

Communication for Empowerment in Mozambique: An Assessment of Communication and Media Needs At the Community Level

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Following is one of five national pilot studies now under way to assess ways to empower vulnerable people who are marginalised from central information flows and who lack the communication channels necessary to participate in national and local debates and agenda-setting. This study describes the Mozambican context, including the legal and regulatory environment for communication and media. It then presents communication and information audits carried out in the districts of Mandlakazi, Dondo and Monapo, audits designed to enable community members to identify their needs. This study concludes by extracting and presenting a series of challenges and possible ways forward. Funded by the United Nations Development Fund, this report was written by Faruco Sadique Ibraimo, a consultant, and Barry Driscoll, of the United Nations Development Programme. The Communication for Social Change Consortium coordinated the report. The views and interpretations in this report are the authors' and do not necessarily reflect those of UNDP or the Communication for Social Change Consortium.

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Terms and Abbreviations

Community – a group of people sharing an environment in a geographical region, with common interests arising from the place where they live, and also having different interests. To accommodate the differences between the people living in an area (religious, professional, age-related), the question is approached from the point of view of "communities within the community."

CMC – Community Multimedia Centre (Centro Multimedia Comunitária), including radio and call centres, operated by grassroots organisations.

Community Radios (CR) – Radio stations that broadcast in Frequency Modulation (FM), belonging to grassroots organisations. The communities themselves are responsible for programming, which is geared towards community interests.

Editorial groups – Organised groups from community radio stations, that develop short editorials dedicated to specific topics (agriculture, health, the environment, children, women, etc.).

MDGs – Millenium Development Goals

RM – Rádio Moçambique, the national public radio broadcaster.

SMS – Short Message Service via mobile phone.

STV – Soico Televisão, a private television station.

Talk Shows – Live programmes broadcast on radio and television, in which members of the public interact with presenters and interviewers in our studios.

TV – Television.

TVM – Televisão de Moçambique, the national public television station.

UNDP – United Nations Development Programme.

UNESCO – the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

Foreword

A Step towards Inclusive Participation

Communication underpins human development because it enables people to access, produce, and transfer to others information that is important for their empowerment and progress. Through communication people are able to arrive at their own understanding of issues, to consider and discuss ideas, and to engage in national public debates. Communication thus enables people to negotiate, develop and act on knowledge, and it facilitates the formation of public opinion without which democracy cannot exist.

While the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) *Oslo Governance Centre* and the *Communication for Social Change Consortium* are very different types of organisations and work with very different mandates, we share an understanding of the importance of communication as a tool and a methodology that can make development strategies more effective, more sustainable, and more pro-poor and gender sensitive.

In the case of *UNDP*, the recently approved 2008-2011 Strategic Plan recognises that communication channels are key determinants of *inclusive participation*, which is a key focus for the work of UNDP in the area of democratic governance. The approach is rooted in the knowledge that one of the challenges facing developing countries is the lack of inclusion and participation of poor and vulnerable groups in decisions that impact on their lives.

The Communication for Social Change Consortium fundamentally believes that communication has the power to change societies. Using participatory communication to better understand how commonly held social values and beliefs are nurtured and spread within cultures is a powerful step in helping people decide upon, and begin to make, the kind of changes they want and need in order to improve their lives.

In other words, the Consortium helps people get the skills and feel empowered enough to advocate for changes that will make their communities healthier, their countries stronger, and their families more productive. When people come together in dialogue—and plan and act together—it is the truest form of democracy.

Understanding how information flows within communities and unleashing the voices of those people who are often not heard or seen is one of the most exciting manifestations of democratic principles. Thus we look forward with great

anticipation to the findings of the Communication for Empowerment pilot efforts that have been initiated by our partnership.

A few years ago, the UNDP Oslo Governance Centre developed a UNDP Guidance Note on *Communication for Empowerment*, drawing upon the expertise of the Communication for Social Change Consortium. The purpose of the Guidance Note was to turn the above general insights into mainstream planning tools that facilitate an understanding of the information and communication needs of the poor and the marginalized; hoping also to make this a permanent feature in national development planning processes.

This report is part of a series of pilot *Needs Assessments* in five Least Developed Countries, funded by a grant from the U.N. Democracy Fund. The country pilots will be followed by a global summary report, which will reflect on the experience of the five pilots and provide tools for national actors to conduct their own assessments and to develop a strategy for incorporating *Communication for Empowerment* into national planning processes and programmes.

We hope that this partnership between UNDP Mozambique, other stakeholders in Mozambique, the UNDP Oslo Governance Centre, and the Communication for Social Change Consortium, can offer a contribution towards listening more effectively to the needs and views of communities throughout the country, and that these needs and views will increasingly inform our approach to development.

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Bjørn Førde, *Director, UNDP Oslo Governance Centre*

I Introduction

This study is one of five national pilot studies being undertaken to assess ways of how best to empower those parts of the population who are vulnerable and marginalised from central information flows and who have less access to express themselves and to take part in national, local and community debates and agenda-setting.

In order to identify possible solutions, this study presents a brief description of the Mozambican context, the legal and regulatory environment for communication and a media inventory.

Following the introduction, the main study presents communication and information audits carried out in the districts of Mandlakazi, Dondo and Monapo, audits designed to enable community members to identify their needs. This study concludes by extracting and presenting a series of challenges and possible ways forward.

1. *The Mozambican Context*

Mozambique, located in the Southern African region, attained its independence from Portugal in 1975. A 16-year civil war, which ended with the signing of the Rome Peace Accord in October 1992, left Mozambique one of the poorest countries in the world with a series of important development challenges. Now, 15 years after the peace accord, Mozambique has made solid strides in the areas of democratic governance and economic development. Yet the development challenge is highlighted by key human development indicators: Mozambique is 172nd out of 177 countries in the U.N. Human Development Index; life expectancy is 43 years; adult literacy is below 40 percent; more than two-thirds of the population live below the national poverty line, with one-third living on less than \$1 per day.¹

The country's history is characterised by decades of wars and severe natural disasters (prolonged droughts and deadly floods) which severely affected the lives of its population of about 20 million. It gives one an image of a nation wracked by devastation and poverty. The civil war left the country with virtually no infrastructure, including roads, schools and health facilities. Communication networks were systematically targeted in the fighting and, as the war continued, the media were confined more and more to the capital, Maputo, and the second city, Beira. The Rome Peace Accord established a democratic, multiparty system in the country. It also paved the way for the emergence of a free and

¹ http://hdrstats.undp.org/countries/country_fact_sheets/cty_fs MOZ.html; MDG Monitor http://www.mdgmonitor.org/factsheets_00.cfm?c=MOZ&cd=508

independent media which had already been initiated in 1991, when the first progressive media law was passed by the Parliament.

2. The Communication Sub-Sector

Mozambique has a liberal Press Law which, in its preliminary articles, states: "the Constitution of the Republic of Mozambique, in Article 74, enshrines the right to freedom of expression and freedom of the press as well as the right to information. The mass media play an important role in implementing those rights, as well as in giving value to the other individual and collective rights enshrined in the Constitution."

Emerging from a period of socialist, government-controlled media, a number of new initiatives began to emerge in 1991, heralding a new era of media independence and pluralism. These initiatives included independent newspapers, and local, private radio and television stations. The first comprehensive review and mapping of the media landscape, carried out in 1999, showed approximately 91 active media organizations had already been registered in the country. These included 26 newspapers, one public broadcaster with two national programmes and nine provincial stations; eight religious radio stations and four community radio stations.²

Eight years later the number of registered newspapers had doubled, the main national public broadcaster with regional stations and the number of religious radio stations remained constant, but the number of community radio stations and community multimedia centres grew from one in 1994 to more than four in 1999, and as many as 57 in 2007.³

This increase in the size of the media in Mozambique is, on the one hand, evidence that the open Press Law is alive and, on the other, makes it clear that the challenges are many. As in most comparable countries, the print media has been pressured by immense costs including taxes for importation of newsprint and printing. The media has contested these taxes for some time. At the same time journalists starting new newspapers do not necessarily have the stamina nor organisational and management experience to sustain them.

² UNESCO/UNDP *Media Pluralism Landscape Study*, 1999.

<http://www.mediamoz.com/documents/report1.pdf>; <http://www.mediamoz.com/documents/report2.pdf>

³ Newspapers with a circulation above 500 have to register with the Government's Information office GabInfo. Not all journals registered are active at any given time. But the indication provided also holds up against an assessment in the streets of the capital, Maputo: the number of serious papers available at least here has doubled; UNESCO/UNDP *Media Pluralism Landscape Study*, 2006; After the change to a multi-party democracy framework with the new media law, the first community radios registered were Rádio Maria—a Catholic station and Rádio Comunitária de Xai-Xai—a state-owned community-oriented radio station; UNESCO/UNDP *Media Pluralism Landscape Study*, 1999; Listing of active community-oriented radio stations on air receiving partnerships and funding support through the Community Radio and CMC forum: FORCOM in December 2007.

But the media are present, and the legal framework is in general supportive. Only one percent of the population⁴ makes use of print media—but this percentage includes key decision makers and, as such, is of major importance. In addition, in a country with high levels of illiteracy—especially in rural areas—the 82 – 100 percent reach of the national public broadcaster, Radio Moçambique and the existence of community radio stations covering nearly half of Mozambique’s 128 districts, make radio by far the most important means of communication and the one with the best reach.⁵

These developmental challenges highlight both the difficulty and the necessity of expanding the free flow of information in Mozambique to enable the poorest and most vulnerable groups to access information essential to their development, as well as to communicate their needs and interests through diverse media. The challenges facing the media in Mozambique are similar to challenges in the areas of health, education, and economic development: 1) a national communication infrastructure slowly finding its feet with much to be done; 2) low literacy levels resulting, not only in low readership of newspapers, but also the difficulty people encounter when trying to enter the marketplace and increase their purchasing power; and 3) an information environment in which legal and regulatory frameworks are among the most permissive on the continent, but in which journalists regularly self-censor and suppress news, and in which standards of journalism are not uniformly strong.

3. *Legal and Regulatory Environment for Communication*⁶

Mozambique’s Constitution and law provides for freedom of assembly, association and an independent judiciary. The country possesses one of Africa’s most progressive laws on media and the press. Yet, legal tools essential to realise many of these rights are missing: a broadcast law that can legally establish community radio stations is overdue; penalties for defamation have a devastating effect on press freedom and result in widespread self-censorship; licensing for print and broadcast media is not independent; there is no independent regulatory body for broadcast media; and the development of private media is constrained by the legal framework and the challenges of doing business in the country.

Access to Information and Freedom of Expression

Although Article Four of the 1991 Press Law gives the right of access to information to all citizens and forbids restriction to that access by censorship, the article does not apply to state secrets nor to a citizen’s private life. Journalists

⁴ NSJ/GTZ study on the press, Maputo, 2002.

⁵ According to Radio Mozambique its coverage is 82 percent during the day and 100 percent at night due to changes in the ionosphere (from November 2006 UNESCO: Media Pluralism Landscape Study). See Annex RM for a map demonstrating RM coverage areas.

⁶ The following section benefited greatly from an UNESCO-funded legal analysis of media in Mozambique by Mr. Guy Berger. *Media Legislation in Africa: A Comparative Legal Survey*. Guy Berger, UNESCO, 2007.

have complained of excessive use of this secrecy provision by officials.⁷ Legal tools to fully protect the freedom of expression are lacking, and infringements of the right have been noted as a result (see following section).

Both the Government Information Bureau and the Media Institute of Southern Africa have advocated the adoption of a draft of a Right to Information/Access to Information law. A draft law 2005 on Access to Official Sources of Information seeks to elaborate guarantees of freedom of information contained within the Constitution, and establishes an access and appeals mechanism. Unfortunately, the draft law has not advanced significantly at the time this study. According to Article19, an international human rights organisation that fights censorship by and promoted freedom of expression, the draft failed to protect whistleblowers or to create an independent body to monitor implementation. In addition, current and new laws frequently fail to provide for the rights of access to information set forth in the Constitution and Press Law.

The African Media Barometer's analysis of the media environment in Mozambique found the availability of public information was "neither accessible nor is such access guaranteed by law." A case in point is the requirement for civil servants seeking higher public office to declare their assets, while prohibiting journalists and the public from accessing such declarations.

Press and Media Law

Mozambique possesses one of Africa's most progressive laws on media and the press, the result of a long process of consolidated effort by, among others, Mozambican journalists and press freedom organisations along with government representatives. Created and passed even before the 1992 Rome Peace Accord which marked the transition towards democracy, the media law is very general in its expression. At the time of this writing, it is widely felt that a clearer framework is needed, among others in the form of a broadcast law that can legally establish community radio stations.

Research conducted for this audit adds further weight to the many calls for a broadcast law that would build on the strong achievements in media and Press Law thus far. The current law does not provide a three-tier legal regime—public/commercial/community—for broadcasting. Instead, community radio stations have their legal window through being "media of associations." They are formally registered as commercial entities, while many community-oriented, state-owned radio stations are regarded as community radio stations, which—strictly seen—they are not. There is a need, therefore, for Mozambique's legal regime to keep pace with the developments in the area of community and commercial radio.

⁷ *Media Legislation in Africa: A Comparative Legal Survey*. Guy Berger, UNESCO, 2007, p. 72.

Media regulation

Mozambique's Government Information Bureau (GABINFO), whose director is appointed by the prime minister after a recommendation by the Council of Ministers, licenses print and broadcast media. GABINFO is tasked with the administrative registration of all media. It grants licenses within 30 days; these are automatically renewed every two years. In the event of a refusal, GABINFO must provide a written explanation explaining its decision. The *Instituto Nacional das Comunicações de Moçambique*, part of the Ministry of Transport and Communications, provides licenses for the use of frequencies. There are no known cases of refusal.⁸

The Constitution called for the establishment of a Superior Council for the Media (Conselho Superior da Comunicação Social) that would guarantee the right to information, press freedom, broadcasting rights and the right of reply. However, the Council is ultimately a consultative body; its powers are limited to advising government and participating in the appointment and dismissal of key personnel. As a recent UNESCO-funded study points out, "it is therefore not a regulatory body, but rather a moral force."⁹ Interviews conducted for this audit suggested that revisions to the Press Law, which are stagnating, include a removal from the Council of its independent watchdog role. It appears that the Council has failed to become the important player envisioned by the law and its role appears to be weakening still further.

Defamation and self-censorship

The Press Law contains penalties for defamation (Articles 41 to 49): The crime of defamation is punishable by up to four months in prison and a fine, and can include the suspension of publications. If found guilty of defaming a private citizen, journalists can be punished with up to two years in prison and a fine of at least \$3,900.¹⁰ A recent UNESCO-funded analysis calls these penalties "disproportionately heavy."¹¹ Such high costs for the crime of defamation can potentially have a chilling effect on media and contribute to a climate of self-censorship. Yet, Reporters Without Borders report that courts rarely, if ever, impose such penalties.¹² There had been no reports of journalists being imprisoned since 2003 (when Jose Armando Chitula, editor of the daily *Imparcial*, was detained for 24 hours) until three journalists were imprisoned in Chimoio after reporting that a local businessman had been arrested under suspicion of cattle rustling. The three journalists were released after one week after the intervention of the deputy prosecutor's superior.

Although the government is generally respectful of criticism, both the president as well as foreign heads of state can be defamed even if *the stated facts are*

⁸ *Media Legislation in Africa: A Comparative Legal Survey*. Guy Berger, UNESCO, 2007, p. 66.

⁹ *Media Legislation in Africa: A Comparative Legal Survey*. Guy Berger, UNESCO, 2007, p. 64.

¹⁰ *Media Legislation in Africa: A Comparative Legal Survey*. Guy Berger, UNESCO, 2007, p. 69.

¹¹ *Media Legislation in Africa: A Comparative Legal Survey*. Guy Berger, UNESCO, 2007, p. 151.

¹² Reporters Without Borders. *Mozambique – Annual Report 2007*.

true. This is according to Article 47 of the Press Law, and means that evidence that might support a journalist's assertion is not permissible in court.¹³

An African Media Barometer study found that self-censorship was “rampant” in private and state media, and that despite constitutional rights to freedom of expression, Mozambique continues to lack sufficient legal tools to realise this right.

Media and civil society

African Media Barometer has described possible concerns in the area of media advocacy and lobby groups, in which leading civil society groups may often be led by figures with strong involvement in political parties, raising the potential for conflicts of interest.

Several prominent associations serve the interests of journalists, including: the National Union of Journalists; the Mozambican chapter of the Media Institute of Southern Africa; the Association of Media Companies; and the National Community Radio Forum (FORCOM). It is interesting to note that in provinces with very little penetration by the print media, such as Niassa and Zambezia, there are large numbers of FORCOM members. FORCOM currently has almost 40 member radio stations and receives funding from UNESCO, UNICEF, the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, Austria and NIZA.

Media Ownership

The constraints of the advertising market mean that sustaining private media is difficult. State radio, for example, artificially lowers the cost of advertising on its broadcasts, thus distorting the advertising market in its favour. Only state-media enjoy tax exemptions for things such as equipment, which puts independent media at a disadvantage.

In 1994 Rádio Moçambique and Televisão de Moçambique—state-owned stations—became public companies. However, their boards of directors are not independent, as the government appoints their chairpersons and CEOs. Notwithstanding the one board member elected by employees, there is no public participation in these appointments. In addition, the Press Law (Article 6) permits the state to acquire media beyond those defined as being in the public sector, which allows the government to control former state-owned publications like *Noticias* and *Domingo*, “despite their semi-privatisation.”¹⁴

Only Mozambican nationals may own media companies. In cases of shareholding, foreign investment is limited to 20 percent. There is no law

¹³ *Media Legislation in Africa: A Comparative Legal Survey*. Guy Berger, UNESCO, 2007, p. 69.

¹⁴ *Media Legislation in Africa: A Comparative Legal Survey*. Guy Berger, UNESCO, 2007, p. 67.

preventing a company from holding interests across print, radio, and television media. This contrasts with South Africa, where legislation exists to prevent corporate dominance across media sectors.

4. *Media Inventory*

Due to the constraints of poverty and poor infrastructure in Mozambique, radio offers the best means of communication. Given suitable weather conditions, radio broadcasts reach the entire country. The circulation of printed press is small, though readership is likely higher than available figures suggest, and the state retains a large stake in the sector. Household television ownership went from five to nine percent between the years 1997 to 2003, and the state continues to dominate TV broadcasting.

Media Penetration

Strong broadcasting signals and moderate to high levels of radio ownership mean that *Radio Mozambique* may reach most of the country, though functions of poverty (inability to buy batteries, lack of electricity) mean many people are still *de facto* inaccessible. In addition to *Radio Mozambique*, the large number of local-level state radio stations preserve state dominance in the media sector.

Television and printed press reach a very small number of people outside of Maputo. In addition to low levels of television ownership (below). Televisão de Moçambique, the national public television station, does not yet reach all provincial capitals. High costs of transportation means that the circulation figures for the major dailies are in the low thousands. As with radio, however, figures for the printing of newspapers or the ownership of radio stations do not correlate with readership/listening figures, as friends, family and co-workers disseminate printed material and listen to the radio in community settings.

Radio

An August 2006 research study documented 50 community-oriented radio stations: 20 state-owned and operated; eight owned, controlled and run by the Catholic church; one municipal; and 21 owned, controlled and run by community associations. It is the latter that can be most credibly called community radio.¹⁵

The total number of community-level radio is split between those that are community owned and supported by donors, and those that are community-oriented but operated by the state. The International Community Radio Association (AMARC) and the African Charter on Broadcasting define community radio as owned by, serving, and managed by a community, as distinct from decentralised public media.¹⁶ The government, through the Government Information Bureau, in the office of the Prime Minister, and its Mass Communications Institute (ICS), operates 22 community-oriented radio stations throughout the country. As these stations are not owned or operated by the communities they serve, they do not qualify within the narrow community radio definition, yet they are based in, and work with, the community to varying degrees, thus both bringing more locally relevant and other news closer to otherwise isolated communities and provide an opportunity for having a voice used with difference from radio to radio. ICS stations are operative in every province.

¹⁵ Birgitte Jallof: *Voice, Participation and Empowerment*, August 2006, World Bank Institute (forthcoming)

¹⁶ UNESCO/UNDP. *Media Pluralism Landscape Study*. March 2006, p. 17.

Percentage of Households Owning a Radio ¹⁷					
	1996	1997	2000	2002	2003
National	28.9	28.9	49.6	45.5	65
Rural	23.6	21.4	43.7	41.5	65
Urban	53.9	51.1	65.4	54.9	--
Niassa	27.3	22.6	39.2	43	--
Cabo Delgado	24.5	21.3	42.3	43	--
Nampula	16.5	20.8	49.4	48.3	--
Zambézia	22.5	20.9	48.9	39.4	--
Tete	29.4	26.3	41.2	45.1	--
Manica	35.1	34.3	53.7	63.6	--
Sofala	25.1	36.2	54.2	52.3	--
Inhambane	38.1	32.1	41.7	32.9	--
Gaza	42.7	37.3	43.6	34.1	--
Maputo Province	46.7	49.1	64.1	53.4	--
Maputo City	77.2	73.3	80.8	61.8	--

Key media availability questions include:

- Do families and individuals have access to radio?
- Can they afford to use it in terms of electricity and batteries?

The presence of private/commercial enterprise is not strong in the radio sector. As a recent UNESCO/UNDP study points out, “outside of Greater Maputo, radio is basically divided between the state and religious bodies and civic organisations.”¹⁸ It is claimed that state radio disrupts the radio market by artificially lowering the cost of advertising on its broadcasts, which makes it difficult for commercial radio to development and expand.

Newspapers

For Mozambique’s mostly rural and illiterate population, newspapers are not a feature of their everyday media experience. However, newspapers serve a crucial function in Mozambique, and there are examples of good newspaper journalism despite questions of professional standards.

Government records state that 254 newspapers, magazines, pamphlets and information bulletins were registered and/or dispensed from registration between 1992 and 2006. Of these, 172 were registered or dispensed from registration as

¹⁷ Various sources: Ministry of Planning and Finance, International Food Policy Research Institute Purdue University. *Poverty and Well-Being in Mozambique: The Second National Assessment*. March 2004, p. 43;

¹⁸ UNESCO/UNDP. *Media Pluralism Landscape Study*. November 2006, p. 29.

newspapers and magazines. A recent UNESCO/UNDP analysis found that 47 of these 172 conform to the category of press as defined in law.¹⁹

Fifteen publications are based outside Maputo, and most of these have been created within the last eight years. Strong actors among include:

- *Diario de Mozambique* (published by Noticias da Beira)
- *Pungue* (published by the Association of Independent Journalists of Sofala)
- *Wamphula Fax* and *Wamphula* (monthly) (by the Journalists Association of Nampula)
- *Lurio* (by the Association of Independent Media Operators of Nampula)
- *Horizonte* (Associated Journalists of Cabo-Delgado)

With the exception of *Diario*, most of these have print runs in the low to mid-hundreds. This does not mean low readership: On the contrary, papers purchased and papers received by fax are shared amongst friends, family and especially co-workers.

The official circulation figure for the state-owned *Notícias* is 12,000, while most other papers cannot afford to go above roughly 5,000. There is hardly any local publication in rural areas. The provinces of Gaza, Inhambane, Tete, Zambezia, and Niassa appear to be least served by the print media.

The largest selling newspaper, *Noticias*, claims not to be state-media but in reality it gives little space to critics of the government, it is owned by various state entities, and its director is appointed by the Central Bank.

The print media is constrained by a number of factors, including the high costs of importing materials for production and the high cost of transporting the publications and journalists. On the demand side, the affordability of newspapers is a major problem: The two daily papers cost 120 MZM (about \$.50), while weeklies cost the equivalent of a loaf of bread or a beer.²⁰ Many newsheets are distributed by fax, but in addition to excluding people with no fax machines, annual subscriptions can cost several hundred U.S. dollars. On the supply side, simple factors such as the cost of transporting journalists regularly impact the capacity of the print media to cover stories. In many cases, press journalists may accompany a local official, which not only implies that the local official sets the media agenda, but also that questions of integrity may be raised if trips are provided for by the subject of news coverage.

¹⁹ UNESCO/UNDP. *Media Pluralism Landscape Study*. November 2006, p. 34.

²⁰ African Media Barometer.

Television

The low level of commercial presence in the radio sector described above is also broadly true of the television sector, with the large exception of Soico (Independent Communication Company Ltd). The other private operators are 9TV, KTV and TV SIR.

Credibility of the Media

According to a World Bank *Governance and Anti-Corruption Diagnostic Survey*, people consistently had the most trust in the media. This, of course, was in comparison to other institutions such as the police, the judiciary and political parties, so the finding is perhaps not surprising. Nevertheless, it serves as a keen reminder of how far the media in Mozambique has come, that it has so firmly earned widespread respect despite its faults and challenges.

Most Honest Institutions²¹			
	<i>Households</i>	<i>Officials</i>	<i>Enterprise</i>
Media (the press)	1	2	1
Religious Institutions	2	1	2
NGOs	3	6	4
Least Honest Institutions			
Police	1	2	1
Traffic Police	2	1	2
Customs	3	4	

²¹ Source: World Bank. *Governance and Anti-Corruption Diagnostic Survey*.

II Audit in Mozambique

1 Methodology Used

This work is part of a large Communications for Empowerment project whose overall aim is to make the average citizen—including those from marginalised strata of society and those living in poverty—capable of making informed decisions regarding their own life, and to grant them a platform from which to make themselves heard in this process.

The information and communications audits carried out under this project will help us to identify gaps and areas in which the environment needs to be improved. Improving these options and opportunities will also lead to a significant increase in the opportunities needed to come to grips with the Millennium Development Goals declared by the United Nations.

This was the basis for the establishment of pilot activities associated with the information and communications audits in five countries in Africa and Asia, including Mozambique.

In order to understand the complex communication and information needs of poor people in developing countries such as Mozambique, fora for consultation with various sources were established, together with a set of methods to be employed.

To this end, a facilitation guide was drawn up, identifying efficient forms of making the methodology operational and achieving the practical implementation of the trials within the local context in African and Asian countries, in which the project's pilot activities are to be run.

As stated in the facilitation guide, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the national group of mediators identified at least three local communities. This selection process considered the principle national groups, with a strong focus on more vulnerable groups.

Three districts were chosen in Mozambique for the survey, each of which met pre-defined criteria which included:

- Even geographical distribution through the three regions of the country;
- Location close to, or far from, urban areas;
- The existence of any donor activity; and
- The existence of community radio stations.

With these factors in mind, the following districts were chosen for the national survey:

- **Dondo District**, in the province of Sofala, the country's central region, with an area of 2,306 km, and an estimated population of 160,000 inhabitants. The district's administrative capital is located close to a big city (Beira), and its characteristics range from semi-urban to rural. It has a Multimedia Community Centre, including a local radio station, which has been in operation since September 2002;
- **Monapo District**, in the province of Nampula, the country's Northern-most region, with an area of 3,598 km, and an estimated population of 245,414 inhabitants. Notable industrial activity has already been seen in the district's administrative capital. It has a Multimedia Community Centre (including a local radio station), which has been in operation since February 2007; and
- **Mandlakazi District**, in the province of Gaza, the country's Southern-most region, with an area of 3,748 km, and an estimated population of 172,573 inhabitants. It is essentially rural, with most of the population exercising agricultural activities. It has no local media.

In each of the districts included in the survey, the work consisted essentially of:

- Courtesy meetings between government and local government bodies and the national survey coordinator;
- Individual interviews with 30 people, using a questionnaire and conducted on the streets by local research assistants who had received prior training from the national survey coordinator;
- Group interviews with representatives from social community organisations and local leaders, conducted by the national survey coordinator; and
- Interviews with representatives from media bodies based locally and in the provincial capitals, and an analysis of some of the programmes produced, especially in the case of radio, giving communities a platform from which to examine and discuss questions affecting them, conducted by the national survey coordinator.

The Choice of Interviewees

The choice of people to be interviewed on an individual basis was made at random by the local research assistants (based on a count of houses or people on the move, in equal numbers, repetitively).

The aim was to cover the largest possible number of neighbourhoods within administrative capitals, which meant that it was necessary to pre-select the neighbourhoods and/or locations in each of the chosen districts where the surveys were carried out: three areas in one day and the other three the following day.

This method proved to be the most efficient with survey assistants travelling to the pre-selected locations. On the first day, the survey was conducted in peoples'

homes. On the second day, survey assistants were mobile, working in a neighbourhood with significant population fluctuation.

In households and locations that were characterised by a significant population fluctuation, a count was taken, between one and 13: The researchers interviewed whoever was in the 13th house or was the 13th person to pass by on the street where they had taken up their position. At the end of an interview, the count from one to thirteen began again.

Researchers interviewed people living in neighbourhoods with visible poverty or forming part of relatively marginalised groups within the community.

They conducted a substantial part of the individual interviews in local languages. This required a consensus to be reached at training sessions for local research assistants, regarding the most appropriate translation of some of the terms referred to in the questionnaires.

The criterion used for group interviews was to invite the highest possible number of representatives from social community organisations carrying out a recognised activity and local leaders (traditional, religious).

The Choice and Training of Research Assistants

In turn, the choice of research assistants was based on criteria such as:

- Previous experience working with some form of research;
- Knowledge of local culture and language;
- Experience working with the communities;
- Good communication skills; and
- Average level of education.

In each of the districts covered, a training session was held for local assistants, lasting on average four hours and including:

- An explanation of the general aims of the project;
- Reading and detailed explanation of each of the questions in the questionnaire;
- Uniformity of technical terms in the local languages;
- Means of conducting the survey (such as choosing interviewees, the need for open and frank contact with interviewees, not influencing responses, using language that is easy to understand and how to address interviewees);
- Pre-test (one per assistant), followed by an assessment of the difficulties encountered and the ways in which they were overcome.

The fact that the national research coordinator remained in each of the districts for only three days meant that he/she was unable to carry out a more wide-

reaching selection process for local research assistants, including: contacting various people; selecting the best candidates from a larger group of people based on their skills; having more time for training assistants; and carrying out a pre-test and an assessment thereof.

The national coordinators had to choose local research assistants chosen before the national survey coordinator arrived in each of the districts, with the support of people recommended to that end (coordinators of Community Multimedia Centres from Dondo and Monapo and the head of the technical team responsible for drawing up the Development Plan for the District of Mandlakazi).

It was helpful that the chosen local assistants demonstrated the capacity to learn fast and to adapt to the research goals.

2 Information Audit

Access to Radio

The three districts chosen for the survey all have access to some form of media. Two—Dondo and Monapo—have a local organisation, in this case a community radio. The other district—Mandlakaz—has no local organisation ().

In the three districts, radio was the preferred means of media access for citizens, for reasons including:

- The relatively low cost of radio equipment and the ease of acquiring them, even in the rural market (there are small radio sets available to purchase all over the country for 200 Meticaís (approximately eight U.S. Dollars);
- The ease of communicating through the use of locally-spoken languages (even in Mandlakazi, where people listen mostly to Rádio Moçambique, through the provincial broadcasters in Gaza and Maputo, offering programmes in the Changana language);
- The fact that issues linked to the life and culture of the communities are discussed, particularly by community radio stations (in the cases of Dondo and Monapo); and
- The possibility that communities have to participate directly in programmes, through telephone calls or via Short Message Service sent from mobile phones (for local radios, in Dondo and Monapo, and for provincial or national radio stations, in the case of the three districts).

In the cases of Dondo and Monapo, where community radio stations are in operation, the level of access to radio is relatively high—everyone interviewed in these districts said that, at some time, they had used a local community radio station as a source of information or entertainment (through entertainment spots, including music, competitions, dedications for friends and family).

This situation meant that a large part of the information obtained either from individual surveys or collective interviews, with regard to the work of the media and its impact on the life of communities, focused, in the specific cases of Dondo and Monapo, on an assessment of the impact of community radio.

In other words, in communities where community radio stations operate, it is already impossible to talk about the media without focusing on these stations.

In Mandlakazi, the main reference in terms of radio broadcasting is the provincial broadcaster of Rádio Moçambique in Gaza.

Access to Television

In general, community access to television is still relatively low in the three districts visited (less than ten percent penetration).

In spite of the fact that the three districts covered had a signal available from at least one national television station (in Dondo and Mandlakazi, TVM and STV are received, whereas in Monapo only TVM is received), the level of access to TV within the communities is still relatively low, for three main reasons:

- The high cost of televisions, which many low-income families cannot afford (the cheapest televisions in the three districts cost six thousand Meticais (approximately 250 U.S. Dollars), almost four times the national minimum wage;
- The fact that many homes are without electricity, especially outside cities and towns. The three districts covered are linked to the national energy grid, but only the administrative capitals are covered; and
- The poor signal quality in these districts does not allow the desired level of coverage throughout the territory. Monapo and Mandlakazi have a low capacity transmitter that transmits the signal for TVM. Dondo depends on transmitters based in Beira, some 30 kilometres away, while in the case of STV, Mandlakazi depends on the signal transmitted from Xai-Xai, almost 100 kilometres away.

However, all of the districts have public rooms where it is possible to watch television programmes or video sessions, projecting different films, though these rooms are not always accessible to everyone. In certain cases, users have to pay an entrance fee; in others, such as bars and restaurants, viewers have to eat or drink something in order to remain in the room. This means that the poorer sectors of society are unable to access these rooms.

Access to Newspapers

Access to newspapers is even lower in the districts visited, with the number of newspapers distributed in all three districts not surpassing 20 copies per day, mostly circulating in public institutions and large companies that are in a position to pay for a newspaper subscription. Of the people interviewed, three people

from Dondo, three from Mandlakazi and one from Monapo said that they regularly read a newspaper.

This situation arises, for the most part, from factors such as:

- Peoples' weak purchasing power (on average, the price of newspapers is over 15 Meticaís per copy, almost one percent of the minimum national wage or the cost of ten small bread rolls);
- The insufficient distribution of newspapers in the country by media companies. Of the three districts covered in the survey, only in the city of Dondo was it possible to find a newspaper stand that received 15 copies per day of *Diário de Moçambique*, published in Beira, a city located some 30 kilometres away. However, some public and private companies receive newspapers on a regular basis, by means of pre-paid subscriptions, particularly *Notícias*, the newspaper with the highest circulation in the country, published in Maputo;
- The high level of illiteracy;
- The fact that few people are in the habit of reading; and
- The failure to deal with issues related to the districts, which often means that readers from rural areas fail to identify with the content of newspapers.

One of the districts visited, Dondo, has a local publication, in the form of photocopies, published by the local city council, but geared more towards partners in cooperation than the actual towns. In Mandlakazi, Organização da Juventude Moçambicana (the Mozambican Youth Organisation) is preparing the technical and financial conditions required to launch a local newspaper, also in photocopied format. In time, it could in time also opt to produce a wall newspaper, to be posted in a part of the town that has a high flux of people.

Access to Other Forms of Information and Communication

Access to other forms of communication and information, such as the Internet, is still limited in the country, especially in the districts, for the following reasons:

- An inadequate network of connectivity to the system;
- Relatively high installation and communication costs (above all in locations where a telephone signal is still necessary); and
- A low level of popularisation and computer literacy in many communities.

Of those people questioned, only two people from Dondo, one from Monapo and no one from Mandlakazi said that they had used the Internet.

Of the districts visited, only the town of Monapo currently has two public places where citizens can have access to Internet services. There are no such public places in Dondo or Mandlakazi.

However, even in locations where there is publicly available Internet connectivity, Internet-cafes or community public telephone centres, available in Monapo, access is limited to people with money to pay for an Internet session, knowledge of computers, etc.

However, access to the Internet is rising in the country, thanks to the expansion of broadband services and *netmóvel* (mobile internet), provided by mobile telephone operators, both leading to falling Internet access costs. The three districts covered by the survey have access to the Internet through the mobile phone network.

In Dondo, where there is a pre-university school, leaders of grassroots organisations and the coordinator of community radio said that many students have travelled to the city of Beira to be able to browse the Web, whenever they needed to do so for their research.

Traditional Modes of Communication

Radio has therefore become the means of communication par excellence used by the majority of communities to access information and also for listening to music or entertainment programmes.

However, some communities continue to use traditional forms of communication and information, such as the oral transmission of messages directly from person to person, by telephone or in meetings of government bodies, social or religious organisations.

In Mandlakazi, which does not have a local radio station, the closest public broadcaster being almost 100 kilometres away, all of the people interviewed said that they use an interpersonal means of communication as their principle means of circulating messages,. In Monapo, this figure was 85 percent, and in Dondo, 60 percent.

In this district, the people interviewed said that they basically communicate with others on issues of local interest through:

- Personal contact or contact via mobile phones, including Short Message Service;
- Messages transmitted by community leaders;
- Messages transmitted by agricultural extension agents;
- Meetings held by grassroots organisations; and
- Meetings in churches.

These means minimise somewhat the impact of lack of proper media coverage specifically for the district.

The provincial broadcaster of Rádio Moçambique in Gaza has to cover various districts, and does not, therefore, have any incentive to cover this specific local form of communication.

The cultural diversity in the provinces of Mozambique; the different *modus vivendi* and development strategies of the districts calls for a more localised approach to issues of public interest.

However, the lack of local media is such that a district such as Mandlakazi must give prime importance to other means of communication.

However, interpersonal communication does not always pass between the broadcaster and the receiver, even under the best conditions.

For example, the governor of the district of Mandlakazi cited this scenario: He can pass a message to a community leader, relating to information that he wishes to transmit to the community. This leader, living far away from the administrative capital of the district, might be tired when he gets home. He passes the message on to his son, to transmit it to the pastor of the church, who, the following day, is going to say mass to a large congregation. The son, however, might have consumed an alcoholic drink and not be sufficiently lucid... The information transmitted by the governor of the district might not therefore reach the congregation of the church intact.

Almost two thirds of those interviewed in Mandlakazi said information transmitted from person to person does not always reach its destination (the final recipient of the message), but, being the only resource to hand, people continue to use it as well as they can.

Radio, a Privileged Medium

In addition to local broadcasts, reception of radio broadcasts from Beira and Nampula stations is now excellent in the districts of Dondo and Monapo. Nevertheless, surveys have shown that virtually 100 percent of listeners prefer to listen to their local community radio stations. Of these, however, 60 percent in Dondo and 75 percent in Monapo say they listen to Rádio Moçambique when it is time for the main news slots, 'Jornal da Manhã' and 'RM-Jornal', afternoon and evening editions.

The fact that local community radio tops the listeners' charts demonstrates the level of interest shown by the communities in having access to something that reflects their daily lives and preoccupations, and not just generic information streamed out of the provincial capital or Maputo.

Both in Dondo and Monapo, local community radio broadcasts include:

- Programmes with listener phone-in participation;

- Interviews from within the community;
- Programmes produced and presented by groups from the communities themselves, and that are aware of the worries and anxieties of members of those communities;
- Programmes made with the different community groups in mind, such as children and students, women, old people, rural workers; and
- Programmes that reflect the voice of the community, from the very young to very old, youth groups, women, people from different professional backgrounds, songs from local neighbourhood groups and churches.

The people of these districts (90 percent in Dondo and 75 percent in Monapo) say they like local community radio because they find their programmes are educational, informative and entertaining, and are presented under different formats (such as news bulletins, interviews, and debates with direct listener participation). They go on to say that they normally learn something when they listen to the radio. The focus of these radio programmes is the community itself, and it is worth highlighting that such communities feel they are well informed on their local situation, in addition to the fact that local radio stations also provide slots for national and international events (in the extended news editions transmitted both by CR Dondo and CR Monapo).

The general opinion (90 percent in Dondo and Monapo) is that radio programme schedules are, to a certain extent, adapted to the needs of the communities. However, 45 percent of those polled in Dondo and 75 percent in Monapo say that community stations in their districts need to increase their transmission time.

Both community radio stations carry out audience participation surveys on a regular basis: in Dondo, various systems for assessing the impact made by radio are employed, from telephone calls to letters and street polls; whereas in Monapo, impact surveys are mainly based on listener phone-ins during broadcasts, or by contacts made by programme producers within the communities when they visit to gather material for their programmes.

It is therefore believed that community radio stations in Dondo and Monapo now make a huge difference to the communities they serve, judging from the substantial amounts of information offered by community and religious leaders, as well as grassroots organisations in the two districts:

- They improve communication within the district. For example, information on various events can be announced over the radio;
- They help in finding lost items, by circulating information on various things such as meetings, births and deaths, missing goods and children who have disappeared, etc.;
- They help to save money, since it is no longer necessary to have to go all the way to the provincial capitals (almost 30 kilometres from Dondo and 120 from Monapo) just to place adverts on Rádio Moçambique;

- They increase neighbourhood pride because people are listening to their own community radio stations, produced by their own young people;
- They bring new ideas and technology into these areas, which in turn helps with local development; and
- They give employment to certain young people who previously had no useful contribution to make, by involving them as volunteers in the work of the radio stations.

In addition to all of this, and based on further information provided by the Dondo and Monapo community representatives during group interview sessions carried out for this survey, community radio above all else has a direct impact on the lives of certain community groups:

- They assist in opening up debate on the plight of people who are carriers of HIV, those living with HIV/AIDS, or who are otherwise marginalized;
- They allow the communities themselves to tackle matters linked to local development (for example, what public works should be carried out within given areas or at a given time);
- They help women in terms of their self-esteem;
- They stimulate students into dedicating more time to their studies;
- They allow children to learn new recreational pursuits;
- They help promote local culture, including songs, poems, etc.;
- They offer rural communities the possibility of becoming more familiar with new agricultural techniques;
- They allow people to stay longer at home, listening to recreational programmes in their leisure moments;
- They make a valuable contribution to civic education, as was the case in the mobilisation of people for the general census on population and housing, or the electoral roll; and
- They assist in the good governance of their various districts or municipalities, since the voice of the communities is heard by those who have the power to make decisions. This further stimulates communication between the public services and the communities they serve. People can, for example, use the radio to expose irregularities, which can result in less corruption.

Several of those interviewed in the different districts (25 percent in Dondo and 15 percent in Monapo) were even willing to state that, essentially, they have greater trust in their own radio stations than they do in public bodies such as the police or the various inspectorates appointed by government. For example, they say that, when they discover there is a problem in a given area such as misunderstandings in health centres, bribery over school places, underhand practices by municipal police demanding taxes in the marketplaces, etc., they prefer to raise the matter publicly over community radio, rather than approach the people who are supposed to be in charge of it all.

Likewise, community radio stations are seen as facilitating the work of good governance in the districts where they operate.

The mayor of Monapo, Daniel Hermínio Bento, said that community radio has helped spread the message of education in areas such as health or the municipalisation process, by assisting the work of municipal bodies.

The same opinion was expressed by the director of the Dondo district Education, Youth and Technology Service, Carlos Tembe, who said that community radio plays an important role in community development.

The communities demonstrate that they can tell who is in control of the media, especially public radio and television: 80 percent in Mandlakazi, 85 percent in Monapo and 97 percent in Dondo said it is the Government. This perception is even clearer amongst representatives of community bodies and grassroots organisations within the three districts who are much more precise in their definition: the State.

In Monapo (72 percent) and Dondo (95 percent) those interviewed believe that community radio belongs to the communities, although this is not always reflected in the financial, technical, human and even social sustainability of these radio stations. For example, from the standpoint of direct support from the communities, none of those taking part in group interviews in the two districts confirmed that they had ever directly supported the stations from a financial, material or technical point of view.

In Dondo, however, community and religious leaders and representatives of grassroots organisations confirmed in group interviews that they were aware communities participate in community radio through programme producers who volunteer, or through other forms of indirect support, such as:

- The purchase of vouchers for making dedications to friends and family over the radio;
- The placement of advertisements, which are paid for; and
- The use of air time by certain public bodies (such as town councils) and NGOs (programmes on HIV/AIDS, for example).

Furthermore, in the group interviews carried out both in Dondo and Monapo, the lack of local support structures was raised as a possible stumbling block to the future sustainability of the community radio stations.

Community radio stations are facing both financial (low income) and material difficulties such as lack of properly functioning tape-recorders, cassettes, disks or spare parts for studio and transmitter equipment, which in turn hinders full coverage of the districts in which they are located, according to information supplied by the community radio coordinators for Dondo and Monapo.

In the cases of Dondo and Monapo, both of which have community radio stations up and running, these were launched with the support of international bodies, deriving very little support from local institutions and organisations for their sustainability, according to the coordinators themselves.

In Dondo, the community radio station was set up with the support of the UNESCO/UNDP Media Development Project, managed by the Dondo Development Association (Associação para o Desenvolvimento do Dondo - ADEDO). In Monapo, the radio station forms an integral part of the CMC country-wide expansion programme, jointly carried out by UNESCO, UNDP and the Swiss Agency for Development Cooperation Agency, managed by the local Wathana association.

These radio stations no longer receive funds from their donors. Despite being managed by grassroots organisations, they have very low income levels, which means, for example, they have no funds to acquire equipment in the event of breakdowns.

The fact that the two community radio stations are run by mainly volunteer staff makes them vulnerable from the perspective of human resource stability. In Dondo there are only six employed staff, plus three fellow-workers who receive small stipends.

Media Content

From the content perspective, the Monapo and Dondo communities say that they feel largely at ease expressing their worries over the community radio station. There was unanimity among those taking part in group interviews in the two districts, compared to 55 percent in Monapo and 81 percent in Dondo among those interviewed individually.

This is reflected in the high demand by citizens for news media, whether in the districts where community radio stations exist or in provincial capitals where television and radio stations as well as newspapers are available (non-numerically quantified data supplied by representatives of the Diário de Moçambique in Beira, Rádio Moçambique in Beira and Nampula, and community radio stations in Dondo and Monapo).

Citizens put their questions to the news broadcasters either personally or through letters or phone calls, or even e-mails in the case of those who are able to use that route.

When questioned, the media-producers themselves, both from local radio and from public or private bodies, agree that there is sufficient openness to raise matters of public interest, which is generally not the case regarding pressures coming from the different powers involved.

In fact, there are differences in behaviour between community radio programme producers and professional journalists.

In Dondo and Monapo, the radio coordinators said that they rarely touched on political themes and did not undertake investigative journalism, giving priority to programmes of an educational nature and to information on social events occurring in the communities.

Whereas, at the *Diário de Moçambique* and Radio Moçambique (Beira and Nampula), those interviewed pointed out that they normally push matters to the limits, according to what the relevant editorial rules will allow.

Arune Valy, content editor for the Provincial Station of Radio Moçambique in Sofala, admitted for example that he would not hesitate in raising any issue, no matter what it was, provided it was of political interest.

He also added that government bodies and supporters often send requests for journalistic coverage of their activities, but RM does not always have staff available to respond to these requests, leaving it to the station's own editorial management to choose what deserves to be covered.

Meanwhile, he recognises that there is a detectable air of self-censorship, especially amongst the older members, mentioning that it is common for older journalists to avoid writing on certain issues that go against their own ideals or because they do not want to hurt people's feelings, far more than the younger ones "who aren't burdened with hang-ups from the past."

In the political arena, pressures are mainly linked to the need for editorial staff to respond to requests for coverage of party activities. When it comes to policing, a very popular area with journalists, there is a certain degree of pressure to ensure that certain information requested by journalists is not supplied, with the implication that its publication might influence the course of investigations.

The editors of both the *Diário de Moçambique* and Radio Moçambique in Beira asserted that they had no knowledge of possible financial pressures on journalists, nor of cases of advertising for a certain company being withdrawn following articles written about it.

The editors interviewed say that they make every effort to cover issues of public interest and to clearly distinguish information based on opinion, in order to allow the public to draw their own conclusions, without undue influence.

In the *Diário de Moçambique*, there is a daily page specifically dedicated to articles of public opinion.

Choice of content is essentially determined by the editorial policies of the news broadcasters, although editors such as those from Radio Moçambique and the *Diário de Moçambique* in Beira, recognise that, time after time, diary events such as talks or visits by government leaders or supporters, overshadow real happenings or events occurring within the communities or reports initiated by the editors themselves.

The community radio coordinators in Dondo and Monapo also reported the same situation.

In the case of community radio stations, two different types of approach can be seen—one for news slots and the other for educational programmes. In the news bulletins, the stations go much more for facts and events; something that is also influenced by requests for coverage from institutions or political parties.

In the case of educational programmes, one can detect an approach based far more on the initiative of the radio programme producers themselves, who claim to try and respond as far as possible to the issues that interest the communities involved at any given moment, for example seasonal illnesses, agricultural activity or the marketing of products, etc.

The influence of diary events on the routine of the media is even more of a concern in the case of relatively low-staffed editorial offices where it becomes more difficult to respond to all the requests made.

In terms of dealing with issues, the tendency, especially in the mass distribution media, is to choose issues that will “grab sales,” often to the detriment of themes linked to poverty.

Even so, the chief editor of the *Diário de Moçambique*, Artur Ricardo, related that, on odd occasions, his newspaper had produced some “good reports” on issues linked to poverty, on the life of disadvantaged district communities and on the country’s development, but that the paper’s financial situation prevented journalists from travelling as often as they should to gather information in rural areas.

In Sofala, there was an experiment between 2003 and 2005, where a project funded by the Austrian Cooperation Agency permitted funding for local media reporting teams to visit the districts in order to gather news material; something which, in the opinion of the chief editor of the *Diário de Moçambique* and the coordinator for CR Dondo, was both positive and productive. Similar initiatives, they said, would be very well received.

Gender in the Media

The approach to gender issues in the media is seen to be showing some improvement, especially on radio and television stations. For example, Júlia de

Brito Ramos, representative of the Instituto Nacional de Segurança Social (National Social Security Institute) in Monapo, and Ofélia Timóteo Mutombene, district secretary for the Organização da Mulher Moçambicana (Mozambican Women's Organisation) in Mandlakazi, said radio programmes dedicated to women are moving away from the previous situation where women were seen to be the ones to look after the home, prepare the food and do the cleaning, towards a position where women are seen as a part of society, with their own rights and responsibilities.

Nevertheless, 15 percent of women polled in Mandlakazi, 21 percent in Monapo, and 25 percent in Dondo, think that, especially in the case of television, an excessive commercial abuse of the image of woman is being made. In many cases, a woman is equated with facial beauty and a slim body, rather than with her ability to think and be productive.

Amongst news organisations, the inequalities between female and male journalists are even higher. There are editorial sections with only two or three women as opposed to 15 or more men. The situation is even more serious in the written press, as compared to radio or television.

At the *Diário de Moçambique*, there is only one woman journalist at the head office in Beira, and another in Quelimane acting as newspaper correspondent. At the provincial station of Radio Moçambique in Sofala, there are two women and six men employed in the news section, and seven women and 12 men in the programme section. At Dondo Community Radio there is only one woman among six permanent staff. Also in Monapo, there is only one woman on the team coordinating the CMC.

Among the volunteers at community radio stations, there is a greater tendency toward a much smaller take-up and a more rapid drop-out rate on the part of women, due to obstacles such as the attitude of fathers or husbands.

This situation is in contrast to what is happening in the districts generally, where the presence and role of women is gradually gaining ground, not only in the areas of governance and education but also amongst political parties.

While, generally speaking, it is the husbands who do paid work or manage small family businesses, women believe they are performing an increasingly important management role in the home. For example, the majority of those interviewed in the three districts—100 percent in Dondo and Mandlakazi, and 95 percent in Monapo—said that, despite men being the owners of radio sets in the home, women are the ones who listen most to the radio and all members of the family are free to decide whether or not they wish to turn it on.

The survey showed that while access to electricity is still limited to cities or the townships, almost all homes in the district have access to a battery-operated radio.

The situation was confirmed in group interviews with community and religious leaders and representatives from social organisations from the three districts: They said that only extremely poor families are unable to afford a radio at home.

Since radio is becoming an indispensable factor in the life of the majority of communities, the majority of those interviewed said that they make an effort whenever necessary to place the acquisition of batteries amongst the priorities in the family budget—85 percent in Monapo and Dondo; 70 percent in Mandlakazi.

This position was confirmed once again in group interviews with community and association leaders.

On average, a large-sized battery in many cities or districts costs between seven or ten *meticals*, equivalent to the price of 500 to 700 grams of rice.

Wind-up and solar-powered radios could be a cheaper option, without the need for batteries. However, such radios are largely unheard of in most communities, according to the surveys carried out—only one respondent in Dondo said he knew of the existence of this type of set; nobody knew about them in Monapo and Mandlakazi. Moreover, they are not available at the markets in even large cities, according to comments in group interviews.

In evaluating the situation of access to information, there are large differences in relation to districts such as Dondo and Monapo, where a community radio station exists and districts where it does not.

In Dondo, 28 out of 30 respondents, plus all the leaders taking part in group interviews, claimed to have sufficient information, including that about their own district, thanks to the various media, and this allows them to take decisions on matters of interest to both themselves and their community. They say they receive this information through the radio stations to which they have access.

In Monapo, 26 of the 30 interviewed, plus all the leaders taking part in group interviews, also said they have access to sufficient information, including that about their own district, radio also being the main means through which they receive this information.

Even in Mandlakazi, 18 of the 30 respondents, plus all the leaders taking part in group interviews, said that they have sufficient access to information. However, out of those 30, only five said they had sufficient information regarding what was happening in their own district.

In all three districts, surveys showed that journalists do not always provide a voice for vulnerable groups in their work, choosing to listen to their leaders more-60 percent in Mandlakazi, 45 percent in Monapo and 20 percent in Dondo.

However, two of those interviewed in Dondo, three in Monapo and three in Mandlakazi, all of them women, said they would not be capable of speaking in public, despite being given the opportunity to do so.

3. Communication Audit

In the communities, 80 percent of those asked in Mandlakazi and 100 per cent in Monapo and Dondo expressed the belief that work done by the media meets the concerns of the target population. The same view was held unanimously by community and religious leaders and grassroots organisations interviewed as a group in the three districts.

Where they exist (Dondo and Monapo), community radio stations especially, are structured in such a way as to offer people the opportunity to express their views publicly.

The communities themselves are represented on community radio stations by volunteers who form the majority of the radio programme producers. In Dondo and in Monapo, the people who produce radio programmes are students, teachers, unemployed people, people who are followers of the less common religions and people who live in different areas. This is a form of involvement by communities in radio work and helps make their voices heard through the radios.

In Dondo, the community radio coordinator said that new volunteers come into radio each year, benefiting from the training schemes which are run by the older radio producers. When the new ones appear to have received sufficient training, they then go on to join the editorial groups, where they jointly plan what subjects to tackle in the various programmes, gathering material, preparing texts, interviews, songs and sound effects and presenting programmes and broadcasting.

An average of 40 volunteers are currently working at CR Dondo, split up into nine editorial groups.

The volunteer training sessions, for old and new volunteers normally take place on Saturday mornings, the only time when all the programme producers come together, to discuss the past week's work, to plan the principal activities for the coming week and to talk about life in radio.

Monapo CR has an average of 30 volunteers working there.

In terms of public access, public radio and newspapers provide space for listener and reader opinions.

Examples of spaces specifically reserved for citizens in the media:

- Community reporter, at Dondo Community Radio;
- The voice for those who have no voice, at Radio Mozambique's Provincial Station in Sofala; and
- Readers' letters, in the newspaper *Diário de Moçambique*.

Apart from specific segments open to citizens, journalistic and educational sections in the media involve interviews with members of the public.

In view of this opening up of the media, a degree of public participation has occurred that editors at *Diário de Moçambique* and Radio Mozambique in Beira, and coordinators on community radio (Dondo and Monapo) find positive, both through letters from readers and through telephone calls and text messages sent from mobile phones to radio and television talk shows.

This participation by the public in the media occurs for different reasons:

- To express simple opinions about a subject under discussion;
- To suggest courses of action to take in various situations;
- To pose questions for which they would like explanations;
- To criticise situations which they find do not conform to established principles; and
- To send dedications to relatives or friends.

The coordinators of community radio in Dondo and Monapo, the editorial director of *Diário de Moçambique* and the head of content at Radio Mozambique's Provincial Station in Sofala say that sometimes the questions posed by the public in the media prove their worth later, in the form of reports or debates, and both media representatives and members of the public—represented by community and religious leaders, and grassroots organisations—believe that many subjects have been brought up for which solutions have later been found, on behalf of both public and private bodies.

This shows that the different authorities (public, economic, etc.) pay attention to things that come up in the media, in an attempt to avoid repetition of the criticism in the relevant sectors. This is evidenced by examples cited by the head of content at Radio Mozambique in Beira and by the coordinators of community radio stations in Dondo and Monapo, that, following their presentation in the media, result in outcomes including:

- Construction of a boarding-house in the main town in the district of Muanza, after work carried out by Community Radio;
- Improvement in community policing and, consequently, in public safety in Dondo through the work of Community Radio;

- Evacuation of areas liable to flooding along the river Púnguè in the Dondo district, after the radio station raised awareness of the issue, which consequently saved lives at the height of the floods in 2007; and
- Opening of new bore holes for the supply of water in Monapo.

The community leaders interviewed as a group in Dondo corroborated information about the changes above.

However, the way subjects are approached, principally on local radio, needs to be improved from the journalistic angle.

Some of those interviewed as a group in Dondo and Monapo referred to situations such as a lack of command of the languages used by the programme producers on the radio stations and a lack of depth in the way subjects are approached.

The coordinators of the community radio stations in Dondo and Monapo and the head of content at Radio Mozambique in Beira shared this opinion, and say that this is partly due to the lack of opportunities to improve their education, especially in the area of journalistic production.

With regard to the question of a command of local languages used by community radio stations, the coordinators of Dondo and Monapo community radios think that the problem may be due the fact that the languages are evolving, so that among young people especially, these languages are losing their purity.

The courses or seminars in which community radio programme producers take part are normally of short duration and without follow-up. As a result it is rarely the case that a person who has attended one training session gets the chance to attend another, at a more advanced level.

The coordinators of the Dondo and Monapo radio stations say that study bursaries for longer periods could be a viable option to improve the quality of work on the stations, together with on-site training which could entail lower costs for a greater number of beneficiaries. A journalist with experience in a certain area or a studio technician could be hired for a month and remain at a community radio station, training local personnel.

The people in charge of community radio stations in Dondo and Monapo also spoke of the relative silence on the part the National Community Radio Forum (FORCOM), a body they think should be the voice of community radio, the link joining them and the partners and donors together.

More dynamic action by FORCOM and greater interaction between this forum and its members could be of benefit to community radio stations.

The unanimous view of the community and religious leaders and grassroots organisations interviewed in the three districts was that, in addition to the traditional media, communities have other methods of disseminating information, discussion of ideas and projects and decision-making in matters of local interest. For example:

- Meetings promoted in the communities by community leaders or administrative or government bodies;
- Meetings in churches;
- Meetings promoted by non-governmental or grassroots organisations;
- Meetings promoted by political parties and;
- Meetings promoted in schools.

Among those asked, 90 per cent in Mandlakazi, 75 per cent in Monapo and 60 per cent in Dondo said that they had had an opportunity to take part, at least once, in this type of meeting, meetings in churches being the most common.

Those citizens interviewed say that the level of participation in meetings has normally been high, and that people increasingly make use of speeches to state their opinions and ideas.

However, the community leaders interviewed in Monapo, Dondo and Mandlakazi say that at this type of meeting men speak more than women. The opinion is different among religious leaders in Dondo and Mandlakazi, who think that in meetings in churches it is women who are heard more.

4. Communication for Empowerment: What Is the Situation?

From the work carried out in the three districts selected, it appears that the media have a considerable impact on the empowerment of communities.

The impact is greater in Dondo and Monapo where community radio is integrated into Community Multimedia Centres, when compared with the situation in a district like Mandlakazi which barely has access to the media based in the provincial or national capital.

Moreover, 97 per cent of those asked in Dondo, 90 per cent in Monapo and 75 per cent in Mandlakazi believe that the community radio stations and the Provincial Stations of Radio Mozambique in Sofala, Nampula and Gaza are giving them the attention they deserve).

Confidence in the media is relatively high so that 75 per cent in Monapo and Dondo and 60 per cent in Mandlakazi said, in some cases, they do not believe what they hear if it has not yet been dealt with on radio or television stations or in newspapers.

Non-governmental organisations exist which sometimes encourage the production of programmes of interest to vulnerable groups, especially on the Provincial Station of Radio Mozambique in Sofala and on Dondo Community Radio. The support includes payment of antenna space, travel costs for the producers of radio programmes to areas where they can collect journalistic material, providing brochures and other documentation which may serve as a basis for journalists in their work.

5. Ways Forward

Judging by the information gathered during research in the field, the population continues to use traditional methods of communication and information, especially in Mandlakazi, where access to the media is only possible from the provincial capital, Gaza.

In this district, messages of interest to the community, such as public health campaigns, improved agricultural techniques, political or religious activities, non-governmental organisation or grassroots programmes, as well as those of interest to families such as deaths and births, continue to be passed on largely by communication methods such as:

- Inter-personal contact;
- Contacts via the telephone in towns, especially via the mobile network, which is being expanded in the country;
- Meetings with community leaders;
- Meetings in churches; and
- Dissemination by way of posters and other written materials (such as on bulletin boards).

However, in districts such as Dondo and Monapo, where community radio stations are already in operation, it was clear that both the communities and the government bodies or different organisations are making increasing use of these radio stations, according to the coordinators of these community radio stations and the government bodies, community and association leaders interviewed.

For example, the representative of the National Social Security Institute in Monapo mentioned that when radio came on the air in the district it became easier, through the use of radio announcements, to let all the beneficiaries of pensions know when the payment periods would be.

Radios are used both for placing paid advertisements, and for running educational or news programmes in the information slots on community radio stations.

In Mandlakazi, it was evident that the lack of a local radio station constituted a difficulty both in terms of communication between the communities themselves

and of governance, according to the district administrator, in spite of the use of traditional means of communication.

The use of information media, especially public radio, via the provincial station based in the capital of the province, covers more interests than just those specific to the districts, since the range of coverage of these media is much wider.

In view of the situation reported in the country, and the comparisons between the communities which have access to a local radio station (Dondo and Monapo) and those which do not (Mandlakazi), the mobilisation of financial and material resources which, with the involvement of the communities themselves, enables the:

- Setting up community radio stations in districts of the country where they do not already exist;
- Financing of the repositioning of technical equipment in local radios already in operation;
- Design and financing of training programmes for producers of radio programmes in community radio stations already in operation, so that they are increasingly capable of carrying out their work, responding more completely to the concerns of the communities in which they are located; and
- Provision of institutional support to the National Community Radio Forum (FORCOM), so that this not-for-profit body can carry out its role increasingly effectively as a representative of community radio stations and as the supreme voice of community radio stations with co-operating partners and other institutions.

In terms of the situation on the ground, and bearing in mind the need to make the constitutionally enshrined right of citizens' access to information available to all, especially to the classes of vulnerable and economically disadvantaged populations, it is suggested that the following actions be adopted:

- The mobilisation of resources which enable centres to be established in the different communities for collective television viewing and radio listening, to be set up in grassroots organisations and in religious communities, women's and youth groups, principally for the benefit of the most economically disadvantaged communities. Doing so will require the purchase of televisions, solar-powered or wind-up radio sets, to avoid the expense of buying batteries or paying for electricity;
- The mobilisation of local bodies with newspaper subscriptions, in order to create mechanisms which enable these newspapers to be accessed by a greater number of people, in particular through the availability of these newspapers in places with public access, such as libraries or the main offices of grassroots organisations, or by attaching them to bulletin boards located in busy places such as markets, schools, etc), where they can be read by anyone who is interested.

It is also suggested that regular meetings should be encouraged at the community level, as an opportunity for citizens to discuss subjects of local interest publicly and to get increasingly involved in “participatory governance.”

For this kind of debate the radio listening or television viewing centres could be used, where communities could discuss, in an organised way, matters which relate to their lives, the district and the country in general.

To enable a broader approach to subjects which affect the whole country to some extent and which concern communities in economically disadvantaged rural areas, it is suggested that funds be mobilised to enable, through suitable programmes, the funding of journalists’ travel to districts and places, to gather material for dissemination in the media.

6. Integrating Information and Communication Audits Into National Processes: How and When?

Mozambique is a country where the mass media have experienced a boom in recent years, which, as a consequence, has increased citizens’ access to information.

In the Area of Community Radio Stations

The existence of at least 57 community radio stations which currently cover almost half of the 128 districts of the country has made access to information by citizens even greater.

However, apart from simple access to information, community radio stations have allowed citizens to have the chance to participate in deciding about what subjects are to be addressed, contributing to the approach and participating, as programme producers, in the gathering, treatment and dissemination of content.

However, especially for community-based media which must be encouraged and supported, some challenges remain for the future, principally sustainability.

The level of sustainability varies from radio station to radio station and from one community to another, depending on factors such as location, the dynamic of the relevant managers, the sense of belonging with regard to local structures and organisations, and the degree of involvement.

The question of sustainability of local radio stations has a number of dimensions:

- Financial sustainability;
- Technical sustainability;
- Social sustainability; and
- Institutional sustainability.

With regard to **financial sustainability**, the possibility of self-financing community radio stations does not seem feasible in the near future. Sources of finance have to be guaranteed from different sources, such as the state, institutions and local economic actors, contributions from the community, external donors, partners in commercial radio and profit-making activities. The National Community Radio Forum (FORCOM) could play an important role in motivating this process.

Technical sustainability, which largely depends on financial sustainability, is, to some degree, also affected by the lack of qualified human resources to ensure the operation, content production and maintenance of the infrastructure, equipment and systems.

In terms of **social sustainability**, an additional effort must be made in the preparation and mobilisation of the communities included, enabling the creation of a basis for a deep sense of belonging and long participation in these communities.

Regarding **institutional sustainability**, actions must be developed to improve the institutional environment, that is, to ensure that legislation and relevant policies are more appropriate for the operation and expansion of community radio stations. The institutional maturity level of the radio stations themselves, the promotion of internal democracy, the participation of communities in decision-making and management processes, content development, programming, monitoring and assessment, all these must be ensured, creating appropriate, stable and democratic structures for management and supervision.

Other Forms of Mass Media

Radio Mozambique, a national public broadcasting station with a network of stations in all the provincial capitals, broadcasting in the principal languages spoken in each province, has extremely comprehensive news coverage, according to those surveyed.

It seems necessary for actions to be developed that allow provincial stations to have the means to gather more information at district level.

The same situation applies in relation to public television and the written press.

As the editorial director of the *Diário de Moçambique* said, the districts have stories which could lead to interesting reporting and could be taken up by media audiences or readers. Simply put, information media, as a rule, do not have the means at their disposal (particularly financial) to enable them to mobilise their reporting teams to visit the districts and travel to different localities.

7. Final Observations

Three pilot audits were carried out in three districts in the south, centre and north of Mozambique, which aimed to identify the information and the communication needs of especially vulnerable and marginalised communities. The objective of this study was to assess the degree to which these information and communication needs were met, to identify the information and communication channels through which people received information in which they had confidence and finally to assess in what way information and communication needs not being met currently could be met in the future.

A number of traditional and interpersonal communication forms were identified as being in use and important within one of the communities within the three pilot locations that did not have a community radio station, but these were not necessarily seen as satisfying all of the information and communication needs of the district.

The central region's daily newspaper demonstrated both clear interest in, and positive experience of, coverage of issues of importance to rural, vulnerable and marginalised audiences, which make important news stories of interest available to the whole readership, and thus makes both good editorial and business sense to the newspaper's management. However, a continuation of this was not possible due to the paper's inability to meet the travel-related costs to cover issues outside of the provincial capital. At the same time, print media were not among the priority information and communication channels cited in any of the three audit locations.

The focus of this study has been radio as a communication channel. The national public broadcaster plays a central role here, with its overall Portuguese language national service and its provincial delegations presenting provincial news and programmes in local languages. However, due to economic weaknesses, the coverage of the national public broadcaster was found to be inadequate and often did not extend, as hoped, to all the parts of the population.

Community radio has received the majority of attention in this study and is increasingly garnering interest due to its proven ability and—in two of the three pilot locations—its history of providing both relevant local information and providing communities with a voice and space to meet for debates on issues of importance in the immediate surroundings. This very clear and evocatively uniform orientation may be explained by the unique history of community radio in Mozambique presented in the introductory chapter of this study; in particular the country's history of open media legislation. As a result, the number of community radio stations and multimedia centres have grown from just one in 1994, to almost 60 community radio stations on air in Mozambique, covering almost half of the country today.

This study provides evidence of the need for strong, organised support of community radio stations. In particular the need for a clear and specific legal

framework, support for their wider dissemination, as well as the need for a national support framework in order to secure the various sustainability aspects.

Furthermore the study documents the need to find ways of ensuring that the national public broadcaster has the needed and desired reach. While community ownership of community radio stations is a principal strength, this approach can also, under special circumstances, represent a weakness. The national public broadcaster, while public in the true sense of this word, is a needed complement with its professional, national and provincial view of life, to community radio's undoubted community focus and rationale.

“Radio in the Street”

Through its provincial stations, Radio Mozambique has been developing radio programmes which enable the public station to get closer to its listeners, particularly in the districts.

It concerns a regular programme entitled “Radio in the Street”, produced live in different communities, which means, on the one hand, that citizens living in areas far from the big cities have an opportunity to broadcast opinions which are heard both in their own communities and in others and, moreover, they learn how a radio broadcast is put together.

Through this programme, Radio Mozambique broadcasters and journalists travel to places, with their equipment, to produce interactive, live broadcasts in different communities.

During broadcasts, the communities participate with cultural groups, which present songs or theatre pieces with different themes; they conduct interviews and debates, in which people speak about subjects such as governance, HIV/AIDS, the fight against corruption, and the way public institutions function, amongst other things.

They hold competitions and distribute prizes to the winners. People get to know their favourite broadcasters and journalists.

In places where communication by telephone is possible, programmes are transmitted live, while in areas without this facility, programmes are recorded and broadcast later.

“Radio in the Street” (*“Rádio na Rua”*) has been a real hit in the communities!

The Battery, a Product of Basic Necessity!

In modern societies, the need for information is increasing, even in communities with scant resources.

In the interviews carried during this study, one issue was all-important: many families who use radio as the primary source of information and for entertainment, consider batteries to be a basic necessity. The battery, which powers radios, has become as important to families as food, clothing or things for school...

This means that in many families without access to electricity and with low resources, the purchase of batteries is part of the monthly budget. However, batteries are not purchased when funds are lacking...

Annexes

... that document all sources of research and data to be added