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Between a rock and a hard place? the factors enabling and constraining the role of print media in democratisation in Mozambique and South Africa

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2010-03-05T11:20:04Z
http://hdl.handle.net/10539/7634

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Chapter One
Introduction

It is widely accepted that the media plays a vital role in developing and safeguarding democracy, holding a position as primary disseminator of information and understanding in a society. It is important, then, to examine whether the media fulfills the potential of this responsibility to society, as well as the various influences (both negative and positive) upon the manner in which the media fulfills its democratizing role. The purpose of this dissertation is therefore to conduct a comparative critical analysis of the factors that enable and constrain the role of the print media in democratisation processes in Mozambique and South Africa. In particular, the impact of the political, economic and legal environments in these countries on their print media is assessed.

This dissertation places Mozambique and South Africa in the context of the democratisation processes occurring across Africa, which have often resulted in a liberalisation of the media environment in these countries, with the media no longer entirely state-owned or controlled. Various issues regarding media freedom have arisen due to these democratisation and liberalisation processes. In Africa, threats are now posed to media freedom not only by governments, but also by owners, advertisers, small markets, a lack of resources, and poor training. This is an important area of concern for the southern African region in general, which is made evident by the efforts of media advocacy organisations such as the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) to advance media freedom, pluralism, diversity and sustainability, due to its importance in democratisation processes.

The scope of this study was limited to the print media environment present during the period of study, although the media history of both countries has been taken into account. These countries share a similar history in that they have both experienced oppressive minority rule, as well as liberation struggles against this rule, which culminated in independence and majority rule. Additionally, both countries are members of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and are therefore part of a political

and economic integration project that emphasises democratic values. They have committed to the SADC principles and guidelines governing democratic elections, which state that there must be equal opportunity for all political parties to access the state media and that election observers must have unhindered access to and communicate freely with the media. Mozambique and South Africa are currently considered two of the most promising countries in the southern African region as far as democratisation and economic growth are concerned, a further factor that makes these countries ideal for a comparative analysis of their print media and the role it plays in democratisation.

Mozambique and South Africa have both experienced minority rule and serious political conflicts, periods during which the media in these countries were strictly controlled and often subject to censorship. The struggles for independence and democratic rule, as well as struggles for free, diverse and pluralistic media that these countries have experienced, can be seen in the context of the democratisation processes that have occurred throughout Africa since the 1990s. Accordingly, the historical focus of this study will primarily be concerned with the changes that occurred in these countries from the 1990s onwards.

In South Africa, the apartheid regime ruled from 1948 until the democratic elections held in 1994, and this apartheid era was accompanied by extensive state repression of the media. Various political and cultural organisations, such as the African National Congress (ANC) formed in order to fight for and represent the interests of groups suppressed under apartheid, supported by alternative publications such as the *Weekly Mail*, which were frequently subject to censorship. This eventually led to negotiations, with the enactment of an Interim Constitution in 1993 and the 1994 elections ushering in a new climate of media freedom in South Africa, which was further entrenched in the Final Constitution enacted in 1996. Since then, the media have had a level of freedom never experienced under Apartheid, although not without the difficulties inherent in an ongoing democratisation process. More recently, South Africa has experienced some mild political upheaval, with President Thabo Mbeki being recalled from office in 2008 by his party, the ANC, six months before the end of his second term as president. This action was followed by the instatement of ANC deputy president Kgalema Motlanthe as

the “caretaker” President of South Africa. It is widely believed that the ANC will win the upcoming 2009 elections, thereby likely resulting in the appointment of controversial ANC president, Jacob Zuma - who has had several clashes with the print media especially - as the new South African President.

Mozambique emerged from a period of colonial rule and 16 years of civil war, both periods during which the media was strictly controlled. The Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo) took power in 1975 and adopted Marxism-Leninism, ruling under a single party system, and conducting a civil war with the Apartheid government-funded Mozambique National Resistance (Renamo), which commenced soon after independence. During Frelimo’s single party rule the media were actively involved in propagating the government’s viewpoint on issues and promoting Frelimo’s social philosophy, with private ownership of media prohibited. In 1990, the government amended the constitution in order to allow a multi party political system and in 1992, Frelimo and the main opposition party, Renamo, signed a peace deal that officially brought the civil war to an end. Since this time, there have been significant improvements in the levels of freedom under which the media now operate, although also not without difficulties. As in South Africa, Mozambique will also hold national elections in 2009, with most analysts agreeing that ruling party Frelimo holds a slight lead. If this is so and Frelimo wins the upcoming elections, current president Armando Guebeza will begin his second five-year term as president of Mozambique.

With regard to the economic environment, both Mozambique and South Africa adopted privatisation programmes, and are recording record levels of economic growth. Despite these significant economic gains, and the considerable optimism concerning its economy, Mozambique remains one of the poorest countries in the world while South Africa still has a fairly high percentage of poor (Naidu, 2001:30). According to the UN Human Development Index, 37.9 percent of the Mozambican population lives on less than one dollar a day. The majority (70 percent) of the population live in rural areas, and 60 percent of Mozambicans over the age of fifteen are illiterate (see Appendix B). While all

these factors are also seen in South Africa, it is to a less severe degree, particularly with regard to literacy levels.

As mentioned, the factors that enable and constrain the media are an important area of concern for the Southern African region, due to the impact the media can have on democratisation. It is widely accepted that a media structure that is free from interference from government, business, or dominant social groups is better able to maintain and support democratisation. The question of whether, without a free, pluralistic and diverse media, the prospects for democracy in these countries are promising is addressed by this study. The impact of various factors on the print media, from the effect of the media policy and regulations of government and the influence of owners, advertisers (including government) and donors, to the threats posed by a lack of resources, the size of the media market, language and illiteracy are examined.

Therefore, the primary research question of this dissertation is:

- What are the factors that enable and / or constrain the role of the print media in democratisation processes in Mozambique and South Africa?

Secondary interrelated research questions arising from this primary question are:

- What is the relationship between ownership of print media to political and economic power in Mozambique and South Africa?
- What are the ownership patterns in these countries and how do they impact the role of the print media?
- What are the levels of advertising support for the print media in these countries, and are these levels adequate to sustain a diverse print media sector?
- How do sources of revenue impact on the role of the print media in Mozambique and South Africa?
- What is the size of the market for print media in these countries?

- What legislation, government policies and regulations are in place in these countries and how do they impact the role of the print media?

In answering these questions, this study has been divided into several chapters. Chapter One explains the aim and rationale behind the choice to examine the role of the print media in democratisation in Mozambique and South Africa as a topic for research. Chapter Two examines the broad theoretical framework which underlies this study and includes a review of the existing literature pertaining to the role played by the media in society, and the effect of factors such as ownership, the market and legislation on the media's democratising role. Chapter Two also introduces the debate surrounding the best means of securing pluralism and diversity in the media, with special focus on the African context. Chapter Three presents the methodology used in this study in order to establish the factors with the most influence over the functioning of the media in African countries and the effects thereof. Chapter Four first traces the historical development of the print media industry in both Mozambique and South Africa and then proceeds to examine the current ownership patterns in these two countries before analysing the impact of the various ownership patterns on the role of the print media. Chapter Five is a detailed analysis of the economic environment in Mozambique and South Africa, including the market for print media, impact of various forms of funding and also the ways in which this can be used to control the print media. Chapter Six includes an examination of the various different laws that pertain to the media in both countries and the impact this legislation has on the media, whether positive or negative, as well as media – government relations in each country. Chapter Seven concludes with a discussion of the factors that influence the media and following that, the extent to which the print media in Mozambique and South Africa are contributing to democratisation in their countries. Lastly, some suggestions are made regarding possible action to improve the extent to which the print media in Mozambique and South Africa can contribute to the development and sustenance of democracy.

Essentially, all analysis undertaken in this dissertation is based on the recognition that the media plays an important role in the functioning of a democracy, but at the same time is

also subject to many competing social, political and economic forces, particularly when it operates in a global capitalist market. The rationale behind this study is therefore to broadly address these issues, while attempting to understand the impact these forces have on the ability of the print media in Mozambique and South Africa to fulfil their democratising role.

Chapter Two
Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

This study will principally be based on the premise that what exists in many African states is a combination of state control and market control of the media. The central focus throughout this study will not only be on the political, economic and social context in which the media in Mozambique and South Africa exist, but also on the role of the media in these countries, the media structures in place, ownership and control, funding and financing, and lastly the media policy and regulation that governs the media in these countries. Accordingly, the theoretical framework of this study is a combination of critical political economy of the media and theories of media and democracy in Africa. These theories are based on the argument that a free media is essential for the development and sustenance of democracy, as it is "… predicated upon an informed participating citizenry" (McChesney, 1998:8).

Media and democracy theory primarily focuses on the roles the media play in a democracy and explores how the close links between government and the media, repressive legislation and a lack of resources impact on the media's role. Rønning supports this, asserting that "[t]he relationship between the state and the media is the central concern for a discussion of the media and democracy." (1998:12). Also important in any discussion of media and democracy is the concept of a democratic 'public sphere', discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.

While critical political economy of the media recognises the above factors, this theory concentrates on examining the effect of a combination of political *and* economic factors on the democratic role of the media, and argues for public intervention as a way to curb their influence. The impact of various forms of ownership and the sources through which the media are financed are of particular concern to critical political economy of the media theorists, and these issues are therefore the focus of this study.

2.1 The Role of the Media in a Democracy

The connection between a democratic society and democratic media system has long been recognised, and it is clear that one cannot exist without the other (Keane, 1992; Curran, 2000; McChesney, 2000, 2004; Bagdikian, 2004). A democratic communications system is an essential source for developing and deepening democracy:

> A responsible nation-wide democratic system requires a media system which is coterminous with it and which can generate discussion of issues of public concern in a way which does not favour partisan interests, whether these be the interests of particular political parties, the interests of media bosses or media professionals. (Boyd-Barrett, 1995: 233)

Therefore, the goal is to establish media structures which optimize diversity of information, viewpoints and views of expression, thereby fostering full and active citizenship (Dahlgren & Sparks, 1991). One of the most important factors with regard to the optimal media environment is a diversity of ownership, which is a critical aspect in establishing the conditions for a broad range of media output (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996; McChesney, 1998; Golding & Murdock, 2000; Schudson, 2000; Doyle, 2002b). These theorists assert that another important factor in media diversity is the impact market forces can have on media output, which is also an area of concern for this study. However, an examination of the ideal roles of the media in a democracy is necessary before any discussion of the factors essential to foster a democratic media system. Two of the foremost theories regarding the media, the liberal-pluralist and the critical political economy schools of thought, agree regarding the ideal roles the media should play to contribute to democratization, though they do differ somewhat on the circumstances necessary for the media to perform these roles, as well as which of these roles is most significant in a democratic society.

2.1.2 The 'Watchdog' Role

According to Curran (2000a), to ensure the existence of an informed participating citizenry the media must be vigilant in their scrutiny of government and centres of power, which is often referred to as the media's 'watchdog' role. It has long been held by the liberal-pluralist school of thought that the principal democratic role of the media is as a check on the state, as government is often thought to be the main source of power and oppression. It is then argued by liberal-pluralist theorists that in order to ensure that the media is completely independent from government, it must be anchored to the free market system (Curran, 2000a). While it is clear that this critical surveillance of government is an important feature of the democratic functioning of the media, critical political economy theorists point out that "…the market can give rise not to independent watchdogs serving the public interest but to corporate mercenaries that adjust their critical scrutiny to suit their private purpose." (Curran, 2000a: 124). The critical political economy approach asserts that when the media is left to market forces, profit-making becomes the overriding goal (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996; Doyle, 2002b; Bagdikian, 2004) - this can then lead to a concentration of ownership, which the overwhelming majority of media theorists agree is detrimental to media diversity. However, this does not mean that the media's watchdog role is unimportant or obsolete to political economy theorists, simply that we need a new conception of this role, in which the media is seen as being "… a check on *both* public and private power." (Curran, 2000a:122).

2.1.3 Information and Debate

The second role of the media is as an agency of information and debate, which helps to facilitate the functioning of democracy. The media must supply the broadest possible range of information, analysis and debate that enables citizens to be aware of their rights and to participate in public life (Golding & Murdock, 1997; Curran, 2000a; Murdock, 2002). In order to achieve this, the media must ensure that a wide range of points of view from varied sources are expressed. Murdock (2002) points out that people need comprehensive political information in order to exercise their full rights as citizens of a

democracy and are entitled to see their own experiences, opinions and aspirations represented in the media, as well as having the right and opportunity to participate in debates. If this role is effectively accomplished by the media, participation in public debate is extended, and "[g]ood government is also fostered because decision-making processes are exposed to the interplay of opposed opinion." (Curran, 2000a: 128). This role of the media, as a forum for information and debate, in combination with the last important role of the media, to represent people to authority, becomes especially important when the theory of the media as a 'public sphere' is examined shortly.

2.1.4 Giving a Voice to All

Lastly, the media also need to enable people to express dissent and put forward alternatives, in other words, the role of representing people to authority (Curran, 2000a). Citizens must be able to use the media in order to register criticism, mobilize opposition and suggest alternative courses of action (Golding & Murdock, 1997). This role is the culmination of the previous two discussed: "After having briefed the people and staged a debate, the media relay the public consensus that results from this debate to government. In this way, the government is supervised by the people between elections." (Curran, 2000a: 129). These last functions of the media, as a means of expression for the full range of political interests and viewpoints and as a forum for public debate (Randall, 1998), are closely linked to Harbermas's notion of the media as a 'public sphere' – the role that critical political economy theory attributes the most significance to.

2.2 The 'Public Sphere'

Central to discussions regarding the role of the media in a democracy is the concept of the 'public sphere', which originated in a 1962 work by Jürgen Habermas. According to Habermas (1997), the public sphere is a realm of our social life in which public opinion can be formed. Curran explains it thus:

> The public sphere … [is] a neutral space within society, free of both state or corporate control, in which the media should make available information affecting the public good, and facilitate a free, open and reasoned public dialogue that guides the public direction of society. (2000a:135)

There are therefore two communicative functions within the public sphere: the collection and dissemination of information and the provision of a forum for debate (Garnham, 1995). The media are consequently the principal institutions of the public sphere. The importance of the public sphere is clear: how well the public sphere functions is a manifestation of society's democratic character and is therefore the most immediately visible indicator of our imperfect democracies (Dahlgren & Sparks, 1991). It is due to this importance of the democratic public sphere that this study examines areas of the media environment such as ownership and control and funding and financing – these are the factors with the greatest impact regarding how the media functions and whether it can actively foster the conditions for the creation of a democratic public sphere.

2.2.1 The Bourgeois Public Sphere

The concept of the public sphere came into being through the historical analysis advanced by Jürgen Habermas regarding the development of the bourgeois public sphere in the eighteenth century. His research focused on the coffee houses and salons of Western Europe in which, Habermas argues, the ascending bourgeois classes, struggling against the powers of the absolutist state, managed to generate a new social space between the state and civil society. This new public sphere made it possible for citizens to engage in discussion on political issues and the state's exercise of power (Dahlgren & Sparks, 1991).

The print media played an important part in the formation of this public sphere: the coffee houses were an ideal forum within which newspapers and journals were read and discussed in face-to-face groups, and Habermas (1995) asserts that the articles were not only the object of discussion by the public of the coffee houses, but were viewed as

integral parts of this discussion, as proven by the flood of letters sent in to these publications each week.

2.2.2 Criticisms of the Habermasian Public Sphere

Habermas's idealised notion of eighteenth century public life as described above has been criticised by several theorists. Many criticise his theory for idealising and romanticising the world of the bourgeois public sphere, while it was in fact "… not only a very élite world (engaging principally those with enough leisure to sit around talking in coffee houses, and those with enough connections to lend influence to such talk), but also a male world." (Boyd-Barrett, 1995: 230). Although Habermas has in later works clearly revealed the class bias of the bourgeois public sphere of the coffee houses, he neglects to identify its patriarchal character (Dahlgren & Sparks, 1991). So while Habermas's concept of the bourgeois public sphere is based on the principle of universal access, this was not the case in practice.

Even though Habermas attributes a significant role to the print media in the formation of the bourgeois public sphere, it was mostly based on the spoken word:

> Habermas' conception of the public sphere […] is essentially a *dialogical* conception. That is, it is based on the idea that individuals come together in a shared locale and engage in dialogue with one another, as equal participants in a face-to-face conversation. The problem, however, is that this conception bears little resemblance to the kinds of communication established by and sustained through the media, and hence bears little resemblance to the kind of public sphere which the media have helped to create. (Thompson, 1995: 257)

Habermas's later theories on the transformation of the public sphere in the twentieth century have also been criticised. He has argued that the media of the eighteenth century formed an integral part of the public sphere but that later (in the twentieth century), when the media was commodified through mass distribution and the acquisition of mass

audiences for sale to advertisers, the media distanced themselves from their public sphere role (Boyd-Barrett, 1995). As a result of this, Habermas argues that "…public opinion is no longer a process of rational discourse but the result of publicity and social engineering in the media." (Dahlgren & Sparks, 1991: 4). While this argument does have some relevance, Boyd-Barrett argues that it is overly pessimistic in its assessment of the rise of the mass media:

> Newspapers, radio and television – some media, some of the time – clearly do still serve as a forum for discussion of issues of public interest among people who are knowledgeable, interested, able to speak on behalf of broader social interests, and whose discussions have the potential of being of political influence. (1995:231)

It is therefore apparent that the mass media are still able to function as an institution of the public sphere, though perhaps not in quite the same way as originally hypothesised.

2.2.3 A Contemporary Public Sphere

From the above arguments it is clear that, while Habermas's conception of the public sphere remains useful, there is a need for a new understanding of the public sphere that is better suited to contemporary society and its media. Thompson asserts that

> … the development of communication media – beginning with print, but including the more recent forms of electronic communication – has created a new kind of publicness which cannot be accommodated within the traditional model. With the development of communication media, the phenomenon of publicness has become detached from the sharing of a common locale. It has become despatialized and non-dialogical, and it is increasingly linked to the distinctive kind of visibility produced by, and achievable through, the media. (1995:258)

It is thus evident that, while the modern media no longer feed into face-to-face group discussions of public affairs as described by Habermas, they have created their own publics and public forums for discussion (Boyd-Barrett, 1995).

The expansion of the 'post-bourgeois' public sphere is an integral part of a democratic society, and it is therefore important to assess the factors that can have a negative impact on the public sphere. Herman and McChesney assert that "[t]he integrity and quality of the public sphere may be threatened by government control, the bias and self-censorship of private systems of control, or by external intrusions into media systems that shape them in accord with ends sought by powerful foreign interests." (1997:4). Therefore, this study makes use of the critical political economy and media and democracy approaches, which examine the factors that affect the capacity of the media to serve its purpose to facilitate democratic participation, in order to assess the extent to which the print media in Mozambique and South Africa contribute towards the development and sustenance of a democratic public sphere.

2.3 Critical Political Economy of the Media

Critical political economy of the media addresses the nature of the relationship of media and communication systems to the broader structure of society. In other words, "… it examines how media systems and content reinforce, challenge or influence existing class and social relations, looking specifically at how ownership, support mechanisms – such as advertising – and government policies influence media behaviour and content." (McChesney, 1998:3). Political economy theorists contend that "… different ways of financing and organising cultural production have traceable consequences for the range of discourses and representations in the public domain and for audiences' access to them." (Golding & Murdock, 2000:70). Essentially, one of the main focuses of critical political economy of the media theory is the extent to which the media industries serve the interests of the wealthy and powerful (McChesney, 2004). Consequently, a central area of concern for this study is the ownership and control of the media.

2.3.1. Ownership

The examination of the ownership of the media is a crucial area of investigation in critical political economy of the media due to the power that owners can exercise, which has implications for editorial control and, consequently, content (Mosco, 1996; McChesney, 1998; Golding & Murdock, 2000; Schudson, 2000; Street, 2001; Bagdikian, 2004; Downey, 2006). In most democratic countries, the media is anchored to the free market in order to ensure the media's complete independence from government (Curran, 2000a). However, this can often result in the accumulation of disproportionate market power for individual media companies. One of the main problems surrounding this potential concentration of power is the risk for democracy when individual 'voices' gain excessive control over the media: "Democracy is threatened if individual media owners, with the power to propagate a single political viewpoint, are allowed to predominate over the supply of media." (Doyle, 2002b: 171-172).

Citizens need a media that provides a wide range of ideas, viewpoints and different forms of cultural expression. In order for this diversity of output to be achieved, many argue that diversity of ownership is required (Curran, 2000a; Golding & Murdock, 2000; Berger, 2001; Street, 2001; Doyle, 2002a; Tomaselli, 2002). Although diverse ownership of the media will not necessarily guarantee diversity of output, the existence of a diversity of media owners should contribute positively to content diversity:

> Even if all owners choose to rely on or share many sources of content, their rivalry will promote a culture of dissent which is healthy for democracy. Most importantly, diverse ownership will prevent any single supplier from having absolute control over the agenda and will therefore reduce the scope for potentially dangerous abuses of public or political influence. (Doyle, 2002a: 28)

Even when there is diversity of ownership, individual owners can influence media content. Curran points out that "… the owners of private media can be aligned to those in

power, or have a mercenary relationship to government, in a way that silences critical exposure of official wrong-doing." (2000a: 127) There is much evidence concerning the ways in which owners can influence the editorial stance and content of a newspaper, usually through indirect methods such as hiring staff members who share their ideological views, and ensuring the establishment of a culture of obedience and self-censorship (Doyle, 2002a).

Pluralism in ownership is generally seen as one of the essential conditions for sustaining diversity of content, which is why critical political economy of the media theorists advocate public intervention in the form of restrictions on ownership and public subsidies, discussed in more detail later in this chapter. Due to the considerable influence media ownership can have on the diversity of media output, ownership of the media is a significant area of concern for this study. However, it is important to note that the level of pluralism in a market does not only depend on diversity of ownership, and can be influenced by several other variables discussed below.

2.3.2 Market Forces

The political economy approach asserts that the public sphere is not only threatened by government intervention, but also, often to a greater extent, by unrestricted market forces and private business interests (Chambers, 2000; Curran, 2000a; Golding & Murdock, 2000; Bagdikian, 2004; McChesney, 2004). The print media in most democracies is subject to the free market system, as the argument in favour of relying on 'free markets' to allocate resources is based on the idea that decentralised decision-taking is usually better than decision-making carried out by the government: consumers and firms are thought to be the best judges of their own interests (Curran, 2000a; Doyle, 2002b). However, there are several ways in which a completely unregulated market for the media might fail to allocate resources in accordance with the best interests of society (Doyle, 2002b). Boyd-Barrett offers this analysis:

> Left to themselves, 'free' markets become monopoly markets where one or a few suppliers determine the range and quality of services to suit their own interests. Access to such markets by new providers is prohibitively expensive, […] while customers must adjust their consumption habits to the goods and services which are available. Not only is 'choice' in the 'free' media market a restricted choice, but enthusiasm for the free market is in part an evasion of the difficult choices that would otherwise be necessary between competing ways of balancing economic and political imperatives. (1995: 232)

As a result of the media being subjected to a free market system, concentration of the media market and the rise of conglomerates are becoming increasingly widespread.

2.3.3 Concentration

One way in which unrestricted market forces influence the media can be seen in the common practice of consolidation of separate media organisations which then results in the concentration in the ownership of media organisations discussed previously (Curran, 1997; Shoemaker & Reese, 1996; Bagdikian, 2004; McChesney, 2004). This consolidation is encouraged by market forces, as it can ensure minimal capital outlay for the media company with maximum profits due to the cost cutting and sharing of resources between publications that are made possible when several publications are owned by one company (Doyle, 2002a). In reference to this last point, Tomaselli (2002) argues that much of the content of the media will reflect their economic masters. Diversity of and in the media is seriously threatened when cost-cutting and sharing of resources occurs, as the likely outcome of this is that very similar content will be found in all publications owned by the same company, thereby limiting the media's democratic impact. This kind of ownership is prevalent in South Africa, and is therefore an important area of concern for this study.

2.3.4 Lack of Diversity

Another of the problems caused by the market system is that it leads to a narrowing in the ideological and cultural diversity of the media, irrespective of whether there is diversity of ownership. Curran explains it thus:

> … the market undermines intelligent and rational debate. Market-oriented media tend to generate information that is simplified, personalized, decontextualized, with a stress on action rather than process, visualization rather than abstraction, stereotypicality rather than human complexity. This is a by-product of processing information as a commodity. (2000a: 129)

These market pressures can also lead to the relegation of investigative journalism in favour of entertainment and human interest stories (Chambers, 2000). Another reason for a lack of diversity of media content is due to the fact that the intense competition between the limited number of media providers encourages common denominator provision for the mass market (Curran, 1991). This lack of diverse content undermines the theory that the free market system will ensure that a wide range of choices are available to the consumer; instead, it often diminishes real choices. In reality, the extent of choice the consumer has is limited to what is available in the market, which often falls far short of the broadest possible range of information and views: "…choice is always *pre-structured* by the conditions of competition." (Curran, 2000a: 132).

2.3.5 Restricted Participation

Critical political economy of the media theorists have also highlighted the ways in which the free market restricts participation in public debate. These theorists contend that the commodification of the media limits the opportunity for different groups in the population to have access to them (McChesney, 1998, 2004; Gandy, 2000; Golding & Murdock, 2000). Essentially, this means that the media are focused on making a profit,

and in order to do this, segments of the population are not served by the media, which then undermines democratisation:

> Whenever access to the communications and information resources required for full citizenship depends upon purchasing power (as expressed directly through customer payments or indirectly through the unequal distribution of advertising subsidies to production), substantial inequalities are generated that undermine the nominal universality of citizenship. (Golding & Murdock, 1997: 184)

While this pattern reflects the inequalities in society, Curran (2000a) asserts that the market confirms rather than challenges these.

2.3.6 Advertising

The above argument regarding the commodification of the media is demonstrated in the influence advertising can have over the media. Political economy theorists highlight that commercial support of the media has tended to serve elite interests in a manner that is "…anathema not only to an informed citizenry but to core democratic values as well." (McChesney, 1998:8). Advertising income is crucial to the survival of the commercial mass media, with advertisers playing an increasing role in determining media content, and some theorists contend that advertisers have the greatest impact in determining who publications are aimed at (Croteau & Hoynes, 1997). The impact of advertisers is made evident in the media's production of content aimed at an elite urban audience, in order to attract the most lucrative advertising. As a result of this positioning, segments of the populations of the countries focused on in this study can be described as being 'under-supplied' by the market when it comes to the availability of media content (Gandy, 2000).

Advertisers place a lower value on gaining access to particular audiences – such as the poor and those in rural environments – and this means that few publications will make an effort to reach this segment of the audience. If publications did target a less wealthy or

rural audience, they would likely forfeit a substantial percentage of their advertising revenue. Accordingly, in order to increase the revenue generated from advertising, publications target an elite, affluent audience, the demographic group most desirable to advertisers. The targeting of this elite audience results in the exclusion of those audience groups that are unattractive to advertisers, as very little media caters for, or is aimed at, these groups due to the implications this would have for advertising revenue (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996; Croteau & Hoynes, 1997). 'Information-rich' media is produced for elites, while 'information-poor' media is produced for the general public, resulting in a polarisation between prestige and mass newspapers, with nothing in-between (Curran, 2000a). The media is thereby prevented from being broadly representative of the society it serves, with negative consequences for its democratising function. Gandy notes that when the interests of advertisers and certain segments of the population diverge, as is the case in the countries examined in this study, "… the undersupply of content is bound to be severe." (2000:48).

According to Schudson, "… market considerations create new forms of internal censorship." (2000:179). He is referring to the practice of publications omitting content – such as material critical of the advertisers' products – that might result in the withdrawal of advertisers. The above practice can then result in self-censorship, with publications avoiding controversial coverage or content that advertisers may deem too critical. There is evidence of this existing as a threat in both Mozambique and South Africa, and it is therefore an important area of concern. In exploring these issues, critical political economy of the media highlights the power advertisers have, and the negative consequences this uneven distribution of power has for democracy, as it limits the amount of debate and information the media provides, while also restricting the range of people who have access to the media (Croteau & Hoynes, 1997; McChesney, 1998; Golding & Murdock, 2000).

As demonstrated above, plurality of media ownership does not necessarily guarantee diversity of content, since this is often determined by financial imperatives. Whether plurality of ownership exists in a country or not, the size of the media market can have

the effect of narrowing the diversity of information available. Within any free market economy, as is present in Mozambique and South Africa, the level of resources available for the production of media will be controlled primarily by the size and wealth of that economy, and this relationship has clear implications for media pluralism (Doyle, 2002a). Pluralism depends on the availability of resources to support the production and distribution of media output, and larger and wealthier markets can support a greater diversity of output than smaller markets (Doyle, 2002a). The smaller the size of the market, the smaller the economically feasible number of suppliers and the range of audience sub-groups for whom specialised content can be supplied (Doyle, 2002a). This is a particularly important area of research for this study, due to its focus on developing African countries.

2.3.7 Barriers to Entry

Pluralism and diversity of ownership and content, in which different social groups have the opportunity to express divergent views and values, are crucial in order for the media to perform its democratic function (Keane, 1993; Curran, 2000a). However, critical political economy of the media points out that the free market now restricts the effective freedom to publish: "The central square of the public sphere has been rendered inaccessible, in short, by the high cost of market entry." (Curran, 2000a:128). Curran is referring to the excessive costs implicit in successfully entering a publication into the media market. These costs make it near impossible for a new owner or publication to enter the market, with large media companies very likely the only ones capable of the capital outlay needed to establish a publication.

While a market based media system does minimise the exercise of state leverage through control of funding and appointments (Curran, 1991), it also has many weaknesses. Curran asserts that an adequate media system should enable the full range of political and economic interests to be represented in the public domain, but argues that a market based media system, in modern conditions, is incapable of delivering this as it results in a system skewed in favour of dominant class interests (1991). For this reason, "… a

strategy is needed that defends the media from both public and private power, and enables the media to serve the wider public through critical surveillance of all those in authority (Curran, 2000a: 127). This is why critical political economy theorists argue for democratic public intervention in the media.

2.3.8 Media Policy

From the preceding discussion of the distortions and inequalities of market systems, it is clear that there is a need to stem the potentially overwhelming force of the market. Therefore, critical political economy of the media argues that these deficiencies can only be rectified by democratic public intervention, and is particularly interested in determining the appropriate scope of this public intervention (Curran, 2000a; Golding & Murdock, 2000; Doyle, 2002a). Theorists argue for the formulation and implementation of media policies and regulations which promote and sustain media pluralism and diversity, such as restrictions on advertising and cross-media ownership (Keane, 1993). These regulations are needed in order to protect the media from powerful market forces, which often prevent the media from contributing to democratisation. According to Keane, public intervention in the media marketplace

> … should seek the creation of a genuine variety of media which enable little people in big societies to send and receive a variety of opinions in a variety of ways. It should aim to break down media monopolies, lift restrictions upon particular audience choices and to popularize the view that the media of communication are a public good, not a privately appropriable commodity whose primary function is to produce and circulate corporate speech for profit. (1995: 266)

Media ownership rules that ensure a diversity of commercial media owners are a crucial means of promoting and sustaining pluralism of and in the media (Doyle, 2002a; Bagdikian, 2004). However, restrictions on ownership may not always be sufficient to guarantee pluralism and they therefore need to be supported by other policy measures

(Doyle, 2002a). There is also a need to lower the barriers to market entry and equalise competitive relationships, which can be done through the use of subsidies to groups with viable plans to launch new publications and to low-circulation newspapers (Curran, 1991). A further necessary strategy, particularly for developing countries such as those in this study, is the use of public subsidies to extend the diversity of media ownership in markets that are not large enough to support several separate suppliers (Doyle, 2002a), a key area of concern for Mozambique. According to Curran (1991), these subsidies could be funded by a tax on media advertising. The aim of these policy and regulatory frameworks is to recreate the media as a public sphere in a form that is relatively autonomous from both government and the market (Curran, 2000a).

Critical political economy of the media theorists therefore assert that appropriate public interventions in the form of media or communications policy are the wisest course of action to take in order to ensure that the media positively contribute to democratisation (Keane, 1995; McChesney, 1998; Curran, 2000a; Golding & Murdock, 2000).

2.4 Media and Democracy in an African Context

Theories concerning media and democracy in an African context are also central to this study. Interest in the debate over media freedom and the role of the media in the democratic process has been in the forefront of the media and democracy paradigm since the early nineties (the period during which democratisation processes took root in Africa). This debate is particularly concerned with what constitutes an independent media and the relationship between the state and the media (Martin, 1992; Rønning, 1994; Kasoma, 2000; Tettey, 2001; Nyamnjoh, 2005). It is now generally accepted that a free media is an indispensable feature of the process of democratisation occurring in many African states, as it can increase citizen participation in political processes.

According to Rønning, the media and democracy in Africa debate "…has been centred around whether the media fulfil the ideal of promoting a free exchange of ideas and

opinions, of informing the citizens in such a way that they are able to form opinions in a climate of independence." (1994:2). Media and democracy theory is also focused on examining the problems inherent in the development of an independent and pluralistic media in Africa, as it is clear that Africa's independent media must overcome crippling weaknesses in order to fulfil their democratic mandate (Sandbrook, 1996).

2.4.1 State Censorship

Martin (1992) asserts that there is a tradition in much of Africa, which predates political independence, of the state denying the freedom of the mass media. Tettey illustrates this point:

> A lot of governments on the continent continue to impose judicial and extra-judicial barriers on journalists and media houses, in a manner which defeats the professed goals of democratic governance and the purposes behind constitutional provisions of a free press and freedom of expression. Among the hindrances to press freedom are the maintenance of anachronistic laws on libel and sedition, censorship, physical harassment of journalists and the violation of their premises and equipment, denying them access to inputs and audiences, debilitating media laws, etc. (2001: 11)

Many authors have examined the various forms of control of the media practised by African governments, and have pointed out that the media in Africa are often, in some way or the other, owned or economically controlled by the state (Rønning, 1994; Nyamnjoh, 2005). These forms of control can range from direct state ownership, or state ownership through an intermediary, to harassment and intimidation directed at privately owned publications (Rønning, 1994; Sandbrook, 1996; Kasoma, 2000; Tettey, 2001). These controls, some of which are often only implied, can cause journalists to self-censor: "…self-imposed regulations emanating from real or imagined threats often function as efficiently as formalised forms of censorship." (Rønning, 1994).

2.4.2. Legal and Economic Attacks

Further hindrances to press freedom in Africa can include delays or cut-offs in the allocation of imported newsprint, the withdrawal of government advertising from critical newspapers, and a poor infrastructure and lack of resources (Martin, 1992; Rønning, 1994; Sandbrook, 1996; Ocitti, 1999; Tettey, 2001; Ojo, 2003). A major constraint that the African media faces is the fact that governments can exercise power through financial strategies. The problem in most of Africa is that both the market for commodities in general and therefore the market for the media is underdeveloped, which means that most of the private media are economically weak (Rønning, 1994; Nyamnjoh, 2005). The market the private media in Africa serves is small, which is the result of several problems. Firstly, the majority of the population of most African countries cannot afford to be regular media users; there is also a lack of education and illiteracy, which further constrains the possible market for print media; and, lastly, there are underdeveloped infrastructures and distribution systems (Rønning, 1994).

Due to the weak financial basis of the majority of media in Africa outlined above, they are often unable to withstand onslaughts in the form of legal and economic attacks (Rønning, 1994). Rønning further points out that these attacks are therefore an effective strategy for oppressive governments to use, who often give economic rewards to members of the media who toe the line, with reprisals against those who do not (1994). Governments are able to exercise these economic controls as they are often the biggest advertisers in many African countries. The result of this is that governments realise that an effective way in which they can ensure the demise of targeted media outlets is to starve them of advertising revenue by not placing government advertisements in those newspapers (Rønning, 1994; Tettey, 2001; Harber, 2007; Berger, 2008). This strategy often results in a 'knock-on' effect:

> … private companies are cajoled into withdrawing their ads or not advertising at all in those newspapers that are considered to be at loggerheads with the government. These companies base their decisions on financial prudence and

> business pragmatism. They depend on the state for contracts, import licenses, permission to invest in the country, etc., and so try not to court the displeasure of their patrons by supporting perceived 'political enemies'. (Tettey, 2001: 20)

Due to the reliance of private publications on advertising revenue, this is an effective "… strategy of financial strangulation" (Tettey, 2001:20).

A second effective financial strategy for governments is the use of libel suits. Governments and politicians will often inundate publications with these law suits, making it impossible for these media organisations to defend these suits and remain financially afloat, thereby driving them out of business. According to Tettey (2001), these suits are intended to warn journalists and publishers that they are risking their businesses by investigating cases of misconduct on the part of state elites. Subsequently, the above methods often result in self-censorship on the part of these media organisations, in order for them to be able to remain financially viable (Rønning, 1994; Sandbrook, 1996; Tettey, 2001). This severely undermines the capacity of the media to function effectively as a public sphere.

2.4.3 Limitations to Access

The financial imperatives of business further constrain the African media. Print media in particular only reach a small percentage of the population as this media is aimed at the urban elite. Most media is in foreign languages, and high levels of illiteracy pose a huge challenge to widespread access to print media (Rønning, 1994; Ocitti, 1999; Tettey, 2001). The aforementioned is caused by the necessity for economic survival on the part of the media. Since most advertisers target the urban elite, it is not surprising that the media focus on the area and language of that group (Tettey, 2001). A further constraint comes from underdeveloped infrastructures and distribution systems, which means that newspapers often cannot reach outlying or rural areas (Rønning, 1994; Kupe, 2002). Tettey has summarised the consequence of these difficulties: "Since the private media are

usually the 'vanguards' of democratic tutelage their limited scope, both in terms of reach and language, deprives a majority of citizens of access to democratic discourse." (2001: 25).

2.4.4 Training, Experience and Content

Many theorists have highlighted that the experience, training and education of media personnel in Africa are low by international standards, with the quality of the media not always what it should be (Martin, 1992; Rønning, 1994; Sandbrook, 1996; Kasoma, 2000; Tettey, 2001). This lack of experience and training is a problem with regard to journalistic competence and self-assurance, which can make the press more susceptible to pressure (Rønning, 1994). This lack of experience and training can have a significant impact on content. Sandbrook points out that "… limited journalistic training, when combined with meagre resources for investigative reporting and the reluctance of officials to provide information, produce reportage that abounds with unsubstantiated rumour." (1996: 82). It is clear that this kind of content does not contribute to democratisation processes.

Due to the fact that a free media system is a key component of the democratisation process occurring in many African states, including Mozambique and South Africa, it is apparent that measures need to be in place to ensure freedom of the media: "A legal system which ensures that journalists will be able to do their work free from government interference is essential, as well as safeguards against financial pressures which would have the effect of compromising the independence of the mass media." (Martin, 1992: 335).

2.5 Conclusion

It is clear that the existence of "… a significant, vital and active sphere of democratic communication" (Rønning, 1998:17) is necessary for the development and sustenance of

democracy in the countries focused on in this study. The premise of this study is that one of the most crucial prerequisites of democracy is the democratisation of communication. However, the discussion of the critical political economy of the media and media and democracy theories has highlighted that the African media function under a combination of state control and market control, the endurance of which has serious consequences for the possibility of a fully developed free media in Africa (Rønning, 1994).

Chapter Three
Research Methods

3.1 The Qualitative Method

The primary research question of this study is concerned with determining and then analysing the factors that enable or constrain the role of the print media in democratisation processes in Mozambique and South Africa. This study therefore examines the media in relation to the broader political, economic and social context within which they operate and the different influences these can have on media behaviour and content. In order to best answer the primary research question of this study and the secondary questions which arise from this primary question, a qualitative methodological framework has been selected. There are two broad methodological approaches to researching the media: the quantitative or positivist approach, and the qualitative or critical-interpretive approach. Accordingly, this study makes use of a qualitative methodological framework, as it is the most appropriate approach for analysing the issues addressed in this research:

> … where quantitative analysis would focus on the concrete, delimited *products* of the media's meaning production, qualitative approaches examine meaning production as a *process* which is contextualized and inextricably integrated with wider social and cultural practices. (Bruhn Jensen, 1991: 4)

This indicates that qualitative research implies an emphasis on processes and meanings over measures of quantity, intensity, and frequency (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998), which makes the qualitative method of research ideal for this study.

Data collection in qualitative research can include a variety of techniques, ranging from questionnaires or in-depth interviews to document analysis and unstructured observation (Jankowski & Wester, 1991). While the primary qualitative research technique made use of in this study was document analysis, in-depth interviews were used in circumstances

where no appropriate documentation was available to be analysed, especially in the case of the Mozambican media.

3.2 Document Analysis

Data relating to ownership, the political and economic context, and the policy and regulatory environment in each of the countries examined in this study, during the 2000 to 2008 time period, was primarily sourced from academic texts and documentation such as news articles and business reports. This method of research is referred to as "document analysis". Document analysis is a qualitative approach for finding, identifying, retrieving and analysing various documents for their relevance, significance and meaning (Altheide, 1996). During this study, a variety of documents were examined, including academic texts, annual reports from companies, media coverage of issues pertinent to this study (most commonly media coverage of a change in ownership or new management of the companies examined in this study, as well as analysis and opinion pieces on issues affecting the media industry) and a number of other documents found to be relevant to the study of the print media in Mozambique and South Africa. Most notably, industry publications such as *The Media* and *Maverick*, as well as prominent news publications such as *Business Day*, *The Sunday Times* and *The Mail & Guardian* were relied upon for information and analysis regarding the media environment in South Africa.

Of course, it must be noted that many of the news articles and media analysis relied upon in this study were found in newspapers and other publications owned by the very organisations examined by this study. With this in mind, all opinion and analysis and news articles used in this dissertation were carefully examined for any bias that might result from publications printing articles regarding their own industry and the possibility of, and potential for, this bias was taken into account throughout the data gathering process. Only articles from publications known for their editorial quality – and most often written by reputable media commentators or analysts - were made use of, and facts put

forward in these articles were cross checked by comparing them to other information found in publications owned by separate companies, in order to ensure their veracity.

3.2.1 Researching Media Ownership and Control

As discussed in the theoretical framework, democracy depends on a media system that delivers accurate information and informed analysis and gives space to the broadest possible range of voices, opinions and perspectives. It has also been outlined that diversity of ownership is one of the necessary conditions for this criteria to be fulfilled. Much of the research methodology with regard to ownership is therefore concerned with the concentration of ownership and channels of control and influence.

Deacon et al (1999) suggest a number of ways through which a researcher can study media ownership. It is first necessary to identify the dominant owners using either their market share or capitalisation, which can help the researcher identify where control lies in an organisation. In order to ascertain where this control lies in a media company, Deacon et al (1999) suggest selecting all shareholders with a stake of 5% or more, as well as determining the board members of the selected companies. It is also necessary to collect information on the media companies themselves to determine patterns of ownership. They further suggest that the researcher should note if there are any close ties – political or familial – between individual shareholders, as well as the owners' socio-political networks. Sources of information made use of in this study regarding company ownership and shareholding include the annual reports of these companies, past and current news reports in reputable industry and news publications regarding changes of ownership in the industry, as well as articles and personal profiles of individuals involved in media ownership.

3.2.2 The Political, Economic and Legislative Environment

Data relating to questions regarding the funding and financing of the media, as well as the current legislative environment in each country and government policy towards the media

was mainly sourced through the use of available documentation such as published legislation and news articles and, when necessary, through the use of in-depth interviews. The size of the market in each country was determined by examining the levels of advertising, circulation and readership of publications, and through examining whether recent entries to the market in both countries have been successful. Information regarding this question has been sourced from industry reports and other available documentation, as well as from interviewees.

3.3 Interviews

During the course of this research, it was difficult at times to locate and analyse documents regarding the media environment in Mozambique. This was due to the fact that not much has been written regarding this area of research, and the little that is available is predominantly in Portuguese, as Mozambique is a Lusophone country. In order to ascertain the kind of environment in which the print media in Mozambique exists, it was necessary to interview those in key positions who could provide insight into the main issues examined in this study. While there are approaches other than interviews that could have been used to gather data, such as observation or focus groups, interviews are most appropriate since observation requires a great deal of time as well as high-level access, and focus groups would involve co-ordinating availability and may result in some participants' views being marginalized (Deacon et al, 1999).

Semi-structured, open-ended interviews were determined to be most appropriate for this study, as these manage to "… both address the need for comparable responses – that is, there are the same questions being asked of each interviewee – and the need for the interview to be developed by the conversation between interviewer and interviewee." (Wisker, 2001:168). In other words, with a semi-structured, open-ended interview there are a series of set questions to be asked, while there is also space for some divergence. The interviewer controls the discussion by referring to an interview guide (see Appendix A) that sets out the issues that need to be covered during the interview (Deacon et al,

1999). This kind of interview was preferable for this study, as closed questions can often limit the response the interviewee can give and do not enable them to think deeply or give their real opinions and feelings (Wisker, 2001).

Conducting these interviews involved identifying and locating participants who have experienced or are experiencing the environment that is the focus of this study (Newton & Rudestam, 2001). Therefore, interviewees were chosen with regard to their experience and knowledge of the print media in Mozambique, and whether they could provide insight to the specific focus of this study, as well as with regards to availability. The aim was to select interviewees in such a way that a broad range of knowledge and perspectives could be provided. Accordingly, several journalists, editors, managers and two owners were interviewed, as well as a government official, media analyst and academic. During these interviews, which usually lasted approximately one hour in duration, a tape recorder was used in order to record the responses of interviewees, which were later transcribed. This was done in order to ensure accuracy throughout the research and analysis process.

3.4 Difficulties in the Research Process

The primary difficulty for this study with regard to using the document analysis methodological approach as the principal method through which data was gathered, is that much of the data available concerning information and analysis of the Mozambican media environment was not available in English, or not available at all since there has not been a substantial amount of study regarding the media in Mozambique. Due to the above weakness in the document analysis component of this study, interviews with several prominent persons in the Mozambican media industry were necessary to gather the relevant information.

However, there are also some weaknesses that arise when using interviews in the data collection process. As several theorists have highlighted (Bruhn Jensen, 2002; Lindlof &

Taylor, 2002), it is impossible for anyone to fully articulate the processes impacting upon any event since there is no such thing as complete knowledge or understanding. This can mean that interviewees may claim to have greater knowledge of a situation or field than they actually possess. Another concern was that interviewees may not answer questions entirely truthfully - perhaps answering the questions as they believe they should, rather than with their honest personal opinions - based on a fear of offending a superior or owner of a publication. These possible limitations in the interview methodology were kept in mind throughout the research process.

Chapter Four
The Print Media Ownership Landscape

Ownership is a crucial aspect of media freedom, due to the powerful influence owners can have on the editorial independence of the media they own. This chapter is concerned with first mapping the media ownership landscape present in each country, with specific focus on the period 2000 to 2008, as well as discussing the history of ownership in the countries examined. Lastly, the possible consequences of the ownership patterns present in each country will be comparatively analysed. While both of the countries concerned exhibit some pluralism of ownership, this study will argue that this does not necessarily guarantee diversity of content.

4.1 Print Media Ownership History - Mozambique

Although Mozambique was officially a Portuguese colony for more than a century, most of the country was handed over to British-owned chartered companies, which ran these areas as separate states with their own currencies and with customs posts separating them from the rest of the country (Africa Watch, 1992). In 1905 the first newspaper was published in Mozambique. The *Lorenço Marques Guardian* first appeared when the resident British community decided to start a newspaper that could facilitate unity and communication between its members. For nearly fifty years it was published only in English despite the fact that the majority of Mozambicans did not speak the language (Ocitti, 1999). This demonstrates the lack of concern the colonial powers had for providing Mozambicans with any form of media. For only 34 years, from 1941, when the last charter expired, to 1975, the date of independence, Portugal ran Mozambique as a unitary state. During this time, almost no education was available for the black population and in the mid-1970s, the illiteracy rate in Mozambique was around 93 percent (Fauvet & Mosse, 2003). Due to this, the print media's audience was overwhelmingly made up of the educated, white members of the population, and was strictly controlled by the Portuguese colonial authority. Mozambique's current biggest daily newspaper, *Noticías*

de Moçambique, was acquired by the Portuguese colonial government in 1964 and "used as an instrument of propaganda." (Jone, 2005:13). *Noticías de Moçambique* continued as a state-controlled publication after independence in 1975.

The Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo) took power after independence in 1975 and adopted Marxism-Leninism, ruling under a single party system. Soon after independence an opposition movement, the Mozambique National Resistance (Renamo), was formed with the help of the South African Apartheid regime. This resulted in 16 years of ruinous civil war, which finally came to an end in 1992. During Frelimo's single party rule the media were actively involved in propagating the government's viewpoint on issues and in promoting Frelimo's social philosophy, with private ownership of media prohibited. The dominant state-owned newspapers of this time were the previously mentioned *Noticías de Moçambique*, as well as the less dominant *Notícias de Beira* (now known as *Diário de Moçambique*) and the weekly, *Domingo*. There were no privately held publications or media companies. Samora Machel, then President of Mozambique and Frelimo leader, stated at the time that "the party, only the party" should have control over the media (Fauvet & Mosse, 2003:35). The government decided which media organisations journalists worked at, and as a result of this, journalists did not work for a single publication for too lengthy a period before being moved to another. During this time, all media organisations received state subsidies, which ensured that the media did not have to struggle for funding.

In 1990, the Mozambican government amended the constitution which paved the way for a multi-party political system. Later, in 1992, Frelimo and Renamo signed a peace deal that officially brought the civil war to an end. This cleared the way for the Press Laws of 1991 and 1993, which provided for the right to establish newspapers and other publications and lead to a number of private publications being established. Unfortunately, some of these private publications are owned by politicians, or by people affiliated to political parties, which has implications for the editorial independence and impartiality of these publications. Mozambique's print media sector also consists of three partially state-owned publications, which still wield considerable influence. These

newspapers are in principle editorially independent, although there is evidence that some control is exercised, particularly during crucial times such as the election period of 2004 (Moyana, 2005). There are no large media conglomerates which own large numbers of publications in Mozambique, as is the case in South Africa with companies such as Independent Newspapers and Avusa. Independent Newspapers is a foreign-owned company and owns a large section of the South African newspaper market, but this kind of foreign ownership has not yet been experienced in Mozambique. Instead, the private Mozambican print sector is dominated by journalist-owned publications, with a significant proportion of publications owned by either cooperatives or individual journalists.

4.1.1 Partially State Owned Publications

Notícias de Moçambique, founded in 1906, is the country's largest and oldest newspaper and is distributed nationally, with an average print run of 30 000 (Jone, 2005). This daily is owned by Sociedade Notícias, whose original shareholders were both individuals and private companies, including the Portuguese bank, Banco Nacional Ultramarino (later to become the Mozambique Central Bank). The original company collapsed in 1974 on the eve of independence and was inherited by the new Frelimo government. The central bank, BM, retains a 15 percent shareholding, with the remaining shares distributed between the government and company employees. Due to the composition of its ownership, Sociedade Notícias is a well-equipped company, with a modern two-unit rotary press which can produce 25 000 eight-page newspapers per hour. This gives *Notícias* a clear advantage over its competitors.

Sociedade Notícias also owns *Domingo*, a Sunday newspaper launched in the 1980s and sold mainly in Maputo. It is currently managed by Editoras Associadas, a publishing company formed in 1994, and has a print run of 20 000 (Jone, 2005). Several of its 25 employees are shared with the daily *Notícias*. The weekly *Desafio*, a sports tabloid, is also part of the Sociedade Notícias stable and employs about a dozen journalists and

enjoys the highest weekly circulation rate of 25 000 (Jone, 2005). It is managed by the publishing company Moçambique Despotos Lda.

Operating from the central province of Sofala, *Diário de Moçambique* is the only mainstream newspaper produced outside Maputo, and mainly serves the central and southern parts of the country. *Diário* is owned by the Commercial Press Society of Beira, in which Frelimo officials hold majority shares. Although the above newspapers are all essentially editorially free and do criticise the government, they are often accused of having a pro-Frelimo bias and are seen as largely reflecting the views of individuals in the ruling party, a tendency that was especially obvious during the most recent 2004 election campaigns.

4.1.2 Party Owned Publications

Although there are some newspapers, such as *Diário de Moçambique*, that are partially owned by political party members, there is only one publication owned by a political party: the fax newspaper *Imparcial* is the only privately-owned newspaper that can be said to have a constant, significant bias, which can be explained by the fact that it is wholly owned by the opposition party Renamo. It is common knowledge in Mozambique that this newspaper serves as a mouth piece for the opposition and is very critical of the government (Namburete, 2005).

4.1.3 Privately Owned Publications

Mozambique currently has a number of privately-owned publications, the majority of which are owned by cooperatives that mainly consist of journalists. A significant number of the privately-owned publications are fax newspapers, a phenomenon unique to Mozambique that does not occur anywhere else in the region. The establishment of these privately owned publications was made possible through the enactment of the Press Law in 1991 (discussed more extensively in Chapter Six). Fauvet and Mosse detail the earliest formation of private publications:

> With the press law passed, it became a real possibility to set up papers fully independent of the state. The journalists thinking along these lines were still working on the established media – notably Lima at AIM, Kok Nam on *Tempo*, and Salomão Moyana at *Domingo*. They began talking about setting up a cooperative venture, to be called Mediacoop, whose first task would be to publish a weekly paper. (2003:232)

One of the most well-known fax newspapers, *Mediafax*, was the first privately-owned fax newspaper, established in 1992 by Mediacoop, the cooperative venture set up by some of the foremost Mozambican journalists discussed above, including the late Carlos Cardoso, who was a prominent figure in Mozambican journalism for several decades. Soon after this, Mediacoop established *Savana*, the first privately-owned traditional newspaper. The first issue of *Savana* appeared on 21 January 1994 with an initial print run of 15 000. Since then, Mediacoop have also launched an English language monthly magazine, *Mozambique in View*. In 2002 Mediacoop changed its structure from a cooperative to a limited company, and respected Mozambican journalist Fernando Lima was elected chairperson of the board (Fauvet & Mosse, 2003).

In 1994, soon after *Savana* was established, a new journalist cooperative, CoopArtes Editorial, launched another traditional weekly newspaper, *Demos*. Other daily fax newspapers were launched in 1997, such as Carlos Cardoso's now defunct *Metical* and Sojornal Ltd's *Correio da Manhã*. Another journalist, Leandro Paul, launched his own weekly newspaper, *Fim de Semana*, in 1997 and his daily, *O Popular*, in 1999. Both of Paul's publications are commercially driven tabloids. Another fairly recent edition to the market is *Zambeze*, established by several journalists from *Savana*, and headed by owner and editor, Salomão Moyana. Several other small, independent publications owned by cooperatives or single individuals were recently launched in and outside the capital Maputo, many of which are printed in A4 formats and distributed by fax or email to overcome the high costs of newsprint and distribution. Most prominent of these is

Vertical, launched in 2003 by former *Metical* journalists, following the assassination of *Metical* owner and editor, Carlos Cardoso.

4.2 Print Media Ownership History - South Africa

South Africa houses the largest media companies in the Southern Africa region, with the print media highly concentrated among four major players, all of which are privately owned. Unlike Mozambique, the majority of print media in South Africa has always been privately owned, even during the Apartheid period, though with varying degrees of association to the government of the day. Horwitz (2001: 284-285) asserts that, at the time of the first democratic elections in 1994, "Like almost every other sector of the South African economy and society, press ownership *was*, in fact, highly concentrated, and was monopolized by whites on top of that." While the racial composition of media ownership in South Africa has changed since then, it can be argued that the highly concentrated nature of print media ownership remains the same.

4.2.1 English Language Press

It is important to examine the history of the press in South Africa before a discussion of the current ownership landscape, due to the fact that many of the existing companies have ties to the original owners of many of the long-standing publications. The first newspaper established in South Africa (also the first on the African continent) was the privately owned weekly *The Cape Town Gazette*, launched in 1800. This was the only newspaper in South Africa until 24 years later, when a group of philanthropists established the *South African Commercial Advertiser*. In 1882 a new Press Law, based on the law of England, was adopted in the Cape. This established the right of any group or person to publish a newspaper and remained largely unchallenged until the introduction of Apartheid more than 100 years later.

The introduction of this new law proved to be a catalyst for the emergence of a number of other publications, including the *Cape Argus* (1857) and the *Cape Times* (1876), which came to be the most important (Bennetts, 2004). In 1881 the *Cape Argus* was bought by a group of several leading businessmen, including Cecil John Rhodes. This was the beginning of a closely interlinked relationship between the South African mining industry and the English language press, which remained intact until the 1990s (Bennetts, 2004). Argus listed on the stock exchange in 1886 and acquired *The Star*, a small Johannesburg based publication in 1889, resulting in the creation of the Argus Printing and Publishing Company. Over the next few decades, the Argus Printing and Publishing Company bought a number of established newspapers (including the *Natal Daily News* and the *Pretoria News*) and in 1903 the company became a major shareholder in the Central News Agency, which for several years retained a monopoly over newspaper distribution in South Africa (Horwitz, 2001).

While the Argus Printing and Publishing Company was clearly the dominant actor in the English language market, in 1902 the *Rand Daily Mail* was established by mining magnate Abe Bailey (Ainslie, 1966). This was followed by *The Sunday Times* in 1906, which was owned and operated by the editors of the *Rand Daily Mail*. These newspapers formally merged in 1955, to form the South African Association of Newspapers (SAAN), and were later joined by several other newspapers. By the 1960s, these two companies (SAAN and Argus) controlled the vast majority of English language newspapers. However, SAAN was struggling to survive by the mid-1970s. The Oppenheimer family intervened by setting up the Advowsen Trust, which bought out SAAN (Bennetts, 2004:37). This meant that the Argus Group were now the direct primary shareholders in SAAN. However, SAAN was still struggling with financial losses and was forced to close down some of its publications, including the *Rand Daily Mail*. In 1987, SAAN changed its name to Times Media Ltd and at the same time launched a new daily business publication, the *Business Day* (Bennetts, 2004). While all the major publications were privately owned at this time, the Apartheid government still tried to suppress all opposition in the press and imposed several restrictions. These mostly had the effect of

encouraging the print media at the time to engage in 'self-censorship' and the English press mostly stayed away from contentious stories (Horwitz, 2001).

4.2.2 Afrikaans Language Press

In 1875, the first weekly Afrikaans publication, *Die Patriot*, was published in the Western Cape. The first Afrikaans daily, *Die Burger*, was launched in 1915, also in the Cape. From the beginning, it was clear that the Afrikaans press had a close relationship with Afrikaner nationalism as a movement, and later they were implicitly linked to the Apartheid government. The largest Afrikaans newsgroup, Nasionale Pers (Naspers), published *Die Burger* and *Die Volksblad* (1920) and in the 1960s launched the popular publication *Die Beeld*, which later became a daily (Bennetts, 2004). Sanlam, a Cape-based life assurance firm at the time, was the major shareholder in Naspers for most of the 20th Century (Horwitz, 2001).

Several smaller Afrikaans publishing companies also sprung up in the 1900s, though this time in the Transvaal. Afrikaanse Pers was established in 1915 and published *Die Vaderland*. In 1937, Voortrekker Pers was set up to print a daily newspaper, *Die Transvaaler*. Importantly, *Die Transvaaler's* first editor was Dr H.F. Verwoed, a future National Party (NP) leader and the 'father' of Apartheid (Bennetts, 2004). During the same period, a combination of English and Afrikaans capital funded a Johannesburg publication, *Dagbreeker*. However, when the publication's editors openly endorsed the NP, the English owners withdrew from the venture (Horwitz, 2001). In 1962 the primary shareholder in *Dagbreeker*, Marius Jooste, merged Dagbreekpers and Afrikaanse Pers and in 1971 added Voortrekker Pers to the stable, forming the holding company Perskor (Bennetts, 2004). In 1977, Perskor also bought out the English-language daily, *The Citizen*, which had been established by businessman Louis Luyt as an alternative to the other English language publications available at the time – *The Citizen* offered a strong pro-NP stance. Perskor therefore became the major competitor to Naspers in the Afrikaans market, though both companies were still aligned to the NP.

4.2.3 The 'Black' Press

The history of the so-called 'black press' in South Africa is also irrevocably linked with the big media companies of the time. While independent publications aimed at a black readership did exist since the early 1900s, many eventually collapsed (due to a lack of advertising support and the introduction of Apartheid) and the only ones that lasted were those under the umbrella of the large media companies such as Argus. Of the 19 publications that existed in 1930, there were only seven left by 1954, all of which were white-owned (Bennetts, 2004). During the early years of Apartheid, several left leaning publications were launched, usually allied to and funded by the African National Congress (ANC) or the Communist Party. Most did not last long and were banned after the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 and the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960. The only 'black' publications that survived past 1960 were those either started or bought out by the 'Bantu press' division of Argus (though a few of these were also eventually banned), which began in the 1930s and continued into the 1980s.

In 1981, Argus launched *The Sowetan*, a black consciousness publication, which grew to have the largest circulation of any black newspaper (Horwitz, 2001). In 1984, Naspers also decided to enter the black print market. They purchased the daily *City Press* as well as two of the biggest selling weekly magazines, *Drum* and *True Love*. Bennetts (2004) notes that by the end of the 1980s only two mainstream newspapers – the *Sowetan* and *City Press* - had a noteworthy readership in the black community and both were owned by white media firms, one English and one Afrikaans. During the Apartheid years, there were several private 'alternative' publications, run independently of the big media companies. Of these, only two survived beyond the Apartheid era: *The Weekly Mail* (started and funded by a group of liberal white journalists) and *The New Nation*. Only one, *The Weekly Mail* (now the *Mail and Guardian*) is in existence in some form today.

4.2.4 The Transition Period

As can be seen from the discussion of the history of print media ownership in South Africa, the landscape was dominated by large media companies who owned several publications each. By the time the first steps towards democratising South Africa were taken, the print media landscape was dominated by four media firms, two English and two Afrikaans: Argus, Times Media Ltd, Naspers and Perskor.

During the period 1990 – 2000, there were several changes in the print media ownership landscape. In 1993, Anglo-American, the main shareholders of Argus, decided to sell a 52% share in what was at the time the most widely circulated newspaper, *The Sowetan*, to New Africa Investments Limited (NAIL). Later, in 1994, Anglo-American decided it was time to divest (Bennetts, 2004). Times Media Limited sold the *Cape Times*, its controlling stake in Natal Newspapers which published the *Natal Mercury* and its 45% share in the *Pretoria News* to the other Anglo subsidiary, Argus. Anglo then listed Argus as a separate company on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (JSE) and sold 31% of Argus to a company they had been negotiating with for some time, Irish-based Independent PLC. Independent increased its shareholding to 58% in 1995 and by the next year Argus was a wholly-owned subsidiary of the Irish company (Bennetts, 2004). Argus de-listed from the JSE and changed its name to Independent Newspapers, South Africa. Currently, Independent is the only major foreign company to enter into the South African print media market (with the exception of smaller levels of foreign ownership such as with *The Mail & Guardian* and BDFM), and now publishes a majority of the country's English language daily newspapers.

In 1997, Anglo unbundled one of its major subsidiaries, Johannesburg Consolidated Investments (JCI), to a black economic empowerment (BEE) initiative, the National Empowerment Consortium (NEC), which included most of the COSATU-affiliated retirement funds (Horwitz, 2001). This was the largest black empowerment venture ever entered into (worth R 3.8 Billion) and included in this sale was Johnnies Industrial Corporation (Johnnic), the company with the controlling share in Omni Media Limited,

the holding company for Times Media Limited. Therefore, for the first time, black investors held a significant share in some of South Africa's most successful newspapers, including *The Sunday Times*, the country's most popular weekly, and *Business Day* (Bennetts, 2004). Shortly after the NEC had acquired Johnnic, the company sold a 50% stake in two of its publications, *Business Day* and *Financial Mail* to Pearsons PLC (publisher of Britain's *Financial Times* and considered a financial publications specialist), thereby creating a new publisher, Business Day Financial Mail (BDFM). In the same year, Omni consolidated its 20% share in the Eastern Cape's Dispatch Media, then publisher of the *Daily Dispatch*, by acquiring the remaining 80% of the shares.

During the same period, Naspers concluded a R110 million agreement with two Natal-based empowerment groups, Dynamo Group and Ukhozi Media, setting up the company City Press Media, which in effect gave the two groups a 51% share in Naspers' profitable *City Press*, the largest Sunday paper aimed at the black market. The agreement saw Naspers retain the management of *City Press* in a skills-sharing initiative. (Bennetts, 2004). Other than the Johnnic and Naspers deals, the other major agreement concluded in 1997 was the sale of a portion of the smaller, conservative Afrikaans publisher, Perskor, to the Kagiso Trust, another BEE group which had a major shareholding in several radio stations. Kagiso formed a voting pool with Dagbreek Pers and the Rembrandt Trust, which gave the group effective control over the English language daily *The Citizen* as well as several smaller Afrikaans publications. At the time *The Citizen* was the most editorially conservative of the English-language papers and Horwitz notes that the Perskor sale to Kagiso was part of a concerted effort to reform the company's conservative image (2001).

During this time the only media company that did not make an attempt to find a BEE partner was Independent. The company had originally stated that they would seek to do this, but nothing ever materialized from these promises (Mbeki, 1995). The company did however establish a new weekly title, *The Sunday Independent*, as well as the supplement *Business Report*, which is focused on South African business and financial news, and

appears as an insert in several of Independent's other publications such as *The Star* and *The Pretoria News*.

By 1998, Independent Newspapers controlled all of what were previously the Argus newspapers as well as the ex- SAAN publications, the *Cape Times*, the *Natal Mercury* (through its controlling stake in Natal Newspapers) and the *Pretoria News*. Times Media Limited, no longer owned by Anglo, was now controlled by the recently formed NEC and chaired by former ANC secretary-general, Cyril Ramaphosa, owned the *Sunday Times*, *Business Day* and the *Financial Mail*. Naspers owned most of the Afrikaans dailies, including the two with the largest circulation, *Beeld* and *Die Burger* and 50% of the only Afrikaans Sunday paper, *Rapport*. The company also owned several regional and community newspapers and had a 50% share in *City Press* with Dynamo Investments. NAIL owned the largest black daily, the *Sowetan*, and Kagiso had the controlling stake in *The Citizen* and *Transvaaler* newspapers (Bennetts, 2004).

Johnnic and NAIL embarked on a joint venture to launch a new weekly title, the *Sowetan Sunday World*, which began publishing in March 1999. Johnnic held a 50% stake in the new title, while NAIL held 45%. The *Sunday World* became a direct competitor to Naspers / Dynamo's *City Press*, formerly the only black Sunday paper. Eventually, NAIL divested itself of its media interests, selling *The Sowetan* to Johnnic. In June 1998, Perskor's core publishing business merged with CTP, which also controlled Caxton. Johnnic retained a 43% interest in the new company, giving it a large stake in *The Citizen* and several suburban free-sheets along with Kagiso (Bennetts, 2004). Johnnic, through Omni, also increased its share in Times Media Limited from 90.5% to 100% and de-listed the company from the JSE in November 1998. NAIL meanwhile unbundled some of its media shares, reducing its stake in the *Sowetan* to 90%, but retaining its stake in Allied Publishing. The years 1998-1999 also saw the start of a major restructuring and investment phase at Naspers. The company consolidated its interest in several smaller printing and distribution companies, and formed RCP Media with Dynamo, which then became the umbrella organization for Naspers' two Johannesburg-based Sunday papers, *Rapport* and *City Press* (Bennetts, 2004).

4.2.5 The Present Ownership Landscape (2000-2008)

With the beginning of 2000, Naspers continued to expand, acquiring the remaining 50% of shares in *Rapport* in 2000, making the newspaper a wholly-owned Naspers title. The paper had been struggling to break even, but profitability improved following the Naspers takeover (Bennetts, 2004). In the same year Naspers also acquired a 50% stake in the previously independent *Natal Witness* and its associated community papers, bringing the number of community papers owned by the company to forty-three. In 2002, Naspers launched four tabloids aimed at black, lower-income readers: the *Sunday Sun*, the successful *Daily Sun* (which quickly overtook the *Sowetan* as the most widely-circulated black daily) and their Afrikaans-language counterparts. Also in 2000, Naspers organised and branded their print media division under the 'Media 24' title. Later, in 2005, Naspers consolidated all its print media, book publishing and private education assets under the Media 24 umbrella in order to simplify the group structure (Naspers Company History 2008). Media 24 owns an 87.5 % interest in Paarl Media Holdings, one of the largest commercial printing operations in South Africa, as well as owning several publishing imprints and news and retail websites. For a full list of all of Media 24's current print media publications, please see Appendix C.

Johnnic Communications (Johncom) has gone through several changes in the last few years. In 2004, Johncom entered into a licensing agreement with Johnnic Holdings Limited (Johnnic) for the use of the Johnnic / Johncom trademark (Rego, 2007). By the end of the year, Johnnic announced that it planned to unbundle to its shareholders all of its shareholding in Johncom, after which Johnnic identified the hotels and gaming sector as its new area of focus. Johncom's core strategy remained media and entertainment. The unbundling of Johncom from Johnnic took effect on March 24 2005 (Rego, 2007). While they have pursued different strategic directions, the two companies felt that there was ongoing confusion due to the similarities in their names and in November 2007 shareholders agreed to the proposed name change to Avusa. This name change was also part of a strategy to introduce broad based BEE ownership by separating the business of Johncom into two listed entities. This means that 100% of all of Johncom's directly held

operating and media assets now fall under the company Avusa, while Johncom's 36% stake in Caxton / CTP has been unbundled and has been separately listed as ElementOne since March 2008. Also towards the end of 2007, Tokyo Sexwale's BEE Mvelaphanda Holdings bought a controlling stake in Avusa, owners of influential newspapers such as *The Sunday Times* and *Business Day* (see Appendix C) and other prominent brands including NuMetro Cinemas and Home Entertainment, Exclusive Books, several publishing imprints as well as Gallo Music Group. As can be seen by the brands mentioned, Avusa is a powerful company in all areas of media and entertainment in South Africa. The acquisition of Avusa by Mvelaphanda Holdings has powerful political overtones, as Tokyo Sexwale is a member of the newly elected ANC National Executive Committee (NEC) as well as being the non-executive chair of Mvelaphanda Holdings. It must however also be noted that Sexwale has always defended press freedom when it has come under attack (Bruce, 2007).

Caxton is one of the largest publishers and printers of books, magazines, newspapers and commercial print in South Africa. Johncom, as mentioned above, previously held a one third stake in Caxton, which has since been unbundled and listed as a separate entity, ElementOne. The rest of Caxton is under the control of Terry Moolman, the founder and controlling shareholder. Caxton publishes a wide range of "knock-and-drop" or community newspapers, as well as the daily newspaper *The Citizen*.

Independent Newspapers, the Irish-based media company headed by CEO Tony O'Reilly, is the largest newspaper publisher in South Africa and currently owns 14 South African publications (see Appendix C), including the popular daily *The Star*, as well as one of the few publications aimed at a non-English and Afrikaans speaking market, the Zulu language *Isolezwe*, and controls 58% of the English language newspaper market. Independent also owns several community titles. Independent is the only foreign-based company to own more than one publication in South Africa, as well as being the only company without some form of BEE partnership.

Another prominent Zulu language publication, *Ilanga* and the Sunday edition *Ilanga Lange Sonto* are owned by Mandla-Matla Publishing. The original *Ilanga* newspaper was established in 1903 by Dr John Dube and is one of the few influential African language newspapers in South Africa. However, it is well-known that the newspaper is affiliated to the leading Kwazulu Natal political party, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), and reports in a manner favourable to this political party and its politicians (Harber, 2008a).

One of the most influential South African publications not currently owned by one of the above conglomerates is *The Mail and Guardian*, which was originally established as an alternative newspaper in 1985 (then known as the *Weekly Mail*) by a group of journalists from the defunct liberal publications *The Rand Daily Mail* and *Sunday Express*. In 1995, the UK publication *The Guardian* became the majority shareholder in *The Weekly Mail*, which was then renamed *The Mail and Guardian*. In 2002, *The Guardian* reduced its shareholding to 10% and sold a majority share in the newspaper to Newtrust Ltd, owned by Zimbabwean publisher Trevor Ncube.

4.3. Analysis of Print Media Ownership Patterns in Mozambique and South Africa

In Chapter Two, the critical political economy perspective on media ownership was discussed. Theorists (Curran, 2000a; Golding & Murdock, 2000) note that in most democratic countries, the media is anchored to the free market in order to ensure independence from government. However, this can often result in the accumulation of disproportionate market power for individual media companies. One of the main problems surrounding this potential concentration of power is the risk for democracy when individual 'voices' gain excessive control over the media (Doyle, 2002b). This can clearly be seen to have occurred in the South African print media environment. As discussed above, the landscape is dominated by only four media conglomerates, each of which owns several titles. One of the other results of this concentrated ownership is the need for each company to maximise profits (discussed in more detail in Chapter Five).

Consequently, publications within the same stable often share copy and newsrooms are merged.

This has clearly occurred in South Africa, with the Independent media company being a good example. Independent Newspapers publications share the *Business Report* section of the newspaper, as well as often sharing copy for the arts and motoring sections. Independent also centralised back office functions and reduced the size of newsrooms, all in order to make a profit. This means that one perspective is being put forward rather than the several that would likely be disseminated if production on each publication were separate. The attempts made by these companies to maximise profits can then result in a lack of a diversity of news as well as the vigorous editorial stance needed to contribute to democracy. Bennetts (2004) highlighted how the traditional boundaries of editorial independence between the former Argus papers became less distinct. Publications in the same geographical location such as *The Argus* and *Cape Times* retained their individual format, typography and senior editorial staff, but began to share junior reporters and sub-editors, often utilizing the same articles.

The pressure for a media company to make a profit often outweighs other concerns. This can be seen in the fact that, when a significant change in South African print media ownership occurred after 1994, there was not as dramatic a shift in the content produced. Bennetts (2004) noted that, after the 1994 elections, the ANC-led government believed that changing the racial and socio-economic profiles of the owners of the media companies would be the quickest way to change the content of South African publications. Unfortunately, once the changes in ownership had begun to occur, it became clear that the new owners were reluctant to shift the content of the publications they had acquired as they did not want to risk losing market share or advertising revenue.

While Mozambique does not suffer from the above problems regarding shared content and merging of newsrooms, there are other difficulties with regard to ownership. Some of the most prominent publications, such as *Notícias* and *Domingo*, are still partially state-owned, though editorially independent in principle. Those interviewed who work for

these publications say that the environment in which they operate has improved dramatically over the last few years, though they still do feel pressure from the government (run by the ruling party Frelimo) to grant more space to government ministers and officials and cover issues from a pro-government perspective.

Additionally, several publications in Mozambique are controlled by owner-editors, and this is not always conducive to the provision of objective coverage. If the owner-editors of these small publications have any strong political views, it is very easy for them to put these views across since there is very little debate within the publication if the owner and editor are either the same person or journalists who started the publication together. Salamaõ Moyana, the owner and editor of *Zambeze*, has been accused of favouring a small opposition party, the PPD (Jone, 2005). The benefit of a publication being owned by a large conglomerate is that the personal views of individual editors or journalists will be under more scrutiny by their colleagues at the publication and by management.

Another accusation levelled at certain Mozambican publications is that they are too loyal to the organisations or countries which donated start-up funds for these publications. The Mozambican government has previously accused the weekly newspaper *Demos* as being too pro-American, since the publication was funded by the United States Agency for development (USAID) (Jone, 2005). Similar accusations were made towards the Mediacoop group, which were largely funded by Scandinavian countries.

4.4 Conclusion

While it is clear from the above discussion that there are very different ownership patterns present in South African and Mozambique respectively, it is also evident that both countries' could stand to improve upon the ownership structures present. While Mozambique has great plurality of ownership and South Africa is dominated by four large media conglomerates, it is apparent that diversity of viewpoints and opinions is an area that should be improved upon in both countries. This lack of diversity is often a

result of ownership patterns in combination with market forces, an important factor which is discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter Five
The Economic Environment and Sources of Revenue

The focus of this chapter is the economic environment in which the print media in Mozambique and South Africa exists and the ways in which market forces influence the print media in these countries. As discussed in Chapter Two, the print media in both Mozambique and South Africa are subject to the free-market system. While this limits the influence of the government on the media, it is also argued that a media regulated by these forces is faced with a variety of other difficulties. This chapter will examine the effects of market forces upon the print media in Mozambique and South Africa, focusing on discussions of the economic environment, possible barriers to entry, influence of advertising revenue, legal and economic attacks on the print media in each country, and the limitations to access of the print media that the market can create.

5.1 Economic and Commercial Environment

As discussed in the preceding chapter regarding ownership of the media, plurality of media ownership does not necessarily guarantee diversity of content, since this is often determined by financial imperatives. Whether plurality of ownership exists in a country or not, the size of the media market can have the effect of narrowing the diversity of information available, and thereby impacting on the media's democratic function, which is why this is an important area of concern for this study. As in most democratic countries, the print media in both Mozambique and South Africa operate under a free market economy system. As discussed in Chapter Two, the theoretical framework of this study, the level of resources available for the media in a free market economy depends primarily on the size and wealth of that economy (Doyle, 2002a). It then follows that larger and wealthier markets can support a greater diversity of output from the print media, while the smaller the size of the market, the smaller the economically feasible number of suppliers and the range of audience sub-groups for whom specialised content can be

supplied (Doyle, 2002a). The size of the market is an area of concern for this study, as both Mozambique and South Africa are developing countries.

The economic environment for the media in South Africa – while not as advanced or substantial as those in developed countries in Europe or North America - is arguably the most conducive in the Southern African region for the existence of pluralistic (though not always diverse) media. This is due to South Africa's relative fiscal strength - a per capita GDP (PPP) of $9 700 - when compared to other Southern African nations, including Mozambique which has a per capita GDP of $900 (CIA World Factbook, 2008). This relatively conducive environment is evidenced by the number of publications present in South Africa, with circulation figures higher than in any other southern African country, as well as in the dominance of four large media conglomerates. In contrast, despite the record levels of economic growth Mozambique has experienced in recent years, it remains one of the poorest countries in the world, with more than two thirds of the population living below the poverty line.

Under Apartheid rule, the South African print media had to generate their own revenue from advertising and sales: there was no scheme of state support for the media. In contrast, the Mozambican media received state subsidies from the time of independence from Portuguese colonial rule in 1975, until the amendment of the constitution and enactment of the Press Law in 1991, which ensured that they did not have to struggle for funding. Since 1991, however, the private print media have had to struggle for funding from advertising and sales rather than receiving state subsidies. Martin (1992) asserts that it is difficult for the media to generate sufficient revenue from both advertising and sales in underdeveloped economies not geared towards mass consumption. One of the major constraints currently facing the Mozambican media with regard to revenue from sales and advertising is the size of the media market. The problem in Mozambique, as in much of Africa, is that both the market for commodities in general, and specifically the market for the media, are underdeveloped. During the same time period, the South African print media did not have any state subsidies, which ensured that they would be more adept and experienced in generating revenue, as they needed to do this in order to remain viable.

5.2 Market Forces

As the economic environment in which the print media in Mozambique and South Africa has been established, this study will now examine the impact this free market system can have on the ways in which the print media operates. While this system ensures that government influence is minimal, it can also result in a new range of obstacles for the participatory-democracy function of the media. Doyle (2002b) highlights that there are several ways in which an unregulated market for the media can fail to allocate resources in accordance with the best interests of society.

One way in which unrestricted market forces influence the media can be seen in the widespread practice of consolidation of separate media organisations which then results in a concentration in the ownership of media organisations, previously discussed in Chapter Four (Curran, 1997). While this is not yet in practice in Mozambique due to the developing nature of the media market, it can clearly be seen in South Africa. The South African print media industry is dominated by four large media conglomerates which own almost all the publications in South Africa. These are Independent Newspapers, Avusa, Caxton and Media24.

The aforementioned consolidation is encouraged by market forces, as it can ensure minimal capital outlay for the media company with maximum profits due to the cost cutting and sharing of resources between publications that are made possible when several publications are owned by one company (Doyle, 2002a). This theory is also confirmed in the South African print media market, with all of the media conglomerates practicing this to some degree, pooling resources in terms of manpower and editorial content in order to be more profitable. These cost-cutting manoeuvres also result in a downturn in the amount of investigative journalism taking place, which tends to require more funding.

Independent newspapers, the only wholly foreign-owned media conglomerate present in South Africa, is a key example of the above behaviour. They have been especially

concerned with cutting production costs, as they measure their profits after converting the Rand amount into Pounds, which means that profitability partly depends on the exchange rate at the time. Independent eliminated a number of the costs inherent in owning and operating several separate newspapers by merging newsrooms and dismissing several staff members, as well as reproducing the same copy in all their regional newspapers. The result is that a film review, for example, produced by a single journalist, can now be seen in all Independent's regional newspapers. This practice ensures that one journalist need be employed rather than several different ones for each distinct newspaper. Another example of these cost-cutting measures can be seen in *Business Report*, a business supplement that can be found in the majority of Independent's daily regional newspapers, such as *The Star*, *The Pretoria News*, *The Mercury*, and *The Cape Argus*. According to Independent Newspapers' website (www.iol.co.za), *Business Report* is produced and edited in Johannesburg, then printed and distributed in the three major centres, Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town. This results in a lack of a diversity of viewpoints, since in the past there may have been several different business sections appearing in these different newspapers, there is now only one. The *Business Report* example clearly illustrates the argument that a plurality of newspapers does not necessarily result in a diversity of views.

While none of the above has yet been seen in Mozambique as there are no print media conglomerates, cost-cutting measures are evident in other ways. The lack of resources that the majority of publications in Mozambique suffer from also affects content. Many of the respondents interviewed mentioned the 'juniorisation' of newsrooms, where there are several inexperienced, junior journalists and few senior journalists, as the remuneration for these journalists is lower. Juniorisation has also occurred to a lesser extent in South Africa, where Harber asserts that "newsrooms have fewer and fewer experienced specialist journalists, and more and more green generalists." (2002:1). This money-saving practice can then result in a poorer quality newspaper with little investigative journalism or well-crafted news pieces. According to the head of the Media Council in Mozambique, Julietta Langa, there has not been much progress in the last five years in terms of quality of content (2005). This is because the capacity to conduct

investigative journalism is not good due to the costs involved, and there is often a lack of analysis, with some publications simply reporting from press releases. Publications can often not afford to send journalists to other parts of the country to cover an event, which also affects the quality of content.

While the print media ownership structures in Mozambique and South Africa are not similar, with some foreign ownership in South Africa and large media conglomerates ruling the industry and many small, distinct newspaper owners in Mozambique, this does not necessarily mean the kind of content found in the newspapers in each country is different. According to media theorists, this standardisation of content is due to the fact that the free market system leads to a narrowing in the ideological and cultural diversity of the media, irrespective of whether there is a plurality of ownership. Curran (2000a: 129) refers to the above as a "by-product of processing information as a commodity.", which is an unavoidable consequence of anchoring the media to the free market system, as the media then operates first and foremost as a business, which requires that they be profitable.

5.3 Barriers to Entry

As mentioned previously in this study, pluralism and diversity of ownership and content, in which different social groups have the opportunity to express divergent views and values, are crucial in order for the media to perform its democratic function (Curran, 2000a). However, critical political economy of the media points out that the free market can restrict the effective freedom to publish: "The central square of the public sphere has been rendered inaccessible, in short, by the high cost of market entry." (Curran, 2000a:128). This refers to the excessive costs implicit in successfully entering a publication into the media market. Although a newspaper can be established in both Mozambique and South Africa with no greater restrictions or tax burdens than any other business, the size and capability of the competition, as well as the costs in setting up a media business, can be major obstacles.

This is especially the case in South Africa, where these factors make it near impossible for a new owner or publication to enter the market, with large media companies very likely the only ones capable of the capital outlay needed to establish a publication. One of the most high-profile attempts to launch a quality daily in South Africa that was not affiliated to any of the large media companies, *ThisDay*, ended in the demise of the publication.

5.3.1 The Case of *ThisDay* Newspaper

ThisDay was launched in October 2003 by Nigerian entrepreneur, Nduka Obaigbena, as a quality national daily newspaper. At the time, Obaigbena owned publications in Nigeria as well as various other business ventures (Bassey, 2006). *ThisDay* was the first daily newspaper to be launched in the English market in over two decades, which indicates the difficulty in entering the South African market for a newcomer. As it was launched nationally, *ThisDay* entered the competitive daily market, going up against several regional dailies such as *The Star* and *The Mercury*, owned by the established media companies present in the market. This crowded media environment immediately put pressure on *ThisDay*, as they could not make use of the same cost-cutting techniques a conglomerate makes use of, such as merged newsrooms and pooled copy, which means they were entering the market at a disadvantage (Bassey, 2006). In order to be competitive against these established conglomerates, any newcomer would need vast resources in order to meet all the expenses involved in launching a new publication, not least marketing, printing and distribution costs, which can be exorbitant when needing to distribute nationally.

One of the first obstacles *ThisDay* faced was that the established media companies were vertically-integrated in that they controlled the printing and distribution of newspapers in South Africa. The management of *ThisDay* did not have the resources to be able to run this by themselves, and therefore approached Allied Printing, the printing division of Independent Newspapers, their direct competitors as owners of *The Star*, *The Mercury*

and *The Pretoria News*, to print and distribute their newspaper. According to Bassey (2006) *ThisDay* had to fight for printing slots and Independent looked after the best interests of their titles first. Another major obstacle was distribution, due to the logistics and high costs involved in distributing a daily newspaper nationally. Bassey (2006) notes anecdotal evidence from *ThisDay* employees, claiming it was often difficult to find copies or buy the newspaper from street vendors, indicating problems in the distribution chain.

The owners and management of *ThisDay* made several mistakes with their entry into the South African market, with its high costs of entry and the domination of large media conglomerates. Their need to rely on the printing and distribution networks of their competitors was necessary as it would have been a considerable and costly undertaking to establish their own printing and distribution concern. The fact that the media companies in South Africa are vertically-integrated with regard to this made running *ThisDay* more difficult. The management of the newspaper were also never able to properly establish *ThisDay* as a viable competitor to the other daily newspapers, due to the high costs of a national marketing budget (Bassey, 2006). An effective marketing campaign would have resulted in higher circulation figures and therefore most likely more lucrative advertising deals.

It has become clear that in addition to the above challenges to the success of *ThisDay*, there was also some financial mismanagement on the part of the newspaper's owners. This was due to a lack of proper knowledge of the South African media market and therefore a weak business plan with regard to entering the market. In his analysis of what went wrong, Bassey (2006) notes that many media analysts believe that *ThisDay* could have survived if it were in the stable of one of the large media groups such as Independent or Media24. The newspaper would have had a better printing and distribution deal as well as benefited from the established relationships between advertisers and the big media groups in the industry. *ThisDay* was always going to be at a disadvantage with regard to advertising as well, since the major conglomerates were able to offer discounts to advertisers who advertised in all their publications, for example,

whereas *ThisDay* as a single publication could not afford to do this. Another possible change that may have made *ThisDay* viable would have been to establish it as a regional newspaper before going national. The strategy to make *ThisDay* a major national newspaper was too ambitious in the beginning, as the distribution and marketing costs for such a venture in a competitive market like South Africa's are immense. In essence, the Nigerian owner of the newspaper did not acknowledge the market forces that prevailed upon the South African print media (Bassey, 2006).

With the establishment and subsequent demise of *ThisDay* newspaper a year later in October 2004, it is clear that the barriers to entry for a newcomer not affiliated to one of the large companies in the South African print media market are high. The enormous resources at the disposal of the conglomerates that dominate the industry give them a competitive edge with regard to marketing, printing and distribution, as well as the capacity to cross-subsidize a product that is not immediately profitable (Bassey, 2006). This does not necessarily mean that it is impossible, though a solid financial backing and appropriate market research are clearly required.

5.3.2 Innovation in Mozambique: Fax Newspapers

As there are no large media conglomerates present in the Mozambican media market, their barriers to entry are somewhat different to those in South Africa, though they do still exist. As in South Africa, there is immense expense associated with transporting and distributing newspapers to the whole of the country, even more so because Mozambique's transport infrastructure is still very weak. According to those interviewed, newspapers published in the Mozambican capital Maputo, if distributed country-wide, often only arrive in the north of the country three days after publication, by which time the news they carry is not highly relevant anymore. Several interviewees also cited the high cost of newsprint in the country as being detrimental to the financial viability of publications. *Noticías*, Mozambique's largest daily newspaper, have their own printing press and distribution network upon which to rely, while all other publications have to pay exorbitant amounts to get their newspapers printed and distributed.

Due to all the aforementioned factors which make entry into the market rather costly and difficult, especially for small concerns, a group of Mozambican journalists came across the idea of establishing a fax newspaper in order to circumvent all the financial barriers to entry present in the media market. *Mediafax*, the first fax newspaper in Mozambique, was launched on the 25th of May, 1992 by prominent Mozambican journalist Carlos Cardoso as part of a cooperative of journalists, Mediacoop. The cooperative had originally wanted to start a traditional weekly newspaper, *Savana*, but did not have the financial resources to immediately do so (Fauvet & Mosse, 2003). Cardoso was impatient and wanted to go ahead with a smaller publication while preparations for *Savana* continued, and this seemed possible when another member of the cooperative, Fernando Lima, came across a faxed version of a Brazilian newspaper. One of the major advantages of distributing a paper by fax is that there are no paper costs for the publication - the subscribers pay the paper costs - and this convinced them to launch *Mediafax*. In order to get started, they took the public telecommunications company's list of faxes, and sent the first three issues free of charge, asking people to subscribe (Fauvet & Mosse, 2003).

However, a disadvantage of running a fax newspaper is that circulation is limited. This is evident in the fact that, in 1992, there were no more than a couple of hundred fax machines in the whole of Mozambique (Fauvet & Mosse, 2003). Nevertheless, Cardoso still believed it was a good idea as those fax machines were at key positions – in ministries, embassies, large companies – and the material that arrived on them would be read by important political and business figures and opinion makers (Fauvet & Mosse, 2003). Soon after its establishment, it became clear that *Mediafax* was a major success for the cooperative, and it went on to outperform Mediacoop's traditional newspaper, *Savana*.

Cardoso left Mediacoop in 1997, and then almost immediately established a new fax newspaper, *Metical*. This publication soon proved to be a great success and paved the way for the entry of several other fax newspapers, though the majority are now emailed to subscribers rather than faxed: in 2005, there were an estimated 20 fax newspapers in circulation in Mozambique (it is difficult to obtain an accurate figure, as many are not

registered, since this is not required of a publication with a circulation rate of lower than 500), with new titles established regularly, although many are short-lived. Other than not having to pay expensive newsprint costs, there are several more advantages that make it an attractive and viable alternative to those who want to establish a publication. An important advantage is that the capital outlay needed to establish a fax newspaper is minimal compared to the amount needed for a traditional newspaper. Furthermore, a significant amount of the costs associated with operating a traditional newspaper are done away with. It is also possible for fax newspapers to survive with very little infrastructure, as they are able to operate with far fewer journalists and less equipment than traditional newspapers.

Mozambique's more prominent fax newspapers have approximately 200 subscribers each, a circulation from which they are able to make a profit. Unfortunately, a major disadvantage for fax newspapers is that it is not possible to determine how many people actually read the newspaper, over and above the number of subscribers. This is because many people photocopy and distribute these newspapers once they have been received by fax (one estimate is that every edition is photocopied at least 20 times), which means that there are many more in circulation than the number sent to subscribers. However, this can also be seen as a positive occurrence, as it extends the readership of these newspapers to those who may not own or have access to fax machines. An example of this occurring can be seen at Mozambique's Eduardo Mondlane University (UEM): the Communications Department subscribes to all the fax newspapers and, once they are faxed a copy they proceed to photocopy and distribute it to staff members and students. They are still only paying for one subscription, though many more read the fax newspaper (Namburete, 2004). This, along with the relatively small amount of fax machines in Mozambique, makes it very difficult for fax newspapers to increase their circulation. Due to this, competition between fax newspapers is very tight, and several have not been able to remain financially viable. Even with these obstacles, fax newspapers are a more viable solution for those who want to enter the print media industry in Mozambique but do not have the capital outlay required to launch a traditional publication.

5.4 Withdrawal of Advertising as a Censorship Tool

One of the largest determinant factors regarding a publication's sustainability and profitability is advertising revenue: the success or failure of any publication in a free market system is determined by their success or failure in attracting advertising revenue (Bagdikian, 1988). It is clear that advertising can have an enormous influence over the operation of the print media.

Advertising income is crucial to the survival of the commercial mass media, with advertisers playing an increasing role in determining media content, and as discussed in this study's theoretical framework, critical political economy theorists contend that advertisers have the greatest impact in determining who publications are aimed at (Croteau & Hoynes, 1997). This is made evident in the media's production of content aimed at an elite urban audience, in order to attract the most lucrative advertising. As a result of this positioning, segments of the populations of the countries focused on in this study can be described as being 'under-supplied' by the market when it comes to the availability of media content (Gandy, 2000).

The pressure to successfully attract and maintain continuous advertising revenue further restricts the content and audiences of titles in the print sector. Moerdyk (2008) asserts that, for the past decade, the solid wall that existed between the South African private mass media's editorial and management functions has slowly started to crumble. Due to this reliance on advertising as a source of revenue, newspapers intentionally address a relatively elite and urban audience, as this is the segment of the market that most advertisers want to reach. Unfortunately, this has limited the growth of the print media industry in Mozambique, due to the small size of the target audience. It is clear that advertising does influence content to a certain extent, as newspapers such as *Savana*, *Demos* and *Zambeze* all produce supplements, special editions, or extra pages in order to attract more advertising.

Advertisers place a lower value on gaining access to particular audiences – such as the poor and those in rural environments – and this means that few publications will make an effort to reach this segment of the audience. If publications did target a less wealthy or rural audience, they would likely forfeit a substantial percentage of their advertising revenue. This can be seen in both countries, with publications such as *Savana* and *Zambeze* in Mozambique and *The Mail and Guardian* or *The Star* in South Africa clearly targeting a certain category of consumer. This targeting results in the exclusion of those audience groups that are unattractive to advertisers, as very little media caters for, or is aimed at, these groups due to the implications this would have for advertising revenue (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996; Croteau & Hoynes, 1997).

'Information-rich' media is produced for elites, while 'information-poor' media is produced for the general public, resulting in a polarisation between prestige and mass newspapers, with nothing in-between (Curran, 2000a). This is obvious in South Africa, with those publications targeting lower income groups, such as *The Daily Sun*, containing mostly tabloid-style coverage of events, with a focus on rumour-fuelled stories and sports coverage. The media is thereby prevented from being broadly representative of the society it serves, with negative consequences for its democratising function.

According to Schudson, market considerations can create new forms of internal censorship (2000). Schudson is referring to the practice of publications omitting content – such as material critical of the advertisers' products – that might result in the withdrawal of advertisers. This threat to withdraw advertising can then result in self-censorship, with publications avoiding controversial coverage or content that advertisers may deem too critical. There are several instances of this taking place in both Mozambique and South Africa, and especially worrying are threats from government to withdraw advertising if publications are too critical.

Members of the private print media in Mozambique interviewed for this study all indicated that they were extremely aware of the threat of advertising being removed if they are too critical, even if it had not actually occurred to one of their publications.

There have been some problems with commercial organisations, although it is usually more of a subtle threat that is not often carried through, possibly due to self-censorship on the part of the newspapers:

> So there is this kind of sentiment, that if you criticise a big company, you will lose adverts from them; and if you are not in favour of their commercial strategy, most of the time they will exclude you.[1]

However, there are some publications that have experienced this. A publication particularly hard hit by this tactic is *Zambeze*, who say they are unwilling to subordinate editorial concerns to advertising. Editor and owner Salomão Moyana feels that the problem is more visible from public institutions such as the judiciary and government departments than from private concerns. The difficulty this publication has had with the judiciary bringing cases against them, discussed in more detail in the following section, has also impacted on their advertising revenue. Moyana asserts that, since *Zambeze* published a report critical of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court two years ago, "…the Supreme Court has carried a lot of adverts in the media, recruiting personnel and other things, but never in our newspaper." *Zambeze* has also had problems with government advertising and Moyana states that some ministries

> … clearly avoid putting their adverts in our newspaper. We used to have some adverts from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but since some six months ago, when we criticised the management of the ministry, they stopped advertising, so this is very common.

Another Mozambican publication to experience this is *Savana*. In 2005, the weekly published two background stories on the chairman of the board of a publicly-owned company. The paper received a letter from the company, cancelling a contract for the placement of advertisements which was agreed upon. Although several interviewees asserted that many of these advertisers withdraw but soon return their advertising to the

[1] Interview with Salomão Moyana, July 2005.

publication and it is therefore often not a permanent problem, it can still do financial harm to these publications while it lasts. Many also claimed that the ex-state newspaper *Notícias* receives the majority of government advertising. While this may be because of their less critical angle on government, it could also be because it is one of the few newspapers to reach the entire nation.

In South Africa, there is also some evidence of these strategies being used, although they are often quite subtle and are usually wielded as threats without being carried through. One of the examples of self-censorship being carried out in the publishing industry due to commercial pressures can be seen in motoring journalism. There have long been accusations that several of the motoring sections in newspapers and magazines are not critical enough and do not highlight the negative attributes of cars under review, "for fear of losing advertising from a particularly paranoid motor industry." (Moerdyk, 2008:1).

With regard to government threatening to withdraw, or actually withdrawing, advertising from publications they find too critical, one clear example is the case of *Grocott's Mail* in Grahamstown. While this newspaper is owned by Rhodes University and used to develop student journalists, it depends on sales and advertising to survive (Berger, 2008a). In May 2007, the Grahamstown city council decided to drop the newspaper as a vehicle in which to advertise municipal matters, with one senior councillor admitting publicly that the boycott was based on unhappiness concerning coverage of the council in the newspaper. This action was taken after the newspaper published a piece regarding an Auditor General's report about missing money in the municipality (Berger, 2008a). The council instituted an advertising boycott, as well as a media liaison boycott against *Grocott's Mail. Grocott's Mail* then took the decision to take the council to court regarding this matter, which recently resulted (in August 2008) in the council agreeing to settle the matter out of court: the municipality signed a legal agreement to lift its 14 month long advertising boycott of the newspaper (Berger, 2008b). Professor Guy Berger, chair of the board of *Grocott's Mail*, asserts that

> … this issue impacts on public resources being used to skew media houses towards avoiding critical coverage -- or, conversely, to sustain and reward those companies that specialise in safe or sweetheart journalism. Neither scenario is good for democracy. (2008a:1)

There are several other examples of the authorities treating advertising "…as a private political weapon." (Berger, 2008b:26). In 2007, *The Witness* endured a temporary boycott by the provincial government in Kwazulu-Natal, as did the Avusa community paper, *Talk of the Town* by Port Alfred's municipality (Berger, 2008b). Also in 2007, Minister in the Presidency, Essop Pahad, threatened to withdraw advertising from *The Sunday Times* and, according to Harber (2007e), this led to government officials canvassing the idea and talking to the agencies they use to place advertisements in *The Sunday Times*. This threat occurred after the newspaper's exposé of Health Minister Manto Tshabalala-Msimang's drinking while in hospital and conviction for theft in Botswana, which infuriated the ruling party and the government (Louw, 2007). If government had carried out this threat, it would have been a loss of approximately R 150 million in advertising revenue.

The large amount of revenue involved in these potential (and sometimes realised) advertising withdrawals indicates that these strategies could cause self-imposed regulations, emanating from real or imagined threats, which could therefore function "…as efficiently as formalised forms of censorship." (Rønning, 1994:8). This then has negative consequences for the role the media play in democratisation, effectively disabling their ability to contribute to this.

5.5 Financially Motivated Legal Challenges

An additional economic constraint for the media in Africa is the frequency with which they are taken to court by businesspeople, politicians and members of government. This tactic forces publications to spend money on legal representation, and possibly pay-outs or settlements, which can then prove too much of a financial strain on publications. This

can result in publications and journalists practicing self-censorship in order to avoid the use of these tactics as, due to the reliance of private publications on advertising revenue, this is an effective strategy of financial strangulation (Tettey, 2001). While not as common as in other Southern African countries, these legal challenges can be seen in South Africa and Mozambique. Cases in Mozambique are generally brought by businessmen or members of the judiciary rather than members of government. This has also occurred in South Africa, with businesspeople and politicians often threatening to, and sometimes filing cases, against the media. Successful or not, these cases remain a serious concern and threat for the media.

One of the more pressing constraints for the Mozambican media is the relative frequency with which various media organisations are sued by members of the judiciary. This is a way in which governments can still exercise some control over the privately-owned commercial media, by threatening their economic viability through defamation suits (Tettey, 2001). However, rather than clashes with politicians or businesspeople, the real area of concern in Mozambique is the media's relationship with the judiciary. Independent publication *Zambeze* is currently involved in two separate cases in which members of the judiciary are suing the newspaper for defamation. In one of the cases, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court is suing the newspaper for publishing a report criticising him for interfering in a decision of a lower court, in which they did give him the right of reply. Salomão Moyana, owner and editor of *Zambeze*, asserts that it is usually judges and prosecutors who sue the media, rather than politicians or members of political parties.

According to a MISA country report (De Salema, 2007), there was a significant rise in the number of libel cases brought against the Mozambican media in 2007, with the complainants often demanding exorbitant sums in compensation, far more than most private publications could afford to pay. Recently, a Ministry of Information official sued the fax publication *A Tribuna Fax*, requesting compensation of 500 000 Meticais (approximately USD 20 000), although far less (USD 1800) was awarded by the courts. In another case, a small publication, *Faisca*, in the northern city of Lichinga, was

effectively closed after the court seized all their electronic equipment (computers, printers, a fax machine and a generator) as they could not pay the amount awarded by the courts in the libel suit brought against them (De Salema, 2007).

There have also been several cases of the print media being taken to court, often by members of government, in South Africa. Due to the high level of media freedom guaranteed by legislation in South Africa, these attempts don't often succeed, but the threat of this kind of action is still present. In a libel case against the Afrikaans newspaper *Beeld*, the Department of Transport sought a court injunction against the newspaper for printing the findings of security anomalies in a report about e-NaTIS, the government's controversial electronic traffic information system. Fortunately, the Department of Transport was unsuccessful, and the newspaper won the case.

One of the most high-profile court actions against the media is that being taken by the ruling African National Congress' (ANC), president (and ex- deputy president of South Africa), Jacob Zuma. In the largest claim - R 63 million - by an individual for defamation in South Africa's history, Zuma instituted proceedings in 2006 to sue various publications, including *The Star*, *The Sunday Times, The Citizen* and *Rapport*, as well as cartoonist Jonathan "Zapiro" Shapiro and radio station Highveld Stereo. This stems from coverage of Zuma's rape trial in 2006, with nearly all the items in which Zuma felt he was defamed being opinions or cartoons, as well as one concerning 'layout foul play' (Sapa, 2008). In 2008, Zuma settled out of court with *Rapport* for R50 000, though he then hit the Afrikaans daily with another defamation claim for R 5 million, the day after this settlement was agreed upon. Also in 2008, he dropped some of his cases against newspapers after he won the ANC presidential nomination at the party's 52nd conference (in 2007) in Polokwane, South Africa. Zuma's spokesperson asserted that he "… wants to give the media a break. The propaganda mounted against him by his detractors was not as successful as they had hoped. Obviously his image was not as damaged as he initially thought, because he won [in Polokwane]." (Sapa, 2008:1). His claims against the media now total R12 million and have not yet been resolved.

While the majority of these cases have not been successful in South Africa, they still result in a financial drain on the media and ensure that they are often worried about possible action being taken. The fact that the largest defamation claim in South African history was brought by the likely next President of South Africa is the most worrying aspect of this case.

5.6 Limitations to Access

The financial imperatives of business further constrains the role the media in Mozambique and South Africa perform with regard to access for the majority of citizens in each country. The need for publications and media companies to make a profit often results in the exclusion of large majorities of the population of each country.

The targeting of an elite, urban audience by publications often results in the marginalisation of languages of minority audiences, or languages spoken by a majority audience that is not affluent. With regard to the media market in Mozambique, one factor that determines the kind of audience the publications reach is that the print media is heavily concentrated in the national capital, Maputo, and barely reaches into the countryside. As most of the country's recent economic growth has been centred in Maputo, this ensures that most print publications target this area, as it contains the highest percentage of their target audience. While the print media in South Africa are not only present mostly in one city, as in Maputo, they are still mostly focused on and available in the urban centres of the country such as Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town. In addition, the fax newspapers present in Mozambique use an elitist mode of distribution as only a very small percentage of Mozambicans have access to fax machines, which further limits the audience numbers of fax newspapers, even with the widespread photocopying that occurs.

Mozambique's media sector was established under colonial rule, and although there have been considerable changes in the media since then, the colonial legacy still lingers. A clear example of this is the overwhelming dominance of Portuguese in the print sector.

The only other language available in the print media is English, the use of which is becoming more common. This automatically excludes a large part of the population, as languages such as Tsonga, Sene-Nyanja and Makua-Lomwe are more widely spoken and popular in many parts of the country.

This is also clear in South Africa, with the print media sector dominated by English and Afrikaans publications, with only three in an African language, and all in Zulu. However, these African language publications are beginning to show signs of success, attracting more advertising than ever before (Bloom, 2005). This bodes well for the industry, as more publications in African languages may be established, inspired by these three publications' relative success. The existence of these African language publications demonstrates that there could be a fairly good market for this media in South Africa, while the environment in Mozambique remains unpromising regarding African language publications. The overwhelming majority of print media is in Portuguese, although Mozambique has 12 main languages other than Portuguese, which do not feature in the print media.

Moreover, the fact that print media depends on literacy means that printed publications have little influence in rural areas due to high levels of illiteracy. Literacy is of crucial importance when examining the print media in an African context as, even if a pluralistic and diverse print media is in existence, many are still excluded from this open public sphere due to illiteracy. The countries in this study have divergent literacy levels, although in both countries these often correlate with the percentage of rural versus urban dwellers. More than half (60 percent) of Mozambicans over the age of fifteen are illiterate, which means that print publications have little influence in rural areas, where illiteracy is highest. While South Africa has a far higher rate of literacy than Mozambique (82 percent), segments of the population still do not have access to print media due to illiteracy and geographic constraints (Southern African Media Directory, 2004).

A further factor that limits access to the print media in these two countries, especially in Mozambique, and to a lesser extent in South Africa as the demise of *ThisDay* illustrated,

is the high cost of distributing these publications to all the provinces of the country. Most African-owned print media companies often lack the capital to invest in production capacity and in distribution infrastructure that can deliver papers nationally and in time (Kupe, 2002), and Mozambique especially is no exception to this. Palmira Velasco, former editor of *Demos*, stated that transport and distribution to the rest of the country is problematic for most newspapers due to the high costs involved, with the newspaper often reaching other provinces three days late, by which time they are often not relevant anymore. This means that even if publications want to reach a wider audience, it is often not financially possible for them. The minority of newspapers that describe themselves as national do not always have the financial resources to distribute nationally, and therefore do not consistently reach all parts of the country. One of the smaller weekly newspapers, *Zambeze*, came up with a novel way to lower the costs of country-wide distribution: in exchange for a free half-page advertisement in *Zambeze*, a regional airline transports editions of *Zambeze* to various parts of the country on their local flights (Moyana, 2005).

The largest daily paper in Mozambique, *Notícias*, has the means to distribute nationally, and is therefore often the only newspaper available in some parts of the country. This lack of availability of the majority of newspapers has negative consequences for sustainable democracy as many contend that this newspaper has a pro-ruling party bias, and there are no opposing points of view provided in many parts of the country. An example of this absence of informative media can be seen in Manhica, where sporadic visits from politicians were the only source of information on the election. This is especially problematic since these visits were only from the ruling party Frelimo: Antonio Armando Malombe, a resident of the town, stated at the time that "Frelimo hold meetings and explain what will happen. But Renamo is invisible… there are no pamphlets or a campaign." (Pelser, 2004:1). Due to the more stable financial situation of most publications in South Africa, these kinds of problems with distribution are generally not present.

5.7 Conclusion

From the preceding discussion of the effects of a free market system on the print media in Mozambique and South Africa, it is clear that the need for publications and media companies to make a profit often overshadows their democratising role. The majority of citizens of both countries have no access to these publications due to these financial imperatives, while the kind of content produced is often not the most informative but rather serves entertainment purposes. In addition, the media in these countries are under pressure to self-censor when it comes to excessive criticism of government and business, due to the negative consequence this can have on their bottom line when advertising is withdrawn or defamation claims are filed. These factors all clearly demonstrate that the market and sources of revenue are the greatest determinants in the kind of media the citizens of Mozambique and South Africa have access to.

Chapter Six

Legislative Environment and Government Relations

The legal environment for the media in any country is an important area of investigation due to the impact legislation can have on the ways in which the media operate. Enabling legislation can greatly contribute to the media's ability to fulfil their role in society, while legislation that constrains the media can result in an inability to adequately carry out its role. The legislative frameworks for the media in both Mozambique and South Africa are some of the most liberal in the region, which contributes significantly to the level of freedom for the media in both countries. However, in order for the media to function to their full capacity, the laws that provide for media freedom must be fully upheld and enforced, which is not always the case in both countries.

6.1 Legislative Environment

José Luís Cabaço, Mozambique's Minister of Information from 1980 to 1986, admitted in 1991 that, under the single-party regime, Mozambican journalists

> came under direct pressure from every minister who didn't want his ministry talked about … So we complained that our press didn't say anything, then we phoned the journalists up telling them not to say anything. We rewarded mediocrity and punished those who asked awkward questions.[2]

This changed when Mozambique's constitution was amended in 1990 in order to allow for a multi-party political system. Articles 74 and 105 of the new constitution now provided for the freedom of expression and of the press, the right to information and the right to establish newspapers or other publications. Soon after this, in 1991, parliament passed the Press Law, which gave life to the provisions of the constitution. This signalled

[2] Quoted in Fauvet, P & Mosse, M (2003) *Carlos Cardoso: Telling the Truth in Mozambique*, Cape Town: Double Story Books, p. 232

that the restrictions and censorship of journalists that had endured since Portuguese colonial rule was coming to a close, while simultaneously putting an end to the state's media ownership monopoly.

When the Press Law was passed in July 1991, it contained almost everything that the journalist petitioners had called for it to include (Fauvet & Mosse, 2003). Right at the beginning, it declared:

> The freedom of the press shall specifically include journalists' freedom of expression and of creation, access to sources of information, the protection of independence and of professional secrecy, and the right to set up newspapers and other publications.

With that, the state monopoly over the print media fell away. Anyone could now set up a newspaper. It did not take long before several of the country's top journalists, including Fernando Lima, Carlos Cardoso and Salomão Moyana, had set up a cooperative venture, Mediacoop, which soon began publishing the country's first independently-owned newspapers, *Mediafax* and *Savana*.

For those journalists who would continue to work in the state-owned media, the key clause read:

> The mass media in the public sector shall carry out their duties free from interference by any outside interest or influence that may compromise their independence, and shall be guided in their activity by standards of high technical and professional quality.

To the journalists this meant that they would now be free from interference, which meant "… no more ministry editorial councils and no more phone calls saying what could or could not be published." (Fauvet & Mosse, 2003:232). The law also gave journalists the right 'not to be detained, removed, or otherwise prevented from carrying out their duties

in places where their presence as media professionals may be necessary, within the limits envisaged by law', and 'not to accept any editorial directive that does not come from the competent authority in their media.'

An element of the Press Law that is unique in the Southern African region and which further assures a wide range of freedom for the Mozambican media is that it guarantees journalists the privilege to not disclose sources of information. This means that journalists cannot be obliged to reveal their sources, or hand over their notebooks or film. The law also states that, should journalists be physically attacked or subject to intimidation or attempts at bribery, their employers are obliged to start legal proceedings against those responsible (Fauvet & Mosse, 2003).

A few years later, in South Africa, a similar liberalisation of the media environment was underway. The apartheid regime ruled from 1948 until the democratic elections held in 1994, and this apartheid era was accompanied by extensive state repression of the media. Once the negotiations for a democratic transition had begun, an Interim Constitution was enacted in 1993. In 1994, the first free democratic elections ushered in a new climate of media freedom in South Africa, which was further entrenched in the Final Constitution enacted in 1996.

While there was extensive private ownership of the media already existent in South Africa, unlike in Mozambique, there had also been widespread censorship and sanctions against those publications and members of the media who did not toe the line. With the introduction of the new Constitution, this began to change. Though there is no specific Act governing the media in South Africa, as in the Press Law of 1991 in Mozambique, there are several sections of the 1996 Constitution that deal with the freedom of the media, whether directly or indirectly. The most important section of the constitution with regards to the media is Section 16.

Section 16 of the Bill of Rights in the 1996 Constitution of South Africa ensures freedom of expression for all:

Everyone has the right to freedom of expression, which includes

a. freedom of the press and other media;
b. freedom to receive or impart information and ideas;
c. freedom of artistic creativity; and
d. academic freedom and freedom of scientific research.

Since the enactment of this new Constitution, the South African media have had a level of freedom never experienced under Apartheid, although not without the difficulties inherent in an ongoing democratisation process. Likewise, Mozambique's constitution and Press Law have ensured unprecedented freedoms for the media in Mozambique, and established Mozambique, alongside South Africa, as a country with a legal environment for the media that is considered to be one of the most liberal in Africa. This contributes significantly to the level of freedom enjoyed by media organisations in Mozambique and South Africa, enabling them to play a more effective role in the sustenance of a fully functioning participatory democracy.

6.2 Access to Information

Legislation ensuring access to official information for journalists is a crucial element in safeguarding media freedom. Without this, journalists can be denied important information with no ways of recourse against these acts, which would then severely impede the quality of journalism produced.

Unfortunately, no such legislation exists in Mozambique. While all those interviewed agreed that the legal environment in Mozambique was one of the best in the region and provides a wide margin for press freedom, they all felt that it was flawed in the area of access to information. Mozambican journalists have long campaigned for access to information legislation to be enacted, as a major obstacle to the right of access to

information exists in the Press Law itself: it does not detail any of the aspects surrounding the issue, but simply states that there should be access to information for the media. To further complicate the matter, the Press Law coexists with contradictory laws (from the colonial era that preceded it) and which are still in force. Specifically problematic is the General Statute for workers in the civil service, which forbids officials from divulging classified information concerning their jobs in the state apparatus (De Almeida et al, 2004).

The Press Law lacks clarity on the media's right of access to information as it does not explain what can and cannot be defined as a 'state secret'. This is the most commonly used excuse, along with the sub judice rule, for officials to not provide journalists with any information.[3] Since the definition of what qualifies as a state secret is not clear, it is at government officials' discretion to define state secrets. Due to this culture of secrecy, journalists are often denied access to information such as how much a minister earns, the budget for the military, the provision of anti-retrovirals and so forth.[4]

Media practitioners in Mozambique have been calling for a law that will define what a state secret is and on which occasions a journalist can be denied access to information, includes the specifics for how someone can go about getting access to the required information, and regulations regarding what measures can be taken if a government department or public official refuses a journalist the information. Many in the industry have called for legislation on this area similar to the South African Promotion of Access to Information Act. The Mozambique chapter of the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) have drafted similar legislation, which will ensure that information that is in the public interest, whether held by either the state or public bodies, must be released, unless there are compelling reasons for not making the information public.

A draft law that will guarantee this right and provide the opportunity for recourse if journalists or citizens are unfairly denied access to information has been written.

[3] Interview with Tomás Vieira Mário, June 2004
[4] Interview with Eduardo Numburete, July 2005

Unfortunately, the Mozambican parliament has not paid any attention to this draft bill and has not announced any deadline for discussing and approving this bill, which is worrying as the writing of the draft bill was completed in 2006.

Section 32 of the Bill of Rights in the South African Constitution guarantees the right of access to information. However, the details of how the exercising of this right would be guaranteed was dealt with a few years later, when the South African promotion of Access to Information Act of 2000 was passed. The preamble of this Act states that

> … the system of government in South Africa before 27 April 1994, amongst others, resulted in a secretive and unresponsive culture in public and private bodies which often led to an abuse of power and human rights violations.

The Act details the right of access to information that all South African citizens have a right to, the limitations of this right, as well as the steps that need to be undertaken in order to gain access to information. This Act is especially important right now, as many contend that journalists' complaints regarding lack of co-operation by the authorities in supplying information to the media are increasing (Louw, 2007). Unfortunately, the use of court orders has on occasion been necessary to acquire access to official information in some instances. One major hindrance to information flow was the centralization of government news outlets in 2007, particularly with regard to the police service. Positively, a new structure was set up after the South African National Editors' Forum (SANEF) complained to the Police Commissioner, though this new structure does not always work either (Louw, 2007). Furthermore, the procedures that need to be undertaken to challenge a refusal of access to information are time-consuming and complex, which ensures that unfair refusal of access often remains unchallenged. In instances when journalists do turn to the Act in order to gain access to the required information, the amount of time taken prior to the information being received often results in it being out of date and irrelevant (Louw, 2008). Research conducted by the South African History Archives found that many journalists did not use the Act or did not know how to use it, and that it has

loopholes that can be exploited. Due to these problems, the Act is currently being amended.

6.3 Defamation

The ways in which defamation cases were used against the print media as a method of silencing them or causing them to self-censor were discussed in detail in Chapter Five. These methods are generally used in order to financially harm publications, sometimes even having the effect of leading to their demise. Of course, the effectiveness of these cases depends upon the defamation laws present in each country and the ways in which they are applied.

Several of the laws that existed under Portuguese colonial rule and, later, the one-party state that existed after independence, are still in effect in Mozambique today. Defamation is one of these laws. Articles 41-49 of the Press Law deal with so-called 'abuses of press freedom', under which defamation falls. While the laws regarding civil suits of defamation are fair, a problematic area with regard to this legislation is that defamation is also a criminal offence. Article 47 states that criminal defamation is punishable with a prison sentence of up to 4 months and a fine. Furthermore, the argument that the facts printed or broadcast were true is not viewed under Mozambican law as an absolute defence to the charge of defamation. In addition, there is still legislation in existence that criminalises defamation of the President, and the charge or defaming the President can be upheld even if the stated facts are true. This law has not been applied in recent times in Mozambique, but its very existence is worrying due to the fact that, if made use of, it could severely impede public debate and the "watchdog" role of the media. In addition, the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA), claims that there was a significant increase in the number of libel cases against the Mozambican media in 2007 (De Salema, 2007).

In South Africa, defamation is generally treated as a civil issue, although there is unfortunately still legislation in existence that provides for the prosecution of defamation

in the criminal courts. A problematic area in the civil defamation legislation is the lack of a cap on amounts recoverable by plaintiffs, which presents a serious economic threat to publications (Burns, 2001). A positive point with regard to the defamation legislation in South Africa is that the plaintiff must prove publication by the defendant (the media with regard to this context) of defamatory material with reference to the plaintiff, who must be identifiable. If these points are proved, the onus then shifts onto the media defendant to defend their actions. Four successful defences (if proved) are

- Truth in the public interest
- Fair comment (most commonly used to defend a statement of opinion)
- Privilege (such as when reporting on something that has happened in court)
- Reasonableness (a reasonable belief that what was published was true)

This is a fairly liberal defamation law, as it first places the onus of proof of defamation on the plaintiff, and then once defamation is proven, the defendant must establish one of the above four defences successfully in order to escape compensating the plaintiff.

6.4 Restrictive Legislation

While improvements have clearly been made in Mozambique and South Africa concerning legislation governing the media, some of the laws that the colonial or single-party governments made use of to restrict the media are still in effect today. These can often contradict the newer, more progressive laws, or fill the gap where new laws have not yet been enacted. This means that the media environment, as far as legislation is concerned, is restricted in the level of freedom they have to fulfil their democratic function.

An example of this is South Africa's Criminal Procedure Act of 1977, which makes it possible for courts to imprison any person who refuses to disclose information relating to a criminal investigation, and can therefore be used to compel journalists and others to

testify in court cases and to reveal sources (Benjamin, 2007). Other Apartheid-era laws that remain in force and can be used to restrict the media are the National Key Points Act, the Defence Act and the Protection of Information Act, all of which do not contain a provision to allow the media to report on these issues if they are in the public interest (Benjamin, 2007). Essentially, this means that editors or journalists with information of public interest on, for example, a military or defence matter, could face criminal prosecution if they publish the story. Dario Milo, a media law specialist, points out that this "constitutes a significant chilling effect on the publication of material that voters are entitled to know." (Benjamin, 2007:1).

Encouragingly, the Mozambican Press Law guarantees journalists the right to not have to disclose sources of information, which is unique in the Southern African region. However, if access to information legislation is enacted in Mozambique, it would coexist with some contradictory laws - in existence since single-party rule - and which are still in force. Specifically problematic is the General Statute for workers in the civil service, which forbids officials from divulging classified information concerning their jobs in the state apparatus (De Almeida et al, 2004).

Recently, in 2007, Mozambique's parliament enacted a new law governing the country's courts. One clause of this law bans the broadcast or publishing of sound or pictures from any court cases. Before this bill had been enacted, the National Union of Journalists (NSJ), MISA-Mozambique and the Mozambican Editors' Forum (EditMoz) petitioned the Head of State, President Armando Guebeza, not to promulgate the law as they believed it would infringe upon media freedom (De Salema, 2007). Unfortunately, they were not successful and the bill was enacted in 2007.

An area of concern in South Africa is the increasing frequency with which government or individuals apply for court orders to prevent the dissemination of certain news stories prior to publication. In a few instances, these interdicts have been granted, most notably against *The Mail and Guardian* newspaper. Since May 2005, six interdict applications have been launched in the Johannesburg High Court against the *Mail and Guardian*.

Though a number of these applications were ultimately rejected, two interim interdicts were initially granted (Louw, 2007). Harber describes this as

> an escalating habit of the lower courts to grant last-minute interdicts to stop newspaper publication of material alleged to be defamatory or untrue. The frequency with which the subjects of controversial news articles could rush to court and prevent publication had amounted to a rising tide of pre-publication censorship. (2008c:1)

Fortunately, the Supreme Court of Appeal in Bloemfontein recently set strict limits regarding when the courts can intervene to stop publication or broadcast, in the case of Midi TV vs The Directorate of Public Prosecutions. The Appeal Court found that a publication or broadcaster could only be prohibited if the potential prejudice was demonstrable and substantial - it was not enough to rely on conjecture or speculation of prejudice (Harber, 2008c). This ruling has made it substantially more difficult to obtain a pre-publication interdict, which is a major victory for press freedom in South Africa.

6.5 Enabling Legislation

While rights such as freedom of expression and access to information can undoubtedly be considered as enabling media freedom, this section will deal with legislation specifically created to enable media freedom. In the late nineties, the ANC-led government took a decision to do something about the perceived lack of media diversity (Skinner, 2005). Rural and working class audiences remained marginalised, black language groups, other than Zulu, did not feature much, particularly in the print media, and there was a high level of concentration in the media industry. In order to address these issues, the South African parliament passed a bill providing for the formation of the Media Development and Diversity Agency (MDDA) in 2003, which aims to provide funds and technical support to independent radio stations and print media aimed at poverty-stricken people or rural areas: those otherwise not provided for by the commercialised, profit-driven media.

The MDDA is funded by government, South Africa's large media companies and donors. While this agency has had some success in the establishment of community media in local languages and is a positive step on behalf of the South African government to improve access to the media, there are still several problems regarding the sustainability of the newly established media projects. This needs to be addressed in order to enjoy some level of success from the establishment of the MDDA. Unfortunately, Mozambique's government has made no such attempts, although there have been efforts from organisations such as UNESCO to perform the same role, though this kind of donor support for the media in Mozambique is often inconsistent, according to several interviewees.

6.6 Proposed Legislation

In Mozambique, there is debate underway regarding an ammendment to the Press Laws of 1991 and 1993. The proposed draft revision of the Press Law is seen as strengthening the role of the government – article 38 of the draft law proposes a compulsory professional license for all practicing journalists (De Salema, 2007). The idea behind this proposal is that the introduction of licenses would act as a form of regulation for the industry. Many in the media industry have objected to this revision of the Press Law, and it has not yet been passed by parliament.

In South Africa, the Films and Publications Amendment Bill has caused some controversy in the media industry, as many argue that, if enacted, this bill could lead to censorship of the media. The bill is apparently directed at curbing child pornography or the exposure of children to pornography, but it engulfs other issues as well - such as propaganda for war, hate speech, incitement to violence and sexual conduct (Louw, 2007).

Several media activists pointed out that, apart from the potential of interference with media freedom, there would also be several practical obstacles such as how long a news

story would be held up before the committee would adjudicate on it. Due to all these objections, the Parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Home Affairs has now reinstated an exemption for the media into the proposed bill, though it is argued that the bill still infringes upon freedom of expression (Louw, 2007).

6.7 Media Monitoring and Accountability

While media freedom is one of the most important cornerstones of a democratic society, this does not always mean that the media do not behave unethically or irresponsibly. It is therefore necessary, in any democratic society, for some kind of regulatory or media monitoring body, though ideally one that is not associated with government. In Mozambique, the Media Council was formed in 1998 to fulfil this role. The Media Council was established to ensure the independence of media organisations and freedom of the press, deal with complaints about the media from members of the public, politicians, businesses and so on, monitor the coverage of electoral campaigns by the media as well as issues such as ethics, balance and right of reply.[5] Unfortunately, Eduardo Namburete, at the time Head of Journalism at UEM, stated that the council is not very effective and is not very credible as the head of the Media Council, Julietta Langa, is appointed by President Chissano, and it is therefore not a trusted institution.

The print media in South Africa is monitored by a self-regulatory Press Ombudsman system. However, this system has often been accused of being toothless and in 2007, public representation on the adjudication panel was increased and a Press Council was formed (Louw, 2007). This Press Council appoints the ombudsman (currently Joe Thloloe) and there is also an appeal board headed by a judge. This has strengthened the role of the Ombudsman, which may have an impact on some of the more controversial South African tabloids (Harber, 2007c).

[5] Interview with Julietta Langa, June 2004

6.8 Government Relations

The legal environment in every country determines to a great extent the level of media freedom in that country. However, another important aspect with regard to media freedom is the relationship the media enjoys with government, and the attitude with which government views the media. The worse this relationship is, the more precarious the freedom of the media, irrespective of laws in place.

While most respondents in Mozambique agreed that relations with the government had vastly improved since single-party rule, there were still some areas of concern, especially with regard to access to politicians for official information. Recently, in 2006 and 2007, the Mozambican Parliament's Petitions Commission decided to debate its report behind closed doors (De Salema, 2007). Journalists protested this exclusion, but were told that the 'good name' of potential offenders mentioned in the debate needed to be protected.

The same exclusionary behaviour also occurred in the first meeting of the newly formed National Anti-Corruption Forum. This 78 member forum was launched by President Armando Guebeza in 2007. The forum held its first meeting on March 30 2007, during which Prime Minister Luisa Diogo gave an introductory speech, after which journalists were asked to leave (De Salema, 2007). Encouragingly, after protestations from members of the media and opposition parties, it was decided that all future meetings of the forum should be public.

Another aspect that constrains the Mozambican print media is a lack of access to those in power, whether it is through press conferences or interviews with journalists. Up until 2005, the previous Prime Minister, Pascoal Mocumbi, would give weekly press conferences at which journalists could pose questions. However, this is not a well-established behaviour on the part of the government, but rather an isolated act of generosity on the Prime Minister's part.[6] In order to truly provide the media with the right of access to information, this will have to become a more regular, established practice by

[6] Interviews with Eduardo Namburete; Tomás Vieira Mário

all government ministers and public officials. A few respondents did, however, mention scattered improvements in this area, with some ministries appointing official spokespeople who the media can easily reach. This does not apply to all levels of government, though, and does not necessarily guarantee that journalists will be provided with information either.

In South Africa, government – media relations have always been somewhat uneasy, with mistrust on both sides. Several analysts assert that this relationship is deteriorating, as there currently seems to be an especially high level of annoyance on the part of government towards the media in South Africa. In 2007, SANEF issued a statement on World Press Freedom day, expressing its concerns over what they believe to be an erosion of media freedoms in South Africa. Most of this animosity stems from the different ideas each party holds regarding the role of the media – the ANC-led government contends that the media behave as an opposition party and need to play a more prominent role in development. Harber (2008c:1) summarises the situation:

> From the presidency, from parliament, from the ruling party, there is a rising chorus of anti-media sentiment. It generally takes the form of sweeping generalisations: the media is over-stepping the mark and abusing its freedom by trampling on the rights of citizens; the media can't be trusted to get things right, the quality of our media is a huge problem. Something needs to be done to change this.

This increasing distrust of the media from the government can be seen in statements from members of government as well as perceived verbal threats that have been made towards the media, though these are usually not carried out. These complaints reached a peak when *The Sunday Times* newspaper published a report on Minister of Health, Manto Tshabalala-Msimang in 2007. The headline read: "Manto: A drunk and a thief?" and the story detailed her alleged drinking and intoxication while in hospital, as well as alleged kleptomania which resulted in her termination from a post in Botswana 30 years ago. This story led the then Minister in the Presidency, Essop Pahad, to threaten the

withdrawal of all government advertising from *The Sunday Times* (a threat which, fortunately, was never carried out). There were also threats to arrest the editor of the newspaper, Mondli Makhanya, as well as the deputy managing editor, Jocelyn Maker, for possession of the Minister's allegedly stolen medical records. There were allegations that a senior detective had been ordered to drop all other cases to focus only on this issue, while it is also contended that the editor's (and other staff members of *The Sunday Times*) cellular phone records were monitored (Harber, 2007b). This is obviously a problem, especially with regard to confidentiality of sources. A court did order the return of the medical records, but also recognised that *The Sunday Times* had a right to publish the information, as it was a matter of public interest.

This attitude towards the media was also demonstrated at the ruling ANC's 52nd National Conference in Polokwane, held in 2007, at which Jacob Zuma was elected as the new ANC President (and therefore future President of South Africa). Journalists claimed that they were ill-treated at the conference, while the press room at the conference was located nearly a kilometre away from the conference hall (Louw, 2007). The ANC later apologised for this, though this could not fix the unhelpful environment created at the conference.

Also at the 52nd National Conference in Polokwane, the ANC discussed a proposal to form a statutory media tribunal to investigate what they believe is a need for remedial action to prevent media abuses. This is driven by the ANC's belief that they are faced with a major ideological offensive, driven by the mainstream media (Harber, 2007d). This proposed tribunal would specifically be aimed at 'regulating' the media as they believe that the print media's self-regulatory agencies (the Press Council and Press Ombudsman) are inadequate and fail to protect peoples' dignity or human rights (Louw, 2007). The nature of this tribunal, however, remains unclear – there has not been much said regarding whether it would be independent or not, and what its power and scope would be. Of course, members of the media have strongly objected to this proposal, due to its potential to restrict media freedom.

6.9 Other Threats: Carlos Cardoso case study

> *Carlos Cardoso was a journalist who denounced abuses, who did not shut up, who would not forget any matter, who insisted on following what he regarded as most important, and who would not allow any of the illegalities he had written about to fall into oblivion. The only way for any criminal to go on practising crimes with impunity was to silence Carlos Cardoso. And the only way to silence Carlos Cardoso was to kill him.*[7]

On 22 November 2000, Mozambique's most well-known investigative journalist, Carlos Cardoso, was gunned down on the streets of Maputo. Cardoso's murder sent shock waves through members of the domestic media, who felt that their independence was now under threat (Naidu, 2001:29). It would be two years before his killers were brought to trial, and there are still unanswered questions regarding the involvement of certain individuals in his assassination.

Cardoso started work as a journalist shortly after Mozambique gained independence from Portuguese colonial rule in 1975 and, other than a short absence from the profession from 1990 to 1991, he remained one of the foremost Mozambican journalists until his death in 2000. He had formerly been director of Mozambique's state news agency, AIM, and as part of the cooperative Mediacoop, had established and edited the country's first independently–owned, as well as first fax publication, *Mediafax*. In 1997, he left the cooperative to start his own fax newspaper, *Metical*, which was well known for its exposés of official corruption and crime syndicates (Caldeira, 2000:61). Metical remained one of the country's most well-respected and profitable newspapers until its closure in 2001.

According to Paul Fauvet and Marcelo Mosse, authors of Carlos Cardoso's biography (2003), at the time of his death Cardoso was investigating the theft of 144 billion meticais

[7] Lucinda Cruz, the Cardoso family lawyer, cited in Fauvet, P & Mosse. M (2003), *Carlos Cardoso: Telling the Truth in Mozambique*. Cape Town: Double Story Books, p. 336.

(the equivalent of US$ 14 million at the exchange rate of the time) from the Commercial Bank of Mozambique (BCM) on the eve of the 1996 privatisation of the bank. Cardoso's investigations uncovered that Vincente Ramaya, manager of the BCM branch in the Maputo suburb of Sommerschield, allowed several members and associates of the Abdul Satar family to open accounts. Within a few months their accounts were used to drain 144 billion meticais from the bank, using dud cheques which Ramaya allowed to be treated as good cheques, enabling the Satars to withdraw the money from their accounts.

Unfortunately, the official investigation into this fraud did not go very far due to high-level corruption in the police as well as in the attorney-general's office. However, Cardoso would not let this injustice be forgotten, and insistently demanded that the case come to trial in the editorial pages of *Metical*. During his continued investigation into the fraud, Cardoso became aware of a range of other illegal activities undertaken by the Satars, "with the supine passivity or active complicity of state agents." (Fauvet & Mosse, 2003:318), and on 9 May 2000, he dedicated an entire issue of *Metical* to the illicit activities of the Satars.

The corruption in the Attorney-General's office was highlighted again when *Metical* published an open letter by one of the six assistant attorney-generals, Afonso Antunes. He was deeply worried about the BCM scandal and wrote this letter to the technical council of the Attorney-General's office, in which he included "a stinging attack on his fellow attorneys." (Fauvet & Mosse, 2003:322). Eventually, the intense pressure President Chissano was under due to the constant media coverage of this scandal led by Cardoso and *Metical*, caused him to intervene on 3 July 2000, firing Attorney-General António Namburete as well as all six assistant attorney-generals. This was one of the highest points of Cardoso's career, but this also earned him enemies who blamed him for the disappearance of their shield of immunity.

According to Cardoso's biographers, from early October 2000 the *Metical* offices were visited by a client who often wanted to buy a single copy of the newspaper, but never had the correct change. While the *Metical* staff sought change for the large banknotes he had

given them, he would take close note of the office layout and routines. *Metical* staff asked for his name and workplace, but when they followed up on this, neither of the places he had listed had an employee named Carlitos Rachid, the name he had given them. On 22 November this man, accompanied by Anibal dos Santos Junior (better known as 'Anibalzinho') and Manuel Fernandes, followed Cardoso as he left work and shot him five times with an AK-47, killing him instantly.

Eventually, two of the Abdul Satar brothers, former bank manager Vicinte Ramaya, as well as the gunmen directly involved in Cardoso's murder were arrested. During the trial one of the Satar brothers confessed to having paid Anibalzinho the equivalent of US$ 50 000, but insisted that this was at the request of Nyimpine Chissano, son of President Joaquim Chissano. Cardoso had previously investigated certain of Nyimpine Chissano's business dealings in the pages of *Metical*, although this had not occurred for some time prior to Cardoso's death. Nyimpine Chissano denied Nini Satar's allegations, and he has never been arrested in connection to this case, due to the lack of evidence implicating him, other than Satar's accusation. On 31 January 2003, all six men standing trial for Cardoso's murder were convicted and received lengthy prison sentences.

Although Carlos Cardoso's murder is an unusually extreme example of the kinds of threats the Mozambican media could be subject to and, while an infringement of media freedom of this severity is clearly not the norm in Mozambique, it nevertheless demonstrates the extent of the possible threats the media face. The level of involvement of many high-ranking Mozambicans has yet to be established, but it seems clear that the six convicted men were not the only individuals involved, and the investigation continues.

6.10 Conclusion

From the preceding analysis of the various laws that apply to the media in Mozambique and South Africa, it can be argued that the legislative environment for the media in both countries is largely conducive to media freedom. Laws ensuring freedom of expression

are present in both countries, while there is an Act in existence in South Africa guaranteeing access to information and a similar bill in Mozambique that media practitioners and activists are hopeful will be passed soon. Problematic areas include the existence of old legislation stemming from the period of colonial rule in Mozambique and Apartheid in South Africa that are sometimes still in effect and can infringe on media freedom. While defamation laws in both countries are not as harsh as in many other parts of Africa, the existence of defamation as a criminal, as well as civil, offence in Mozambique and South Africa is problematic. There is also some controversial proposed legislation pending in each country, though there are several strong voices arguing against the enactment of these laws. Lastly, the relationship between the media and government in both countries is of concern, as even with the appropriate legislation in place, a difficult relationship with government can have a negative effect on the level of media freedom present in both Mozambique and South Africa.

Chapter Seven
Conclusion

The role of the media in Africa has long been and is likely to remain a contentious issue. It is universally recognized that the media holds an immense amount of power due to its position as the main source of information in most societies. This means that it can hold a considerable measure of influence over citizens and possibly their political actions. Consequently, the debate over the role the media should play, especially with regard to an African context, remains a major concern. Many African governments believe that the foremost role of the media should be to participate in development and transformation processes, while many in the media disagree, asserting that the democratizing role is most important. This has resulted in varying degrees of conflict and tension between the media and government in many countries, Mozambique and South Africa no exceptions. With the addition of the often negative influence of the market, it is obvious that the role of the media in Africa will remain at the forefront for many years to come.

With this in mind, the purpose of this study was to analyse the role the print media in Mozambique and South Africa are currently performing, as well as the impact of various factors on the execution of this role. This study aimed to answer several questions, namely: what are the ownership patterns of the print media in Mozambique and South Africa, how do these patterns relate to political and economic power in each country and what is the impact of this on the role of the print media? What are the levels of advertising support for the print media in these countries, are these levels adequate to sustain a diverse print media sector and how do these sources of revenue impact on the role of the print media in both countries? Finally, what legislation, government policies and regulations are in place in these countries and how do they impact the role of the media? The study was developed using a critical political economy theoretical framework and employs several qualitative methodologies, including interviews and the review of documentary sources, in order to address the research questions as thoroughly as possible.

The findings of this study open up the possibility of further research in a few areas. This dissertation has focused on examining the factors that have the greatest influence on the media at a macro level: ownership, the market, legislation and government. This report does not concentrate on recommending policy solutions to the problems raised, nor does it investigate the content that is the result of the influence of the macro factors examined. Consequently, there are several areas of possible research remaining in this area of inquiry.

This study began with an analysis of the ownership patterns in each country. Ownership of the print media in Mozambique is fairly diverse and is largely made up of journalist-led co-operatives, individual owner-editors, party-owned publications and a couple of partially government-owned newspapers. *Notícias*, the largest daily newspaper in Mozambique, falls into the latter category. There is no foreign ownership. In South Africa, ownership of the print media is dominated by four large conglomerates, with very few significant publications that are not conglomerate-owned. Naspers, Avusa and Caxton are all South African-owned, while Independent Newspapers is an Irish-based company as well as the largest newspaper publisher in South Africa, with 14 publications. It is clear that the tendency towards media domination by several large conglomerates has resulted in poorer audiences being both inadvertently and deliberately neglected by the media: entertainment and sport coverage taking priority over political, economic and social issues. Most significantly in the context of a developing democracy such as South Africa, there is little proof that international companies like Independent Newspapers are likely to implement an editorial policy that supports democracy as they have an incentive to support the status quo.

While Mozambique has great plurality of ownership and South Africa is dominated by four large media conglomerates, it is apparent that diversity of viewpoints and opinions is an area that should be improved upon in both countries. It is clear now that this lack of diversity is often a result of ownership patterns in combination with market forces. While there have been significant changes in ownership in both Mozambique and South Africa in the last 15 years, these changes have not necessarily had a convincing impact upon the

ability of publications in both countries to fulfil their role as instruments of the 'public sphere'.

From the discussion and analysis in Chapter Five of the effects of a free market system on the print media in Mozambique and South Africa, it was made clear that the need for publications and media companies to make a profit often overshadows their democratising role. The majority of citizens of both countries have no access to these publications due to these financial imperatives, while the kind of content produced is often not the most informative but rather serves entertainment purposes. It is clear that in the key areas of debate, analysis and investigative reporting, publications in both countries have generally underachieved, a result of several factors, including the decreasing size of and lack of experience in the newsroom, reduced space and budgetary provisions for editorial content and the increasing focus on entertainment, sport and other 'soft' news. In addition, the media in these countries are under pressure to self-censor when it comes to excessive criticism of government and business, due to the negative consequence this can have on their bottom line when advertising is withdrawn or defamation claims are filed. These factors all clearly demonstrate that the market and sources of revenue are the greatest determinants in the kind of media the citizens of Mozambique and South Africa have access to.

From the Chapter Six analysis of the various laws that apply to the media in Mozambique and South Africa, it can be argued that the legislative environment for the media in both countries is largely conducive to media freedom. Laws ensuring freedom of expression are present in both countries, while there is an Act in existence in South Africa guaranteeing access to information and a similar bill in Mozambique that media practitioners and activists are hopeful will be passed soon. Problematic areas include the existence of old legislation stemming from the period of colonial rule in Mozambique and Apartheid in South Africa that are sometimes still in effect and can infringe on media freedom. While defamation laws in both countries are not as harsh as in many other parts of Africa, the existence of defamation as a criminal, as well as civil, offence in Mozambique and South Africa is problematic. There is also some controversial proposed

legislation pending in each country, though there are several strong voices arguing against the enactment of these laws. Lastly, the relationship between the media and government in both countries is clearly an area of concern, as even with the appropriate legislation in place, a difficult relationship with government can have a negative effect on the level of media freedom present in both Mozambique and South Africa.

Consequently, this study found that the media in both countries is under pressure from two forces: the market on one side and government on the other. While a privately-owned print media is certainly more desirable that a government-owned media, it has become clear that the market cannot be expected to produce a media system that supports democratisation. Currently, the print media in both countries often subordinates their public interest role in the interests of remaining profitable. At the same time, they often come under pressure from government, usually through the use of restrictive legislation. Additionally, there is often a lack of market support for the print media in a poorer country such as Mozambique, as well as a lack of business knowledge and skills with regard to working in the print media.

It is therefore apparent that the print media in these countries needs to find a happy medium. First, the importance of enabling legislation and regulations in the creation of a positive environment in which the media are able to contribute to democratisation cannot be underestimated. Second, more time and money needs to be invested in making sure business owners and media practitioners acquire the education and skills needed to contribute positively to the print media industry. Third, the economic environment needs to be conducive to the sustenance and expansion of the print media industry – the print media cannot contribute to democratisation if they are cannot remain financially viable. Unfortunately, this is a difficult problem to solve in developing countries with small markets. South Africa has made some headway in this regard with the introduction of the Media and Development Agency, created to help fund and sustain small media ventures throughout the country. While this programme is flawed, it can still be used as an example for other countries in the southern African region. Lastly, government-media relations need to be constructive in order to ensure the media can perform their

democratising role. While this study has highlighted all the problematic areas with regard to this, it is also quite clear that government-media relations in both Mozambique and South Africa are fairly reasonable, especially when compared to several other countries in the region. Whether these relations will remain the same or improve after the upcoming 2009 elections in each country remains to be seen. One thing is, however, clear: the media in southern Africa is crucial to the establishment and sustenance of democracy.

Appendix A
Interview Guide

Role of the Media

- What role should the media play in Mozambique?
- To what extent are they playing this role in Mozambique?

Political Environment

- What are the political limitations to media freedom in Mozambique?
    - Access to official information
    - Censorship
    - Intimidation
    - Recent cases

- Have these limitations improved or worsened in the last few years?
- How would you describe the relationship between the print media and government?
- Do you anticipate the political environment for the media improving or worsening in future?
- How would you like the political environment to change in order to best enable the media to fulfill their role?

Legal Environment

- Do you find any legislation problematic with regard to its hindrance of the ideal role of the media?
- Do you feel that freedom of expression for the media is protected to the extent that it should be?
- What are your thoughts on the proposed Access to Information bill?
- What provisions would you like this bill to include?
- In your view, what improvements could be made to the legal environment in Mozambique in order to better contribute to the media's ideal role?

Economic Environment

- What are the economic constraints to the media in Mozambique?
- What are the main sources of income for the print media?
- How much advertising is available for the print media in Mozambique?
- Who are the major advertisers?
- Does advertising / has it ever influenced the content of your publication?

- Do you think other Mozambican publications have bowed to pressure from advertisers?
- Do advertisers exert pressure on your publication or individual journalists regarding content?
- What strategies does your publication use to attract advertisers?
    - Supplements
    - Advertorials
    - Special projects
    - Discounts
    - Co-sponsers
    - Discounts for advertisers / undercutting; rate card
    - Readership / circulation figures
- Besides income from advertising and sales, are there any other sources of funding?

Audience

- Who is your publication's target market?
    - Geographically
    - Linguistically
    - Socio-economic status
- Why is this your publication's specific target market?

Content

- What editorial direction / policy does your publication take?
- Who sets the editorial policies (type of news, who it is aimed at etc.)?
- Is there any pressure from owners or outside sources (govt., politicians and advertisers) regarding your editorial policy and content?
- Have you ever felt under pressure to self-censor and do you think that this is a problem for other publications / journalists?

Professional Issues

- Do you think the Mozambican media pander to advertisers / politicians?
- What about ethics, balance and impartiality?
    - Political partisanship
    - Sensationalism (tabloids – what is your opinion?)
- What is the professional background of journalists (education, training and experience) at your publication?

Appendix B
Country Information

Govt. Type	Republic
Provinces	10 (Cabo Delgado, Gaza, Inhambane, Manica, Maputo, Nampula, Niassa, Sofala, Tete, Zambezia)
Capital	Maputo
Total Area	784,090 square km
Population	21,284,700
Urban Population	38 %
Literacy Rate (15 + years)	47.8 %
Official Language*	Portuguese
GDP – Per Capita (PPP)	US$ 900
Life Expectancy	41

Table 1.1: Mozambique Country Information

*Mozambique has 12 main languages other than Portuguese. The three dominant African languages are Tsonga, Sene-Nyanja and Makua-Lomwe.

Govt. Type	Republic
Provinces	9 (Eastern Cape, free State, Gauteng, Kwazula Natal, Limpopo, Mpumalanga, Northern Cape, North West, Western Cape)
Capital	Pretoria (administrative capital)
Total Area	1,219,912 square km
Population	48,782,756
Urban Population	58 %
Literacy Rate (15 + years)	86.4 %
Official Language	11 official languages (Afrikaans, English, IsiNdebele, IsiXhosa, IsiZulu, Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, SiSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga)
GDP – Per Capita (PPP)	US$ 10,400
Life Expectancy	49

Table 1.2: South Africa Country Information

Appendix C
Newspaper Ownership

Title	Owner	Fax / Traditional	Area of Distribution*
Correio da Manhã	Sojornal Ltd	Fax	Maputo
Diário de Economia e Negócios	Cooperative (journalist) owned	Traditional	Maputo
Diário de Moçambique	Commercial Press Society of Beira	Traditional	Sofala
Diário de Notícias	Sociedade Notícias	Fax	Maputo
Faísca	Cooperative	Traditional	Niassa
Imparcial	Owned by opposition party Renamo	Fax	Maputo
Jornal Amanhecer	Cooperative	Traditional	Niassa
Mediafax	Mediacoop	Fax	National
Notícias de Moçambique	Sociedade Notícias	Tradional	National
O Popular	Leandro Paul	Traditional	Maputo
Ponto Zero	Journalist owned	Fax	Maputo
Vertical	Cooperative (journalist) owned	Fax	Maputo
Wamphula Fax	Journalist owned	Fax	Nampula

Table 2.1: Daily Newspapers - Mozambique

Title	Owner	Fax / Traditional	Area of Distribution*
Demos	CoopArtes Editorial	Traditional	Maputo
Desafio	Sociedade Notícias	Traditional	Maputo
Domingo	Sociedade Notícias	Traditional	National
Fim de Semana	Leando Paul	Traditional	Maputo
Savana	Mediacoop	Traditional	National
Zambeze	Salomão Moyana (editor)	Traditional	National

Table 2.2: Weekly Newspapers – Mozambique

*Where it is indicated that newspapers are national, it must be noted that these newspapers do not consistently reach all areas of Mozambique due to financial constraints.

Newspaper Ownership* (listed in company groupings) – South Africa

Title	Frequency	Area of Distribution
*Business Day***	Daily	National
Daily Dispatch	Daily	Eastern Cape
Saturday Dispatch	Weekly	Eastern Cape
Sowetan	Daily	National
Sunday Times	Weekly	National
Sunday World	Weekly	Weekly
The Herald	Daily	Eastern Cape
The Times	Daily	National
Weekend Post	Weekly	Eastern Cape
*Weekender***	Weekly	National

Table 2.3: Avusa Titles

Title	Frequency	Area of Distribution
Cape Argus	Daily	Western Cape
Cape Times	Daily	Western Cape
Daily News	Daily	Kwazulu Natal
Isolezwe	Daily	Kwazulu Natal
Post	Weekly	Kwazulu Natal
Pretoria News	Daily	Gauteng / PTA
Sunday Independent	Weekly	National
Sunday Tribune	Weekly	Kwazulu Natal
The Independent on Saturday	Weekly	Western Cape
The Mercury	Daily	Kwazulu Natal
The Star	Daily	Gauteng / JHB
Saturday Star	Weekly	Johannesburg
Saturday Argus	Weekly	Western Cape
Sunday Argus	Weekly	Western Cape

Table 2.4: Independent Newspapers Titles

Title	Frequency	Area of Distribution
Beeld	Daily	Gauteng, Mpumalanga, Northern Province, North West , KwaZulu Natal
City Press	Weekly	National
Daily Sun	Daily	National
Die Burger	Daily	Western Cape, Eastern Cape
Die Burger (Sat)	Weekly	Western Cape, Eastern Cape
Kaapse Son	Weekly	Western Cape
Naweek Beeld	Weekly	Gauteng, Mpumalanga, Northern Province, North West , KwaZulu Natal
Rapport	Weekly	National
Soccer Laduma	Weekly	National
Sunday Sun	Weekly	National
Volksblad	Daily	Free State, Northern Province
Volksblad (Sat)	Weekly	Free State, Northern Province
The Witness	Daily	Kwazulu Natal

Table 2.5: Media 24 (Naspers) Titles

Title	Owner	Frequency	Area of Distribution
Citizen	Caxton***	Daily	National
Ilanga	Mandla-Matla Publishing	Daily	Kwazulu Natal
Ilanga Langa Sonto	Mandla-Matla Publishing	Weekly	Kwazulu Natal
Mail & Guardian	90% Newtrust; 10% Guardian UK	Weekly	National

Table 2.6. Other Titles

* excluding community newspapers and freesheets

** 50% owned by Avusa, 50% by Pearsons PLC (British Company); forming publisher BDFM

*** Caxton published several community newspapers and freesheets, but only one national publication.

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