, with the case of Andre Catueira the most flagrant example in 2016.

The arrest of journalist Arsénio Sebastião Macuene in October at a police station in the village of Dondo, Sofala province, was the type of thing that more typically happens to ordinary citizens than to journalists. Macuene went to the station to complain about a police officer who had extorted 8,000 meticaís (\$112) from Macuene’s wife. In the presence of the police commander, the officer admitted guilt and offered to return the money at the end of the month. But moments later, the commander ordered the journalist’s arrest and accused him of defaming the officer, who then accused Macuene of spying for, photographing, and filming them without authorization.

The arrest was approved by the local district court judge four days later, and Macuene was taken to the district prison, where he remained until November 11, when MISA posted his bail of 20,000 meticaís. While locked up, Macuene was not permitted contact with relatives, friends, or colleagues.

Also in October—and also in Dondo—a journalist for DW was arrested and charged with defaming a police officer. Arcénio Sebastião, who had been investigating police corruption, spent 35 days in jail before MISA posted his bail.

The panelists agreed that Mozambique’s law protects editorial independence in state or public media but said these outlets are still subject to political pressure.

For example, Manjate said financing of public media is opaque and aims to make public media more dependent on the political powers.

Cheia complained that the country has no public broadcasting law and an outdated press law, that public media managers

are politically appointed, and that public media financing “is problematic because it occurs via program-contracts signed with the Ministry of Economy and Finance and not through the Assembly of the Republic, as recommended by UNESCO guidelines on public broadcasting.”

Manjate said public media staff are hired for political loyalty, and Chassafar, a member of the CSCS, said that body is not consulted, as required by law, in the appointment of presidents of the boards, which he said leads to political interference and partiality and threatens public media’s editorial independence.

There must be a contradiction that involves all the sensibilities of the various religious organizations, politics, and civil society so that everyone can identify with the public media.

As examples of public media’s compromised integrity, Nenane pointed to the dissemination of government propaganda that the Mozambican refugees in Malawi were tourists or members of RENAMO and RM’s use of G40 analysts to speak against an antiwar march organized by the Youth Parliament (Parlamento Juvenil).

Velasco said that although the law ostensibly protects journalistic independence, media are subject to groundless accusations and arbitrary court judgements. A notable exception, she said, was the acquittal in 2015 of the esteemed economist Nuno Castel-Branco on the charge of threatening state security by insulting Armando Guebuza while Guebuza was president.

Restrictions on access to information are imposed in practice, and not by legal means.

Defamation in newspapers, radio, and television carries criminal and civil penalties in Mozambique. Cheia explained that burden of proof is on the complainant, except if the complainant is the president. Then there are no means to prove the truth of the case under the terms of the press law, which violates the constitutional principle of presumption of innocence. Internet providers are not held liable for defamatory content they may transmit, due to the lack of legal provisions. Chassafar said citizens are not accustomed to filing complaints with the CSCS, the competent state body to hear cases of defamation in the media.

The panel agreed that public information is not readily available, despite the existence of the Right to Information Law. Cheia blamed a culture of secrecy in public institutions that she said “extends to the highest levels, as happened with the hidden debts that were contracted without consultation of the Assembly of the Republic.” She said in general journalists are well-trained and use investigative techniques to obtain and verify information. Beginning journalists and community radio stations face the biggest challenges. “Public information is made available when it is convenient for those who hold it, but when they think that certain information in the public domain

should not be known by the public, they make access difficult," Florentino said.

Velasco said some journalists "do not get the information they need because they still do not know the procedures to follow under the Right to Information Law."

Access to and use of international news and information sources by the media is not restricted by law or in practice. Chassafar said only economic reasons restrict people's access to closed-signal media, the Internet, and the social networks they transmit.

The press law defines a journalist as any professional "dedicated to the research, collection, selection, preparation, and public presentation of events in terms of news, information, or opinion through the mass media, and for whom this activity constitutes their principal ongoing paid profession." The definition does not cover bloggers because they are not part of recognized institutions with an established physical presence.

The panelists said entry into the journalistic profession is free and does not require licensing or confer any special privileges. Cheia noted that "lately, access to public places has been limited," citing the prime minister's information office banning some journalists from a press conference on the issue of the hidden debts, on the grounds that they were not recognized as journalists.

Machicane said the ease of entry into the field could lead to lower standards, whereas Brita considers the existence of public and private schools, colleges, and universities that provide journalism courses as a way of facilitating entry into the journalism profession.

## OBJECTIVE 2: PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISM

Score: 1.77

Since the introduction of the G40, freedom of the press and expression has greatly diminished. In newsrooms, especially in public-service radio and television, self-censorship has increased. There is no dividing line between advertising and information. In fact, advertising has replaced information. Relevant events, such as demonstrations and marches held against poor governance, against corruption, against war, and against illegal debts, are not covered by public radio and television. In cases where journalists report on such events, the stories are either censored or simply not broadcast. (Armando Nenane)

The panelists said that although there are mid- and higher-level institutions that train journalists, too many journalists are poorly trained, which is also true of those who come out of general education. Most journalists want to do better but are held back by the current political, social, and economic situation. Inadequate research and narrow sourcing also hinder the development of rational and objective journalism.

## 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).

Velasco acknowledged that not all reports are objective and well-founded, despite some examples of quality reporting.

"Mozambican journalists do well and are improving, but the political, social, and economic situation often pushes journalists into unprofessional practices and attitudes, and it is there that news objectivity is lost," Mbanze said.

Colaço said the problem can work in the other direction as well. "The poor professional quality of many journalists makes them vulnerable to corruption and dependent on those for whom they do favors," he said. "This is due, on the one hand, to inadequate training, along with social and economic conditions, and, on the other hand, to the constraints imposed by a clientelism and fealty to political powers and some influential entities within Mozambican society."

Pota offered a positive note, saying that Mozambique's journalism is reaching professional standards thanks to domestic and international training programs, including "intensive training organized and/or funded by IREX in remote areas where access to ICTs is still a luxury." Although still not plentiful, ICTs are available for journalists to develop their professional work standards; solutions are also available on the Internet. Other signs of the rising quality of Mozambican journalism are the hiring of the country's journalists by international media companies as correspondents and for senior or editorial positions, and the top ranking of Mozambican journalists in regional and international competitions.

Most panelists agreed that Mozambican journalism has an ethics problem. A code of conduct to which several media organizations have signed on has not prevented ethical lapses, including plagiarism, a dearth of differing points of view, and manipulation of information and images to harm the reputation of individuals or organizations. Some media also use



misrepresentation to manipulate public opinion on the causes of the country's ongoing political-military conflict.

Manjate said private and public media publish sensational material. Velasco complained, "Journalists don't always consult relevant and varied sources. There are journalists from public agencies who don't report what happened and are not admonished, or are forced to publish half-truths, which is unethical. There are others who simply don't understand ethics and responsibility." She added that some outlets publish advertisements disguised as news.

Machicane said the country's journalism is marred by "partiality and the infringement of personal rights, such as honor, good name, image, and credit." He blamed hidden agendas in media organizations for ethical lapses.

Colaço said there are more resources and opportunities to improve the quality of journalism than there used to be but said ethical problems "have often been explained as a result of" difficult financial straits of journalists and media outlets that make them vulnerable to influence.

Nhanale endorsed the notion of licensing journalists, which has been debated in the past.

Censorship and self-censorship are a growing problem in Mozambican public and private media. The panelists said private outlets are concerned with keeping advertisers and not antagonizing political or economic powers, and will therefore shy away from reporting that might offend or denigrate the image of sponsors. Editors may rewrite a story completely, and fearful journalists ignore some subjects. Colaço said a lack of education and professionalism, along with precarious financial circumstances, "make us vulnerable to corruption and dependent on those who give out favors."

No law prohibits journalistic coverage of the major events, except those related to national security. Some panelists said independent agencies cover and report on all types of events but public agencies avoid certain issues or problems. Social networks and bloggers can provide alternative news information, but it cannot be reproduced in the media without additional in-depth investigation because it is not always reliable. Print and broadcast media produce investigative and specialized reports, but not in a systematic and regular manner. In times of political and military crisis, such as the current one, it is natural that there are some limitations on journalistic coverage.

Wages are worryingly low in journalism, as they are in most industries in Mozambique. Entry-level journalists on average make less than 10,000 meticaís (\$140) per month. Journalists in public media make 15,000 to 20,000 more meticaís per month than their counterparts in private media. As a result, some journalists seek payoffs from individuals or companies in return for coverage. Reporters and editors might move to

communications firms; those in private media might migrate to public media or leave the profession.

Entertainment accounts for about 70 percent of programming. No law or regulation determines the allocation of broadcast time for various types of programming. Although technical hardware is more readily available, existing newsroom equipment is still inadequate for the efficient production of programs and news. For example, Internet use is still insignificant due to the high cost and people's lack of interest. As for quality niche reports, very few have been published in the Mozambican press. The few journalists who cover specific areas do so without any training, guided only out of curiosity or interest. Sports and culture are more established than politics, economics, and social issues as specializations. However, the emergence of organizations that gather together journalists from different publishers, such as those who cover economics, sports, culture, women, or children's issues, suggests a promising future for more in-depth specialization of media professionals.

The panelists said only a few media companies have equipment and facilities that are sufficiently up to date. Manjate said companies do not have the will or ability to equip newsrooms and journalists. "Where I work, we have no telephones for production. The Internet in many newsrooms is received via cable. Wireless is needed to make work feasible, but things are improving." Internet use is still insignificant in Mozambique.

As mentioned, specialty journalism is still a rarity in Mozambique, although there are promising indicators that this is changing.

### OBJECTIVE 3: PLURALITY OF NEWS

Score: 2.03

The relationship between journalists and their sources is very problematic. In many cases, journalists are used by information sources to pass along information for socially irrelevant purposes, aiming to project an image of the organizers and promoters of certain event, or even to malign other competing entities. A critical sense is still missing, along with the ability to evaluate information for the public interest that journalists receive from their sources. (Ernesto Nhanale)

The panelists said Mozambique has an abundance of news sources, with differing points of view, thanks in part to the growth of social media and mobile networks. This means citizens can compare messages from various sources, but it does not necessarily guarantee balance and accuracy, and sometimes it feeds speculation and gossip.

"In a situation of economic crisis and armed conflict between government forces and those of the main opposition party,

RENAMO, it's difficult to ensure objectivity in journalism," Libombo said, to the assent of other panelists. "Many of the events that take place in the combat theater arrive at the public's attention through social networks."

Nenane called those networks "an escape valve from the ideological patrols of public and private information agencies" and said "a lot of the complaints concerning actions of the G40 have been made on the social networks."

On the other hand, Manjate said, "The official broadcast and television channels offer few alternatives because they don't take advantage of the diversity of information."

Community media allow for coverage of local issues, but they are also pressured by local officials not to address certain issues.

There are no legal or political obstacles to accessing domestic or foreign media or the Internet in Mozambique. However, Internet access is too expensive for most Mozambicans, and spotty network and even electricity coverage can block access to the media in the countryside.

Pota noted that "many news sources are concentrated in the city of Maputo or provincial capitals, which influences the reception or access to the media and means of communication that are located in rural areas." He said in such circumstances it takes concerted collaboration between the centers and correspondents, or other information-sharing methods, to prevent the spread of misinformation.

Although there are many sources theoretically available to them, public media give prominence to information and opinions of the government and ruling party.

"One cannot speak of a nonpartisan public-service radio and television," Nenane said. "In our country, even though there are

multiple sources, the news is repetitive. This stems from the fact that such multiple [news] sources give priority to a certain group of opinions—for example, from meetings of the government and parliament and police activities—but not others. This diminishes quality and diversity."

In a point echoed by others, Chassafar said, "There is a tendency to favor the party in power. For example, in debates there are preselected analysts who, a priori, will defend the interests of a party, and rarely are those with opposing points of view invited to provide a balance of opinion."

In terms of educational and cultural programs, Cheia acknowledged that efforts have been made, especially local-language broadcasts by RM and programs on health, education, and agriculture by the Institute of Social Communication (ICS). RM and TVM, in particular, offer a wider variety of and more time for educational and cultural programs that attract broad audiences.

But Machicane said, "The weak capacity of the mass media results in the marginalization of large populations and geographic areas, which results in political, economic, and social exclusion."

The country's only news agency is the state-owned Mozambique News Agency (AIM). It provides multimedia services to the media, but few agencies pay and give credit for services, either from AIM or from international agencies, such as Reuters, the Associated Press, AFP, and Portugal's LUSA.

Local or community media produce their own content, sometimes in cooperation with mainstream media, such as RM and TVM. Bloggers and other online channels produce news but also mix their content with those from other sources. "Producing your own news does not necessarily mean diversifying the sources or diversifying the news," Colaço said. He added that government agencies influence and determine the media agenda to a large extent.

"It is by the private media producing their own news that people find out about many things. Community radio stations also produce their own news," Chassafar said.

Media control is not transparent, and the law does not require disclosure of the true owners of media properties. Owners and majority backers of media, including state media, influence the editorial line.

"The domination of the media by certain powerful social groups, specifically of an economic, religious, and political nature, is widely known," Machicane said. "The ownership of the media is opaque, preventing credible scrutiny of its functioning. There is widespread suspicion that the declared owners of the media are, in fact, just figureheads that represent third-party interests."

#### 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.

All publications must show on the cover the names of their owners and directors, but owners are usually companies. Some are known: Rádio Índico belongs to RENAMO; the Miramar Communications Network and Radio and TV Miramar to the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God; AIM and ICS to the government; the news sections of the Domingo and Desafio weeklies and most shares of the Sociedade do Notícias (News Company) to the central bank; the O País radio station and STV television station to the SOICO Group, the country's largest private media company; the Savana weekly to the Mediacoop journalists' union, which also puts out daily newspapers by fax and email and runs a radio station.

In addition, the Coop Norte Group in Nampula has a daily newspaper via fax, a weekly tabloid, and a radio station.

Information about foreign investment in the media has never been made public, though it likely exceeds the 20-percent limit per property set by law.

Mainstream media, notably the state-owned Notícias newspaper, RM, and TVM, cover the interests of almost all social groups.

The print media publish articles for both those in the majority and those in the minority. In general, minority issues are not yet common, although it is a fact that they exist (linguistic, sexual, etc.). Gender issues, for example, are covered in all media, but sexual minorities remain taboo.

"There are technical limitations and limits in editorial interest in making the media more comprehensive, but I don't know of any court cases against journalists due to writing about minorities," Manjate said.

Rural residents have few choices of news and information sources, although multimedia centers have gone up across the country. Often, news comes from community radio stations that are linked with public radio and television, offering little diversity. Private media cannot afford to cover rural areas.

RM, TVM, and other broadcasters such as TV Miramar and STV, along with print media, provide local, national, and international news and information.

Magazines and newspapers reach many parts of the country late or not at all, due to the difficulties in transportation and accessibility. Internet penetration and quality blogs could help boost this indicator.

#### OBJECTIVE 4: BUSINESS MANAGEMENT

Score: 1.47

The weak business structure in Mozambique and the consequent monopoly of the sources of media financing, namely advertising and subscription payments for access to

material produced by the media, put companies in the sector in a bind that kills or weakens their editorial independence. (José Machicane)

The panelists said media management in Mozambique suffers from a lack of expertise, professionalism, and planning.

Nhanale said the limited market for their product makes some media operations unsustainable and "obliges their managers to opt for unethical and unwise means of obtaining financing." The country's economic crisis has hit circulation and advertising numbers even for newspapers that were once strong, the panelists said. Financial difficulties have forced some media companies to close.

Few media companies hire professionals in administration, human resources, finance, marketing, or sales, or contract out those functions. Pota said it is difficult to say whether media companies are well-managed, as most are run by current or former journalists, who handle multiple areas, including advertising and payroll, as well as editorial. Companies do not disclose their budgets or financial statements.

Media companies are managed day-to-day rather than on the basis of operational and financial plans. Many managers lack training; they are not able to obtain help in the strategic decision-making process and are not inclined to learn. Mbanze said inept management in many organizations, particularly private ones, reduces them to extensions of the interests of their owners or certain groups.

Community news outlets, which rely on unpaid workers, also suffer from poor management.

Companies that stand out for sound management include Mediacoop and SOICO.

Some media outlets receive income from multiple sources, but this does not mean they are independent or free of political influence. Community media do not have consistent funding and even those that do not get state funds are pressured to carry out the political agenda of local officials, especially in central and northern regions. Funding is a major challenge for the media, and many rely on government largesse. Public media serve the interests of the government, and even some private outlets are so pro-government that they are mistaken for public media. There are also media critical of the government.

Public agencies do not always responsibly use the resources available to them. The country's few bloggers receive no pay for their work and are largely unread. They tend to earn some income with Google ads, and not necessarily from local advertising.

In Mozambique's growing advertising market, four of the 10 national agencies are considered major: GOLO, DDB, Dalima, and Ogilvy.

## 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.

Some agencies are also content producers, and they use all available means to reach their audience, including radio, television, print and online newspapers, Internet, billboards, pamphlets, and posters. Campaigns are done in a professional manner.

The largest advertisers are mobile phone companies, banks, beverages, satellite television, and food distributors. Some consider political factors when placing spots, but most rely on agencies to provide a balanced distribution. Most media companies lack marketing professionals and expect advertisers to look for them. They do not put together promotional packages or perform personalized customer service.

There are very little advertising opportunities outside Maputo, where corporate headquarters and decision makers are located.

Most media companies' expenses exceed income from advertising, subscriptions, and product sales. They accumulate losses monthly, although some receive income from unreported sources that are recorded in the financial statements and do not have any late payments. Advertising levels are not high enough to ensure the survival of print media: ads take up less than 15 percent of space in most publications and up to 30 percent in those most popular with advertisers.

There are no restrictions on the sale of advertising. Velasco said ads are often purchased by advertising agencies, and the advertising is not fairly distributed among the media. Public media get the most advertising and benefit from official notices placed by large companies and government agencies. Some information outlets are unaware of the rules separating content and advertising. Private media do not receive government subsidies.

Private media's precarious financial state makes many outlets vulnerable to pressure from advertisers or simply reluctant to offend current or potential advertisers. The panel agreed that some subjects have been ignored at the request of sponsors.

On the other hand, public media (RM and TVM) have greater access to ads, but their state funding affects their editorial independence.

No law limits the amount of space or air time allocated to advertising, and in some news programs, air time is evenly divided between ads and news. With few other options for funding, newspapers sometimes have more advertising than information.

The panelists said market research in Mozambique is questionable. There is no independent auditing of press runs, circulation, or audiences. Some media companies commission their own studies, which are not always trusted by experts. Newspaper companies rarely present business plans. Some may have operational plans, but not publicly available strategic plans.

Broadcast media in Mozambique are regulated by Gabinfo and INCM, which issue licenses to radio and television stations and telecom companies, register Internet service providers, and assign and manage broadcast frequencies, among other duties.

These institutions are not exempt from interference, influence, and political pressure, as is the case with other similar ideological entities. The fact that many newspapers circulate only in large cities, primarily in Maputo, for example, often results in inaccurate print-run numbers. The revenue margin is also reduced. The INCM, as a telecommunications regulator, reports classifications or evaluations of media circulation.

Local offices of international opinion research firms, among others, conduct audience research and produce their ratings. Likewise, local offices of international accounting and auditing firms develop annual reports for some media companies. Telecommunications businesses, especially mobile phone service providers, announce the numbers of subscribers they reach (for example, "client number One Million"). As there are no distribution companies for newspapers and magazines, and as subscriptions are controlled by the companies themselves, print media circulation and the print-run numbers are not reliable. In many places around the country, newspapers never arrive. The panelists said they did not know to what extent media companies are aware of ratings and evaluations, and of their own ratings, and how such numbers affect their business.

## OBJECTIVE 5: SUPPORTING INSTITUTIONS

Score: 2.19

There are opportunities for short-term training in journalism, but the contradiction is that after the training, journalists

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sometimes return to their newsrooms, which are not equipped with the technical conditions needed to put in practice their learning, which hinders professional development. (Maria Palmira Velasco João).

Many business associations in the media industry are inactive, the panelists said, while others are connected with political parties and are not concerned with the development of journalism. The Mozambique Editors Forum (EditMoz) does not have any representatives considered legitimate by the community whose interests they purportedly represent. Further, Nenane noted that the Association of Journalistic Companies held a meeting only upon Gabinfo's request to appoint the chairman of the board of TV Miramar, José Guerra, to be a CSCS member. Organizations such as the Center for Investigative Journalism, the Mozambique Parliamentary Journalists Network (REJOPAM), and the Mozambican Association of Judiciary Journalism lack the capacity to pursue their objectives. Machicane said organizations representing publishers and owners of private media are still too new to have much of a track record.

In the deepening economic crisis, short-term training programs funded by nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) have been sharply curtailed.

Many professional associations in Mozambique are also moribund or serve to prop up political interests. Any practicing journalist can become a member of the National Union of Journalists (SNJ), for instance, but it rarely speaks out in defense of its members or the profession.

MISA Moçambique, on the other hand, has protested violations of journalists' rights and infringements of press freedom. Other national associations promoting quality journalism and journalists' rights include AMCS (Association of Women in the Mass Media), EditMoz, FORCOM (National Forum of Community Radio), the Dialogue platform, REJOPAM, the Sekelekani communications studies and development center, and RECAC, which covers children's issues.

Velasco said some professional and business associations work for the professional development of journalists, offer legal advice, and help journalists to exercise their union rights. There are no professional associations geared to journalism specializations. Professional associations or organizations survive largely on entry fees and membership dues.

A few civil society groups play a key role in fostering conditions for free speech and the development of an independent media, free of government interference. Located in the larger cities, they hold debates on topics related to free expression and the media, such as how to report the facts during a time of political-military crisis. They also help to build capacity in media companies through consultation and advocacy, and

domestic and foreign NGOs offer training courses. These groups sometimes band together or work with other institutions to support the media.

There are no legal restrictions on the work of media advocacy groups in Mozambique, and these organizations do not use their position to influence editorial decisions.

Although NGOs offer training, this remains a major gap on the Mozambican media scene. The country's schools lack the teachers and laboratories to produce professionals with appropriate technical and theoretical skills. Student media are not very advanced. Only Polytechnic University has a school for radio. RM broadcasts some programs for young people, but although they have a wide audience, their purpose is to entertain rather than train.

Institutions with degree programs in journalism include the communications schools at Eduardo Mondlane University and the Pedagogical University, the Media School of Journalism, and the Higher School of Journalism. Other universities and institutes, such as Polytechnic, Catholic, and the Higher Institution of Science and Technology of Mozambique, provide communications and journalism courses of increasing quality, although their graduates still struggle to get jobs. Many graduates of the School of Journalism and the communications school at Eduardo Mondlane University have complained that enormous difficulties in adapting to the demands of media companies mean they get few, if any, job offers.

Machicane said the quality of the country's journalism degree programs lags far behind international standards.

Some panelists said graduates lack practical skills because schools hire non-journalists as teachers and focus too much on theoretical knowledge. The panelists agreed that newspaper companies do not look primarily for academic qualifications, perhaps owing to their dissatisfaction with these graduates.

Students can get free practical training, however, through IREX's Media Lab: "IREX trainees come out with enough knowledge skills to work in any media area," Manjate said. "Media organizations hire many professionals who go through the media lab, and I'm one of them. I currently work in a media group, the largest in Mozambique."

National and foreign NGOs or governmental institutions, such as the National Statistical Institute and ministries, organize journalism training courses. The RM Professional Training Center offers short-term courses in technical, editorial, advertising, marketing, and management skills relevant to broadcast media, with an emphasis on radio. IREX's Media Strengthening Program offers training sessions in its media labs for journalists, journalism students, and other communications professionals.



## 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.

It also provides training and guidance for sustainably managing newspaper companies.

Companies that print newspapers are clearly deficient, and the services they provide are very expensive because the graphics industries are not subsidized. Therefore some newspapers, including Savana and Canal de Moçambique, use South African printing companies. Mozambique puts no legal restrictions on the importation of material or equipment used in printing, nor does it offer subsidies to media to defray high import tariffs. There is no media distribution channel; each media company is responsible for its own production and distribution. The government has always tried to control the national and local media; they have successfully controlled it in some cases. From equipment and facilities to printing, the logistics of running a media company in Mozambique are chronically precarious.

Media are distributed without restrictions in Mozambique and, according to Noémia da Graça, free of distribution monopolies. The Telecommunications Law ensures an open market for Internet service providers, cable television networks, broadcasting companies, and mobile operators. Broadcasters own their own transmission equipment. The availability of local cable and satellite television channels depends on those networks paying a fee to the signal distribution operators. Media organizations using mobile technology have equal access to mobile networks. Internet providers or mobile services block only certain network accesses.

The government does not limit or restrict the choice of online communications platforms, nor does it try to block the activities of online communications providers. Social networks can be blocked only for national security reasons—for example, if there are indications of violent demonstrations. To take control of digital media, the state can use its power of domain assignment.

Internet service is still middling and too expensive for most Mozambicans, who cannot even afford mobile phones.

The panelists said the biggest obstacles the media face in getting access to information and communications technology are expense and limited coverage, of only about 5 percent, and poor signal quality. Internet use is much higher in cities than in the countryside. Because most people cannot afford mobile phones, they have no access to mobile data. Da Graça said Internet speed, including on phones, is fast enough to meet the needs of the media and consumers. Efforts are under way to popularize the Internet and make it more affordable. For example, the installation of the MoRENet (Mozambique Research Network) aims to increase bandwidth for its users, which are institutions of higher education, research, and technical-professional education, facilitating research and data- and information-sharing.

## Author and Moderator

Julieta Langa