

A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF MOZAMBICAN NEWSPAPERS' COVERAGE  
OF THE 2004 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

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This study focuses on the amount of coverage given by four major tabloid newspapers-*Demos*, *Zambeze*, *Savana* and *Domingo*-to the candidates of the major political parties Renamo and Frelimo, during the 2004 presidential race. The number of stories of both parties in those newspapers were counted and calculated by chi-square to determine how much one party was covered than the other identifying signs of balance or bias.

The research showed that there was a significant result of 42 percent of likelihood that stories in the four newspapers would either be about Frelimo or Renamo. However, the study also revealed that Frelimo was the party covered most often by *Demos*, *Zambeze* and *Savana* while Renamo was covered most often by *Domingo*.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

In June 2002, the Central Committee of Mozambique's ruling party, the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (Frelimo) chose Armando Guebuza for the post of secretary general. It was already known to the public, based on the party rules, that he was the presidential candidate in the 2004 general elections (AIM, 2002).

In 2003 Mozambique held its second municipal election. Prior to the elections, newspapers were predicting Frelimo's victory. When the main opposition party, the National Resistance of Mozambique (Renamo), won elections in five of the most populous districts, it was a surprise to the newspapers as well as to the government and new candidate. The districts where the party won were Beira, Nacala, Angoche, Ilha de Mocambique and Mucimboa da Praia, (Hanlon & Nuvunga, 2004).

Many factors had indicated that the government, and by extension the newspapers, were grooming Guebuza to take over the leadership of the country after outgoing President Joaquim Chissano had announced he would step down when his term expired. He served eight years after the death of President Samora Machel, who was killed in a plane crash in 1986, and two more consecutive terms of five years each. Reports on the national television channel, Television of Mozambique (TVM), for instance, constantly called Armando Guebuza "Mr. President," during its news shows. Newspapers and the media in general portrayed Frelimo's candidate as a man of good moral values and standing.

In 2004, municipalities governed by Renamo supporters were the most successful in terms of social infrastructure, health care, education and job opportunities.

However, mainstream newspapers ignored those municipalities by not reporting at all on the good efforts done by their mayors. Even though in the 28 municipalities in which Frelimo won, poverty had increased considerably, newspapers were making an effort to show the government's good side thereby hiding the truth "why newspapers don't report issues concerning other political parties rather than Frelimo. TVM is clearly doing Frelimo's campaign with our money," said a listener who intervened in the debate by telephone without identifying himself. (Direct Line, 2004).

Taking public opinion polls remains unpopular in Mozambique. There are, however, a few articles, books, and government reports as well as reports from the High Council of Social Communication (CSCS, an institution created by the government with the responsibility to regulate the media in Mozambique) that explain what people think on various issues of national importance. Most of those reports are not based on surveys but on interviews and focus groups.

Since most officials who have come up with these reports are most of the time Frelimo supporters or are appointed by the government, the results of the reports cannot stand the test of objectivity. An article titled "Is Corruption Report Being Deliberately Delayed?" published by Mozambique Information Agency (AIM) states that "a report on research into perceptions of corruption in Mozambique has not yet been published. The Friday edition of the independent weekly *Savana* alleges that orders have been given to hold it back until after the general elections of 1-2 December."

A study by Emideo Machiana found out that most newspapers conduct their own surveys; however, none of those surveys was published, nor is it easy to gain access to the results of those studies (Machiana, 2002). Meanwhile, a poll done by the Instituto

Superior Politecnico Universitario (ISPU) released in October 2004 indicated that Frelimo's candidate Armando Guebuza, would win the 2004 presidential election by 72 percent of votes, while the Renamo candidate, Afonso Dhlakama was expected to get 23 percent, and the other independent candidates would share the remaining 4.2 percent of the votes (United States Information Agency, 1997). This study was conducted in all electoral areas; however, in some places the survey team interviewed 100 people while in other areas the survey team contacted 300 people. Finally, there were areas where the survey team reached 500 people from a population sample of 11,000 voters. Furthermore, the margin of error was 1.5 percent with 95 percent accuracy (Mediafax, 2004). After the election, Frelimo's candidate won with 63.74 percent of the votes; Renamo's candidate lost with 31.74 percent of the votes. The election was plagued by what observers called irregularities (*Domingo, 2004*).

Again, Machiana found that "During September 2002, when Renamo held a national demonstration protesting the alleged manipulation of the electoral results by the ruling party; the government called the demonstrations illegal and ordered a crackdown by the police. The resulting confrontation was violent; people were killed while others were injured, and more than 200 Renamo supporters were arrested. A week later, more than 100 of the supporters who had been arrested and died by suffocation in a jail in the Montepuez district," (Machiana, 2002).

Surprisingly, the mainstream newspapers came out in support of the government, which may be tantamount to sanctioning the death of the innocent, the hopeless and the downtrodden. The newspapers had moved from their watchdog role to

that of being a propaganda machine. Barreto<sup>1</sup>, who was questioned in an interview by Machiana, said that newspapers “only put people talking against Renamo in their news.” According to Barreto, the fact that supported this argument happened during TVM news show, where people from the Renamo side were explaining the incident; suddenly TVM seemed to have a sound problem and ended the interview prematurely. (Machiana, 2000). Based on facts presented above, this thesis argues that:

According to the European Union report, it is well known by the public in Mozambique that media try always to manipulate their opinion in favour of the government: “The EU EOM findings do not contradict the common impression. *Zambeze* is an independent paper that is showing a plurality of political views, even critical towards the president. However, Frelimo received about 41 percent and Renamo-UE some 25 percent,” (EU, 2003). During the monitored period *Savana* covered Frelimo with about 42 percent and Renamo with about 35 percent, both mainly in a positive way. *Demos* and *O País* showed a trend similar to that one of the other monitored periodicals with the greatest amount of space dedicated to the ruling party and the executive (EU, 2003), but journalists and the government deny this, claiming that “currently, newspaper, radio, and TV stations collect, edit, and report items of their choice, without any interference from the government. They regularly criticize and denounce institutional abuses, corruption, and ill-planned official development projects” (United States Information Agency, 1997).

Prior to the 2004 presidential election, the Mozambican newscast TVM only broadcast information concerning the ruling political party. For example, the 2002

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<sup>1</sup> Sofia Barbeta, 22, has a bachelor’s degree in Marketing & Advertisement, and is now working as a manager to DHL on the northern and center regions of the country. She lives in Beira.

Frelimo convention was fully broadcast by TVM, while the opposition convention was not. Moreover, 2004 Frelimo presidential candidate Armando Guebuza had a full-time journalist with him covering all his campaign rallies, while the opposition candidate Afonso Dhlakama had none.

This study intended to identify the topics covered by Mozambican newspapers during the 2004 presidential election. It is the hope of this study to provide a rare analysis of Mozambican newspapers coverage of a presidential election. Many books about war in Mozambique can be found; however, books about newspapers coverage of elections are very few.

Newspaper coverage of an election in a democracy requires depth, detail and balance. When biased information is published by newspapers, the electorate can not make informed decisions (Hofstetter, 1976). This study is important because it provides insight into how Mozambican newspapers cover elections. The purpose of this thesis was to shed light on the quality of four Mozambican newspapers' coverage of the 2004 presidential election.

The 2004 election was crucial for Mozambicans because, for the first time in 30 years of independence, the opposition party had a chance of governing the country. In December 1999 it won 117 out of 250 seats in parliament and in November 2003 won five of 33 municipalities being able to govern in five towns.

The study employed content analysis, a quantitative research method "defined as the systematic, objective quantitative analysis of message characteristics" (Neuendorf, 2002). The study involves "theoretical sampling" of four weekly major newspapers, *Savana*, *Zambeze*, *Jornal Domingo* and *Demos*, by focusing on the last month before

the election when the official election campaign was announced, October 13, 2004, to the election day November 29, 2004. Following are descriptions of the newspapers analyzed in this study.

### Newspapers Used in the Study

#### *Demos*

It is a tabloid newspaper edited in blue borders with black and white photos, and gray and black headlines. It has 20 pages and is published on Wednesdays. Like all other newspapers *Demos* is sold at the price of 15 thousand meticaís (15,000), which would be 60 cents in U.S currency. *Demos* usually has a big headline with a big photo without caption on its front page and two or three boxes with small head-lines without photos, and advertisements on the bottom of the same page. Pages two to page seven carry stories that mirror the society in general, but sometimes the pages are dedicated to politics and political events.

Pages 8 and 9 carry international stories, but this also changes from edition to edition as sometimes the international section comes at the end of the newspaper. Pages 10 and 11 are called the “center.” Page 12 is the society section again, or it can be political page. Page 13 is letters section. For instance, the *Demos* dated from November 3, 2004 did not have this section. (See Appendix A) Pages 14 and 15 are the opinion section. This page usually doesn’t have any photos except of the reporters. In page 16 the society section is back again, sometimes but can be interchanged with either culture or politics. Page 17 it is the culture section without photos. Pages 18 and 19 are sports. These pages are the most consistent in content. The back page carries

the editorial and other stories. However, on October 13 there was no editorial. One particular aspect in this newspaper is the absence of photos. Some editions have only the photo on the first page and the reporters' photos on the opinion pages. In the edition with photos, there are no captions, making it difficult to identify the content of the photos. In addition, the quality of the photographs is very poor.



Figure 1. Sample front page from *Demos*.



## Zambeze

It is a tabloid newspaper edited in strong red borders, with black and white photos, and gray and black head-line inside of the newspaper. It has 32 pages and is published on Thursdays. The newspaper usually has on its first page one big photograph without captions and a big headline, two or three boxes with small headlines without photos, and two or three boxes with advertisements. The next four pages feature highlights from the front page; most of those stories had photographs in black and white color with caps. The five next pages are the opinion section. The editorial is usually located on the page seven on the right side. Pages 11, 15, 21 and 22 are the advertisements section. Pages 12, 13, and 14 are the national section. Pages 16 and 17 are the middle pages called “the big documentary,” usually here there are controversial issues investigated by the newspaper. Page 18 is the sports section. The paper has also a “peoples page” located on page 20. Page 23 is the international section. Pages 24 and 24 are the economy section. Pages 26 and 27 are more advertising, but with bigger images. Page 28 is the diverse section, while pages 30 and 31 are the cultural section. The last page; usually has a photo not related with the article. Most of the articles in this newspaper have photographs without captions. Moreover, in some editions the captions in the newspaper are marked as “wwwwww.”



Figure 2. Sample front page from Zambeze.

### Savana

It is a tabloid newspaper edited in strong green borders, with black and white photos, and gray and black head-line inside of the newspaper. *Savana* also has cartoon *Savana* (moron), and the other called *Nhoca Jr* which is a cartoon on corruption in the

country. The newspaper is published on Friday. On the first page, the newspaper usually has one headline, three or four boxes with photographs; sometimes one big photograph. All are without captions; however, each photograph has small headlines on top. At the bottom of the page, there are two or three boxes with headlines without photos and one big box with advertisements. Pages 2 to 5 carry the week's events. The opinion section is pages 6 through 9. Pages 10, 11, 15, 21, 24, 27 through 31 are advertisement. The nation section runs from page 12 to page 14. Pages 16 and 17 are the center of the newspaper and usually have an investigative story. The sports section is found on pages 18 and 19. Page 20 is the section called Africa, while pages 22 and 23 are the world section. The Sacana and Nhoca Jr. supplements occupy pages 25 and 26. Pages 30 and 31 are the culture section; the last page is the back cover, and it has a photograph normally without captions called *imagem da semana* meaning the week image. In addition, it has a gossip column called *a hora do fecho*.



*Em resposta aos suecos:*

## Ngoenha contradiz-se: “Auditoria construtiva e pouco profissional”

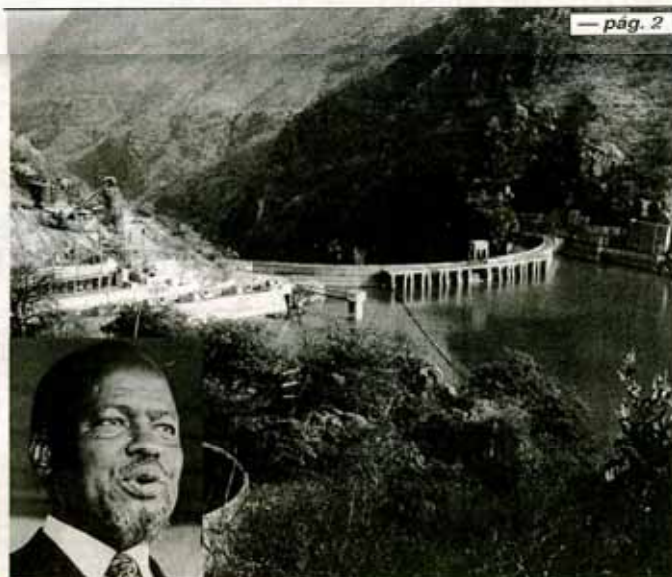
— pág. 2

*Sobre dossier Cahora Bassa*

## Santana Lopes finta Chissano em Nova Iorque

**Guebuza e  
 Dhlakama  
 em  
 campanha  
 “fora da lei”**

— pág. 4



— pág. 2

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Figure 3. Sample front page of Savana.

### Domingo

It is a tabloid newspaper edited in strong red borders, with black and white photos, and gray and black headlines inside of the newspaper. It has 32 pages, and sometimes has a small supplement called *Njingiritane*, which means kids. *Domingo* is published on Sunday (in Portuguese, the word for Sunday is Domingo). This newspaper is the Sunday version of *Noticias*. The newspaper introduced six months ago on its first page, very large (stretched by computer) photographs without captions, and big headlines in black, no boxes, small headlines, or advertisements on the cover page. From page 2 to page 7 is the highlights section, which has stories that are not on the cover page. The opinion section runs from page 8 to 9. Pages 10, 11, 14, 20, 21, 24, 26, and 30 are the advertisements. The economic section are pages 12 and 13. Page 15 is the culture section. Pages 16 and 17 are the central part of the newspaper and usually has an article commenting on the government and the ruling party. Pages 18 and 19 are the society section. The sports section is pages 22 and 23. Page 27 has a column called “to spread,” which is usually about something weird. Page 31 features a column titled “weekend,” and the back cover is the BULA-BULA column.

Some unusual features of this newspaper are the editorials, which sometimes can be half page long, and the fact that some of the columnists are not journalists, but politicians from the ruling political party Frelimo.

The newspapers in Mozambique rarely have a political section. Reporters often put themselves in the story, and sometimes uses the first person.

All four newspapers also did not use captions for their photos. The following are examples of the newspapers that the study examined:

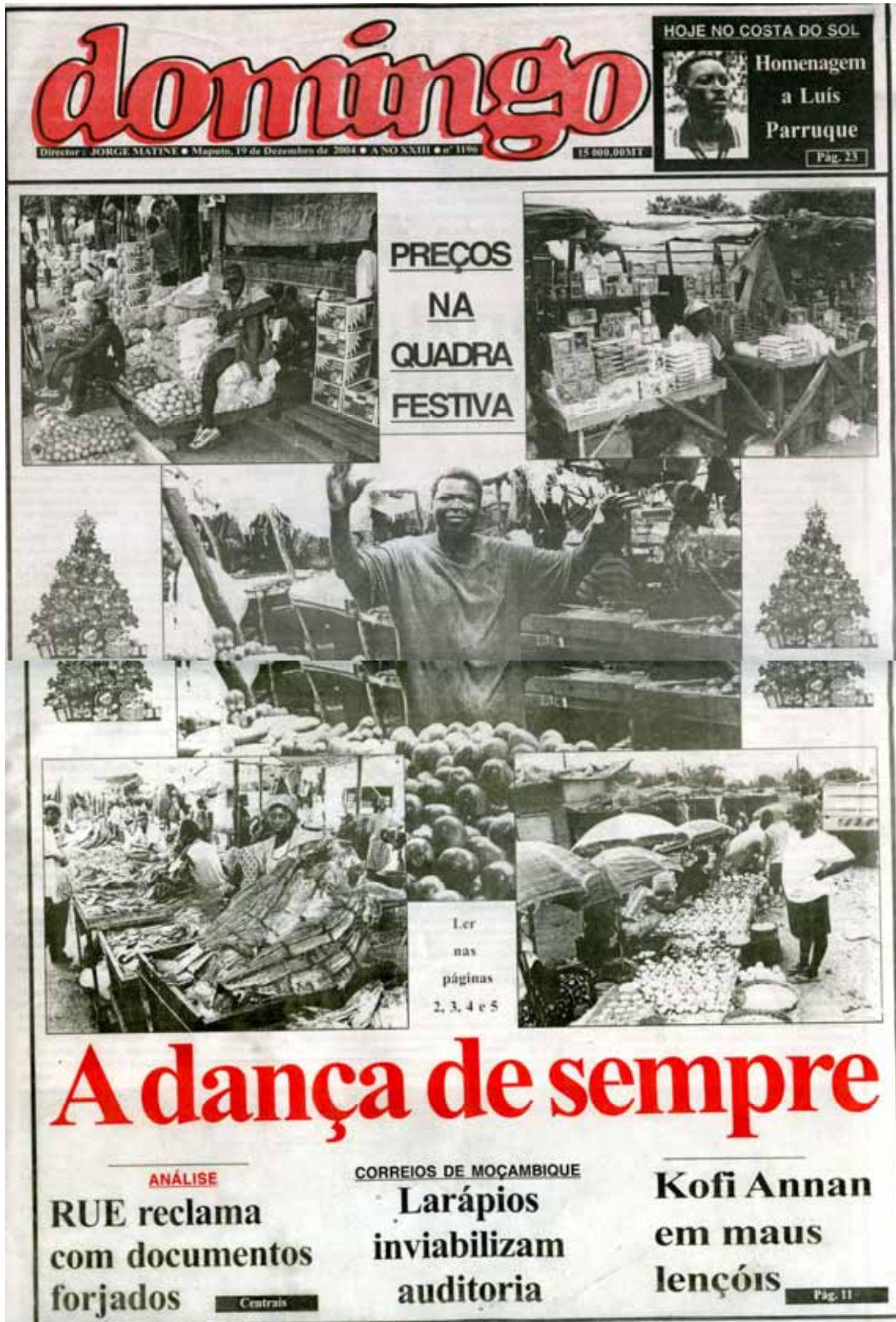


Figure 4. Sample front page of Domingo.

## Weekly Circulation of the Newspapers

The following table describes circulation and publishing data, as well as the newspapers' names and topics covered by those weeklies newspapers.

Table 1

*Circulation and Publishing Data from Analyzed Weekly Newspapers*

Newspaper	Kind	Day Published	Owner	Topics	Circulation*
<i>Demos</i>	Tabloid	Wednesday	Cassiano Ginaby	Politics Society Culture Sports	5,000
<i>Zambeze</i>	Tabloid	Thursday	Salomao Moyana	Politics Society Culture Economy Sports	10,000
<i>Savana</i>	Tabloid	Friday	MediaCoop company	Politics Society Culture Economy Sports	15,000
<i>Domingo</i>	Tabloid	Sunday	Government	Politics Society Culture Sports	9,000

\* This number may vary according to the circumstances

## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### Mozambique

An African-Portuguese speaking country, Mozambique is located in Sub-Saharan Africa, surrounded by Tanzania to the north, by Zambia, Malawi and Zimbabwe to the east, by the Indian Ocean to the west, and by the Swaziland and South Africa to the south. In November 2004, the country went through its third democratic election<sup>2</sup> since the Peace Agreement of 1990, in Rome between the two major Mozambican political parties, Frelimo (Front of Liberation of Mozambique) and Renamo (National Resistance of Mozambique). The agreement was achieved after 16 years of civil war, which resulted in the deaths of almost 3 million people. The country's population now stands at 19.4 million, of whom 53.6 percent are illiterate (National Institute of Statistics, 2005). The illiteracy numbers notwithstanding, there are indications that the citizens understand the political and socio-economic situation in the country as shown by the results of the elections within the municipalities. Since 1975, Frelimo has been governing the country. During that time, the government of Frelimo has had only two presidents, Samora Moises Machel (killed in 1986 in a plane crash) and Joaquim Alberto Chissano. Chissano served the country for 18 years.

#### Media in Mozambique

The history of journalism in Africa begins prior to colonization. "Journalism in sub-Saharan Africa is rooted in both colonialism and in traditional African

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<sup>2</sup> After the 1994 and 1999 elections, Renamo claimed fraud and that it had won. The government denied those accusations.



communication” (De Beer & Merrill, 2004). African populations, in spite of their vast linguistic and cultural variety, have been communicating with each other in broad, multiple manners for an extended time, (Hachten, 1971). For example, the figurative Adinkra and ideographic manuscripts of the Ashanti of Ghana and Cote d’Ivoire, the ideograms at the imperial tomb of the kings of Danhome, the particular Ge’ez writing of Ethiopia, and the Nuda organizations of ideographs and hieroglyphics, as well as other systems of peoples of sub-Saharan Africa were the knowledge repositories of the continent (Ibelema, Land, Eko & Steyn, 2003). “African traditional forms are, *prima facie*, forms for communication, and they are suffused in and through both the practices and the content of the mass media of black Africa” (Bourgault, 1995). Previous to the beginning of contemporary journalism, collective interactions in Africa were happening in many conventional shapes with an assortment of resources, along with the conversations, the play of drums, totem dowels, creative grave marks, consecrated and worldly art, nomadic bards, enlightening people, and chatting below trees, took place everywhere, frank views and differences of opinion were respected, (De Beer & Merrill, 2004). In fact, for modern communications researchers, the utter collection and mixture of human or interpersonal communication on that vast continent presents an immense challenge, (Hachten, 1971). However, this changed with the arrival of colonialism. The colonial government organized complex and private procedures to guarantee that the settlers working for the European governments out in the city state subsisted separately from the population they governed both socially and economically, (Bourgault, 1995).

From the colonial era three types of journalism with an extremely different background appeared in Africa: the Anglo-American, the French, and the Portuguese.

The first stage of colonial journalism in Africa was in general prepared to supply the requests and welfare of the imposing government and European colonizers, (De Beer & Merrill, 2004). The British had a free press and the French expected the countries to import French literature. Meanwhile, a different type of the press developed, this one distinguished by certain strict polities, which was present in two circumstances in Africa. One such has from the Portuguese African countries of Angola and Mozambique that were under severe censorship control. The other is the particular condition of Ethiopia and Liberia, the two long-independent African countries which received few of the helpful profits that accumulated in French and British Africa, (Hachten, 1971). The imprint of these models on the contemporary African journalism is very evident, (De Beer & Merrill, 2004). In the French colonies, for instance, the publishing of local newspapers, by either Africans or Europeans was greatly discouraged. The colonial administration imposed exorbitant taxes on imported materials and equipment to produce newspapers in the Africans colonies. However, the importation of French newspapers and all other foreign literature materials was encouraged, (Wilcox, 1975). The Portuguese colonies were different from the others. In the Portuguese colonies every newspaper had to be presented to the government for pre-publication editing, and the proprietors had to be in good standings with the colonial authorities to be permitted to print, (De Beer & Merrill, 2004). On the other hand, in British West Africa, predominantly in Ghana and Nigeria, it was commonly assumed that the British embraced a more tolerant policy toward the press. Indigenous newspapers frequently were encouraged, and sometimes articles disapproving a strict press policy were published, (Wilcox, 1975). The Portuguese were perhaps the first to view sub-Saharan

Africa as an economic opportunity. The Portuguese launched the African slave trade in the 15<sup>th</sup> century (De Beer & Merrill, 2004). Portugal consequently conquered: Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau, Cape Verde, and Sao Tome and Principe (De Beer & Merrill, 2004). The flux of information in those countries was extremely restricted by the colonialists throughout the glory days of colonial rule; the Portuguese government ruled with an iron fist, maintaining strict control over information that circulated inside and outside of these countries, imposing severe censorship (De Beer & Merrill, 2004).

The level of criticism of government by the newspapers allowed in the Portuguese African countries was in fact extremely modest. None of them were represented newspapers. (Ainslie, 1966). Even though the press in the countries under Portuguese administration by private colonial owned, they were also part and parcel of the colonial governmental machinery because newspapers benefited from the colonial regime's support and financial assistance (De Beer & Merrill, 2004).

Since the liberation war against Portuguese colonialism (1964-1975) the Mozambican revolutionary press, basically made up of small newspapers and radio broadcasts from neighboring countries because of the fear of being caught and sent to jail by the colonial administration, to promote social transition from colonial era to the socialist system, by broadcasting and publishing the military and political interests of the Frelimo party. Moreover, the media were a powerful weapon for the government during the liberation war. After independence, the Mozambican mass communication sector inherited the colonial government Radio Mozambique, *Tempo Magazine*, and two newspapers: *Notícias*, which was published in Maputo, the capital of Mozambique, and

*Diário de Moçambique*, published in Beira, in the central a city in the central part of Mozambique (Mogekwu & Namburete, 2000).

Throughout the colonial regime, the media was run by the Portuguese. However, media such as *O Brado Africano*, a newspaper operating since 1918 was founded by the association Africana de Lourenco Marques and was credible among both white and black people (Ainslie, 1966). After the war, most native Portuguese left the country, which then did not have enough qualified journalists (Mogekwu & Namburete, 2000). "The newly independent one-party governments were hostile to media or publications they could not control. Even the small African papers that led the fight against colonialism became enemies of the new class that ruled Africa," (Hachten, 1993). It was necessary then to find an alternative to assure the continuity of the media.

The difficulties to establish variable and independent press in most African countries are numerous and challenging, are poor economic conditions for the newspapers, illiteracy, poor infrastructures, and the general a lack of professional journalistic standards, (Faringer, 1991). Although after independence in Mozambique there were a few trained journalists, the majority were not trained because of the lack of journalism programs and schools (Mogekwu & Namburete, 2000). In addition, prior to independence, Portuguese censorship was so rigid that by the end of 1965, almost all reliable popular voices had been silenced, (Ainslie, 1966). In order to consolidate the new regime, the government introduced reforms in the mass media sector by creating the Mozambican Information Agency (AIM) with the specific purpose of informing the international community news from the Government perspective. In addition, the government created the National Institute of Cinema (INC), with objective of promoting

education and entertainment through film. Moreover, the government introduced the Social Communication Institute (ICS), the Television of Mozambique (TVM), and the weekly newspaper *Domingo* in 1981, with the purpose of promoting the production of culture (Mogekwu & Namburete, 2000). The Marxist period of Mozambique lasted 11 years, from 1975-1986; it ended up with the death of Machel. At that time Mozambique was mired in a civil war that ended in 1990 with a peace agreement in Rome between Frelimo and Renamo. In the same year the “UN seminar in Windhoek declared the need to create, maintain and promote an independent and pluralist press as a fundamental factor for the development and maintenance of democracy in African countries as well as for economic development,” (Mazula, 2004). This event changed the media situation in Mozambique by creating an opportunity for journalists to launch their own media organizations, which led to private and diverse media organizations. Newspapers were welcome by the public who were impressed by the articles challenging the government and the ruling party Frelimo. Immediately, newspapers become a powerful mass communication vehicle. Despite the high rate of illiteracy, Mozambican people are well informed of the contents published by the newspapers because there is always somebody, either a friend or a family member, who can read the content for those who are illiterate (Mytton, 1983).

“The very definition of a free press implies the principle that the mass media have a crucial task as a watchdog, as the fourth estate, as a marketplace of ideas, and as a means for the public to know--being an impartial and objective link between the authorities and the public” (Faringer, 1991). The seminar also defined independent press and pluralism: “by independent press was understood that which was

independent of the government control – political or economic control, control of the materials essential for the production and distributions of newspapers, magazines and other periodicals,” (Mazula, 2004). Furthermore, “by pluralism it was understood the end of monopolies of any kind and the existence of the greatest possible number of papers and magazines, reflecting the broadest spectrum of opinions in the community” (Mazula, 2004). The assumption was that the use of mass media in development deserves great importance because of the media’s powerful impact and its ability to endorse positive transformation in the society, if established cautiously in harmony with the necessities of the public (Faringer, 1991).

In 1991, when the new Mozambican constitution was approved, the government of Frelimo officially abandoned control of the mass media. As a result, new newspapers and radios stations emerged. It was in this context which the “Mediacoop,” a cooperative of independent journalists was founded by former government workers and journalists, and started releasing its own publications. In 1992, it started *Mediafax*, a daily newspaper in facsimile, and in 1994 it started the weekly newspaper *Savana* (Mogekwu & Namburete, 2000). The newspaper sector has registered a huge growth from fewer than five newspaper organizations before 1990 to more than 50 after the liberalization of the mass media, but the number must be understood in context because most of the publications are located in Maputo; only a few reach rural areas, and the central and northern part of the country (Mogekwu & Namburete, 2000). In 2002, Mozambique had “230 media operating in the country. Among them were 26 newspapers, 16 magazines, 10 TV stations operating in association with the state-run Televisao de Mocambique (TVM), and 43 radio stations (Ibelema et al., 2003).”

Mogekwu & Namburete (2000), state that of 52 mass media press vehicles mentioned in their study, 44, or about 85 percent are published only in Portuguese; five or fewer than 10 percent, are published in English, and only three, or fewer than five percent are published in Portuguese and one or more local languages. Since only about 40 percent (World Almanac, 2002) of the population is literate in Portuguese (National Institute of Statistic, 2005), this means that more than half of the population cannot access the information in the newspapers.

#### Coverage of Politics by Mozambican Newspapers

To examine newspapers in African countries one should also consider the political systems that govern the people. How democratic a country is can be measured by the way its media works (Splichal & Wasko, 1993). Ibelema, Land, Eko & Steyn (2003) state that “in general, however, South Africa stands out as an example of a country that went through a peaceful transition from an apartheid government to a full democracy after its 1994 general elections,” (De Beer & Merrill, 2004). Hamilton and Krimsky (1998) state the collapse of socialism offered hope for democracy, but by itself the collapse of the Iron Curtain did not represent necessarily the advancement of a more autonomous press system, (Dennis & Snyder, 1998). “Democratic communications are the basis of any democratic culture and political system, or ‘general democracy’; however, a democratic environment is also necessary for democratization of communication themselves” (Splichal & Wasko, 1993).

In Mozambique, for instance, although it seems like “print and broadcast media operate in the country with little government interference the news media face other

threats. An investigative journalist, Carlos Cardoso, was murdered in 2000, and there have been subsequent threats against newspapers,” (Ibelema et al., 2003). The fear of the government often leads media to report only that which supports the government or praises the government’s actions. Since the media and government claim to operate a predominantly democratic way, it is assumed that the press operates “without any kind of interference from the government” (United States Information Agency, 1997). This leads then to the question, “are Mozambican newspapers scared of reporting the truth?” As Splichal & Wasko(1993) state, “the democratization of communication means the media being able to dismantle the main sources of distorted communication,” (Splichal & Wasko), but it seems that is not what is happening in Mozambique.

Indeed, what constitutes democracy? Aristotle states that “the underlying principle of democracy is freedom, and it is customary to say that only in democracies do men have a share in freedom, for that is what every democracy makes its aim.” According to Aristotle, two main aspects of freedom can be highlighted: 1) being ruled and ruling in turn, since everyone is equal according to number, not merit, and 2) to be able to live as one pleases” (Aristotle, 2005). Aristotle also states that “Justice as understood in democracy is equality, but this considers only part of what is just; the same is true of the notion of justice in oligarchy” (Aristotle, 2005).

Mozambican newspapers frequently call themselves democratic, independent, and free of censorship, but this is not what is usually recognized by the public. If in a democratic country people have power as Aristotle says, “the system of government of a city-state is the arrangement of its various institutions, especially those having authority, in a democracy, the people (*demos*) have authority, (Aristotle, 2005) why then



do the newspapers in Mozambique reflect the opposite (instead of reporting the truth they try to protect the government)? It is common practice for journalists to give prominence to news that supports Frelimo or the government. For example, in the *Mediafax* edition of October 19, 2004, the writer of the article titled "Election Campaign" starts his story by giving four paragraphs of details supporting Frelimo, then gives three paragraphs to the Party of Democracy and Development (PDD), three paragraphs to the Party of Islam of Mozambique (PIMO) and the two paragraphs to Renamo. Frequently, journalists report the entire speeches of members of Frelimo without even giving one line to the opposition. Furthermore, in stories with photos, it is common to see the opposition candidate ridiculed by being portrayed in small and flatters positions, while the government candidate is well portrayed in big and impressive photos. To illustrate, *Domingo's* edition of December 26, 2004, cover show Frelimo's candidate, Armando Guebuza, is amplified by a computerized photo, which makes him look bigger. On the other hand, Renamo's candidate, Afonso Dlhakama, was diminished by computerized photo, which makes him look less imposing.

A study conducted in May 2004 by the High Council of Social Communication (CSCS) revealed during the 2004 municipal elections in Xai-Xai, the capital of the province of Gaza, the amount of coverage in broadcast media indicated that Frelimo got 46.2 percent of the coverage, the independent candidates 30.7 percent, and Renamo-UE 23.1 percent. The report also states that regarding a TV programs, Frelimo appeared six times more than Renamo-UE (CSCS official report, 2004). There is no mention of the independent candidates appearances in TV shows.

The same report examined five newspapers; *Diário De Moçambique*, *Diário De Notícias*, *Notícias*, *Domingo* and *Savana*, and observed aspects concerning:

- Treatment of the sources and stakeholders
- Treatment of titles, subtitles and pictures
- Treatment of articles in the opinion section

It concluded that there was a balance in the coverage of information among newspapers operating in Xai-Xai. According to the report, that balance was based on the fact that the weekly newspaper (*Diário de Moçambique*) gave 77 cm<sup>2</sup> of columns without pictures to Frelimo and 23cm<sup>2</sup> without pictures for Renamo- UE. For this study it would appear that there was a lack of balance because in total Frelimo got 62.6 percent, Renamo 26.0 percent and the independent candidates only 11 percent. The other case that proves imbalance, according to the report, is the weekly newspaper *Diário de Notícias*, which gave 35 cm<sup>2</sup> of its news space without photos to Frelimo and 65 cm<sup>2</sup> also without photos to Renamo-UE, giving Renamo-UE 40.6 percent, the independent candidates 35.6 percent, and Frelimo 23.8 percent. In this case, Frelimo got less coverage than both Renamo and the independent candidates. This example shows the lack of balance mentioned above. The same report stated that *Notícias*, the only daily newspaper with mass circulation, gave Frelimo 658.74 cm<sup>2</sup> of coverage excluding photos, while Renamo got 238.2 cm<sup>2</sup> of coverage excluding photos. The independent candidates got 103.06 cm<sup>2</sup> of coverage, putting Frelimo ahead. As the only daily newspaper, extensive coverage in *Noticias* makes it possible for a party or politicians belonging to such parties more attention. In addition, the same report indicated that the weekly *Domingo* gave 157.47cm<sup>2</sup> of its newspaper space and 100 percent of its photos to Frelimo, but Renamo got only 240.12 cm<sup>2</sup>, and 140.59 cm<sup>2</sup> for

the independents candidates. The coverage of Renamo and the independent candidates had no photos.

Frelimo got 29.3 percent while Renamo got 44.7 percent and the independent candidate with 26 percent. That is not true because 1) Frelimo had 100 percent of photos, they are news, too 2) if we sum up the stories and the photos, Frelimo was given much more attention than Renamo and the independent candidates. Therefore, there is a contradiction in the report in this line.

The last newspaper analyzed was the independent weekly *Savana*. According to the report, the newspaper totally ignored the election by failing to write even a single story related to the elections. Instead, it reported extensively on the ongoing agriculture campaign. Although this report had considered the election balanced and fair, the evidence showed that Frelimo was given more coverage by most newspapers compared to other opposition parties and candidates. The government asserts that the CSCS is an Institution which only regulates the media (United States Information Agency, 1997). It seems, however, that the report was misinterpreted and published with comments that contradict the statistics. Another limitation of the report is that it does not mention the methodology that was used to get the information.

A final report of the 2003 municipal election done by European Union observers in Mozambique stated that: “Concerning the print media, it is public opinion that *Notícias*, its Sunday edition *Domingo* and *Diário de Moçambique* reflect the views of the ruling party, although they are considered publicly owned” (EU, 2003). The EU EOM findings do not contradict the common impression. *Notícias* revealed biased coverage in favour of the ruling party, even though some critical coverage was recorded against

Frelimo and the government, but *Domingo* appeared slightly different from the description given by a monitoring operation carried out during 1999 elections: “the weekly Newspaper *Domingo* was the *most biased* of all media in Mozambique” (emphases mine). Unlike the other two newspapers that reflected the views of Frelimo, the privately-owned *Diário de Moçambique* even displayed some critical tone toward the president on news unrelated to the elections. Among the private weeklies, *Zambeze* is an independent paper that is showing a plurality of political views, even critical toward the president. However, Frelimo received about 41percent and Renamo some 25 percent of the coverage given to the political parties. The weekly *Savana* belongs to the private company *Mediacoop*, a cooperative of journalists established in 1992 by Salomao Moyana, Fernando Lima, Gil Lurenciano, Antonio Gumende, Naita Ussene and Carlos Cardoso. (Fauvet & Mosse, 2003). Five years later, in 1997 Carlos Cardoso founded *Metical* (now called *Vertical*), a faxed daily newspaper that investigated financial issues, including fraud, corruption and money laundering. Carlos Cardoso was murdered on November 22, 2000.

During the monitored period *Savana* gave Frelimo 42percent of its coverage and gave Renamo 35percent of its coverage, in both cases, the tone of the coverage was positive. The other monitored weeklies, *Demos* and *O País* showed a trend similar to that one of the other monitored periodicals with the greatest amount of space dedicated to the ruling party and the executive. (EU, 2003).

### The Relevance of the Study

This study is important because it may provide information regarding bias of newspapers coverage of political events and parties in Mozambique. An analysis of political coverage by the newspapers during the months that preceded the municipal election, revealed that these newspapers supported the Frelimo agenda. Indeed, the

media did not conduct any polls to suggest public support for either Frelimo or Renamo. Furthermore, the press did little to indicate the extent to which Renamo was supported by the electorate. However, Renamo won the election in the five most populated Mozambican districts, unlike what had happened in the past 30 years, when Frelimo had won by a landslide in all areas.

In 2003, according to Julieta Langa, president of the High Council of Social Communication (CSCS), only after Frelimo had lost the municipal election, the newspapers realized that they had lost public credibility because of the slanted coverage (Langa, 2004). Although the newspapers were in favour of Frelimo, people voted for Renamo, ignoring what was reported in the newspapers in regard to opposition political parties, especially in the five districts. The press then started to act differently, some reporting exclusively on issues regarding Renamo, while others reported issues regarding Frelimo, but others ignored the elections completely (Langa, 2004). The behaviour the newspaper leads to one question: Are Mozambican newspapers biased?

Newspapers claim that there is enough press freedom. "Mozambicans are free to create both print and electronic media. As a result, today Mozambique's media mosaic has been enriched with the birth of its private sector"(United States Information Agency, 1997). Currently, "the number of private media is growing fast; in the last six years ten newspapers, four radio stations and one TV station- all private- were created, against the existing and long-standing one TV and one radio station belonging to the public and sector, funded by the government" (United States Information Agency, 1997). According to the same newspaper organizations "the freedom to create new media organizations

goes with the freedom of the journalists to write without limits imposed by the state. Because of its growing influence on public opinion, the media in Mozambique calls itself "the Fourth Power, "the Watchdog" and "Anti-Power" (United States Information Agency, 1997). Although Mozambican newspapers consider themselves free from the government and have the freedom to set their own agenda and cover all events that they consider relevant most of the time, newspapers seem to be biased when they have to cover a political party other than Frelimo. The government defends itself by arguing that "the government of Mozambique shares the desires of Mozambican journalists to build a strong, professional and competent press. We do not view ourselves as adversaries, but as partners for economic and social development and national reconciliation. We believe that the press has a great role to play in the infusion of family and moral values, patriotism and the creation of a solid and united Mozambique nation" (United States Information Agency, 1997). If this is true, why then do the newspapers produce surveys and not publish them? "I have noticed that some of the newspapers' institutions have their own public opinion surveys, but they were not published and are not easy to access" (Machiana, 2002).

Elections in a democratic process require depth, detail and balanced coverage. When biased information is broadcast by newspapers, people can't make informed decisions (Hofstetter, 1976). Are newspapers being manipulated by the government without being aware of it? Anfonso Dhlakama, president of Renamo, argues that "Political power is putting pressure on civil society manipulating it, not allowing it to grow, in deliberate way, so that they can control its opinion, as a strategy for perpetuating their own ... power (Mazula, 2004). " The government, on the other hand,

says that Mozambique now enjoys freedom; newspapers must be responsible for writing freely and objectively, even if that means criticizing and condemning the government misconduct because that freedom is assured by constitution” (United States Information Agency, 1997). Macuane & Baloi explain that “at several moments, journalists have been in the vanguard of social criticism, at times when intellectuals of the academic world, for various reasons, avoid playing their inherently critical role. But journalism in particular and the media in general, are not free from criticism” (Mazula, 2004). Yet, according to Macuene & Baloi there is “segmentation among the media in the way in which information is presented. That is, information reaches citizens in a fragmented way, since each of the newspapers tends to express the position of certain social groups to the detriment of the others” (Mazula, 2004).

David Broder in the book *Behind the Front Page: A Candid Look How News is Made* shows that the impartiality journalists always claim to have when they are reporting an event, does not exist; most of the time journalists have their own bias, and this is reflected in the information which they cover. Macuene & Baloi claim that “a solid training in journalism itself and in other sciences which provide instruments for the journalists,” would solve the problem (Macuene & Baloi, 2004). Broder, on the other hand, says that even with very well trained journalists, bias and partisanship are found when it comes to reporting political stories. According to him, a section of the media has allowed itself to be profoundly manipulated by politicians, and this has negatively affected the whole media (Broder, 1987). Hofstetter, on the other hand, observes that usually “bias as distortion occurs when the impact of a news account is affected by unjustifiable omissions of significant facts; underemphasizes or overemphasis of certain

aspects of an event; or suppression or exaggeration of parts that fit together to make a whole story (Hofstetter, 1976). Mindich likewise argues that “objectivity and nonpartisanship are so closely linked that they are often confused. But they are different... true objectivity as goal is not attainable, but nonpartisanship, in so far as it is defined as keeping personal political preferences (if a reporter has any) out of news stories, is quite possible” (Mindich, 1998). Contrarily, what most of the time can be seen in Mozambican newspapers is a reporter defending the government candidate by portraying him as the good one, while the opposition candidate is portrayed as the bad one. Namburete<sup>3</sup> (2004) explains that “a further aspect which also compromises the investigative journalism, although one less mentioned in the media circles, is the question of corruption inside the media (Mazula, 2004).

It is increasingly common for some journalists to accept bribes, eliminate evidence, and cancel the publication of articles, not because they fear lawsuits or reprisals, but in exchange for rewards that range from sums of money to trips – many other acts that cry out for a code of conduct for journalists” (Mazula, 2004). Similarly Broder illustrates that “increasingly, ethical issues, such as conflict of interests, ...are addressed in newsrooms across the country,” this led newspapers in the United States to create their own conduct code (Broder, 1987).

In Radio Mozambique program concerning the role of media in the 2004 presidential election, conducted on a Saturday morning titled “Direct Line,” a journalist strongly criticized the behaviour of some of the journalists who were on the debate panel. That journalist, who refused to mention her name, accused Tomas Viera Mario,

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a senior journalist of TVM, ( Television of Mozambique) and a participant of the panel, of being a member of a group of journalists who receive money to distort information in favour of the ruling party Frelimo (Linha Directa, 2004). Viera Mario, who could not argue with the journalist, was also accused of being a member of the same political party (Linha Directa, 2004). During the same debate, one of the members of the panel claimed that it is an African principle to accept gifts, and that does not necessarily corrupt or compromises a journalist (Linha Directa, 2004). The possible relationship among culture and press leads to clear research questions with regard to media coverage of the 2004 presidential election:

1. How did the four weekly newspapers cover the election?
2. What was the extent of that coverage?
3. How balanced was the coverage?
4. What were the most widely covered stories?

## CHAPTER 3

### METHODOLOGY

The main goal of this study was to find out if newspapers were biased in the 2004 presidential election. Also it tried to seek answers as to which newspapers covered the election since according to previous researches; some newspapers totally ignored the election.

Content analysis was the primary research method for this study. The study examined four Mozambican weekly newspapers *Demos*, *Zambeze*, *Savana* and *Domingo*. Three of them are independent newspapers and is a government- supported newspaper. The study selected a sample of newspapers that best represented the population since they are the largest newspapers in Mozambique.

The study examined a seven-week sample of the newspapers from October 13 to November 28. The sample covered a period of three days prior to the beginning of the elections campaigns on October 16 to Sunday, November 28, a week before the election days on December 1 and 2.

The unit of analysis was purposive because the study selected newspapers with large circulations, and some are pro government while others are not. All pages were because in stories related to the election covered appear anywhere in the paper.

Coding sheets were used for the item, examined for type of story. If it was an election story, the story was coded by the number and types of sources, and whether the story was pro Frelimo or pro Renamo party.

In order to calculate the frequencies of the newspapers, a chi-square measurement was done. This scale was intended to find out how many items refer to

one political party rather than the other. From the seven newspapers issues examined the study was able to reveal what was the measure association by determining the relationship among newspapers coverage and political parties.

Intercoder reliability is tested in many different ways. However, for this study a technique that allows two coders to test the process was applied: The results show that there was an agreement between the coders. The interpretation used was the  $R^2$  “a measure of the amount of a variability in one variable that is explained by the other, (Field, 2000)” The  $R^2 = (0.643)^2 = 0.413$ . By multiplying this value by 100 the result is 41.3 percent. Although the correlation reported a result of only for 41.3 percent, it leaves the 58.6 percent of the variability to be accounted by others variables. The 41.3 percent of variability doesn't necessarily cause this variation because there is an implied agreement provided by the correlation sampling, which is acceptable.

#### Definition of Terms

RENAMO-UE – National Resistance of Mozambique-Electoral Union

FRELIMO – Front of Liberation of Mozambique

CNE – National Election Council

CSCS – High Council of Social Communication

CEDE – Center for Studies in Democracy and Development and the national election observer

Anfoso Dlankama – President of Renamo

Armando Guebuza – General Secretary of Frelimo and President of Mozambique

Joaquim Chissano – President of Frelimo and Former President of Mozambique

Samora Machel – Deceased President of Mozambique, Killed in the Plain Crush in 1986

Salomao Moyane – Owner of Zambeze and Former Editor of Savana

ECA – School of Communications and Arts

UEM - University Eduardo Mondlane

DEMOS – Tabloid newspaper published on Wednesday

ZAMBEZE – Tabloid newspaper published on Thursday

SAVANA – Tabloid newspaper published on Friday

DOMINGO – The Sunday newspaper version of Noticias

NOTICIAS – The daily Mozambican newspaper with major circulation

FAX DAILY NEWSPAPERS – Newspapers print on fax

BULA-BULA – The column of the Domingo with fabricates information

### Coding Procedures

The idea was to select basic coding categories, but since Mozambican newspapers don't have a very streamlined structure, it was difficult to locate the information needed. For example, *Demos* in its edition of October 13, 2004, did not have any editorial. *Savana*, for instance, in its edition of October 15, 2004, in its sports section had one political story. *Domingo* usually has a column called "Bula-bula" (Chatting ) which is disguised as "unserious piece" but sometimes had serious political opinions and analysis. Although initially the study had defined the categories for the coding process, it was necessary to add more categories so that the information targeted would be found. The study found that there is lack of structure in the Mozambican newspapers, which constituted a challenge for content analysis. It was not, though, the intention of the study to analyze the newspapers' structure and organization; however, during the research this turned out to be one of the biggest problems of the study.

The coders looked for items referred to Renamo and Frelimo. They then coded the item as either a photo, story, heads, sub-heads, commentary, and editorial. The pages where the coders were supposed to observe in search for Renamo and Frelimo stories were political section, editorial, readers' letters, opinion and the cover. However, when, coding the newspapers, it was perceived that these pages alone would not be able to display the information needed because the newspapers did not have a consistent structure. Therefore, according to each newspaper, new categories were added and the newspaper had to be scrutinized from the beginning to the end. The shared items were added and counted as a category for both political parties. *Savana* had some photos in which the candidates appeared in the same photo. For this case a new category had to be opened: shared photos.

In addition to that, both *Savana* and *Zambeze* had cartoons, a total of five for both newspapers. Therefore, the cartoons were coded and counted as photos because they were not enough for a separate category. The entire newspaper was to be examined for images of Renamo or Frelimo. That consisted in looking for photos of candidates and identifying photos of each political party crowd. It was not easy to code photos because most of photos did not have captions; therefore, even though the coders were Portuguese native speakers, they had to be told who was the candidate and members in the photos. To identify each party crowd, the coders were required to pay close attention to the photos of the candidates, symbols, names, and the design in the cars, t-shirts, flags of each political party. This process did not always work because sometimes it was extremely difficulty to identify the parties in the photos.

Some photos, apart from having captions, were so damaged that it was difficult to recognize the political party symbol on them. For example, *Demos* in its edition of November 3, 2004, on the political section the article in the bottom, has two photos. One photo can be identified as from Renamo. The quality of the other photo is very bad, making it extremely difficult to identify the party image represented. An idea of identifying photos based on the title and the article story was suggested by one of the coders; however, it was found too late and impracticable because in some of the articles, there were no discernible relationship between the photos and heads, or between photos and the article. For example, *Savana* in its edition of October 15, 2004, page 8 opinion section called “no informal,” which means “informal,” has as head of article “imagemaniacos e ninfomanicas numa mesa de bilhares,” meaning “maniac image and nymphomaniacs on a Pool table.” The head doesn’t have anything to do with article. Moreover, the article does not describe the photo. Finally, people in the bottom left photo are members of Frelimo photographed during one meeting in an unidentified place.

The coders had to look at how many stories about Renamo and Frelimo that particular newspaper had. Stories about each one of those political parties were counted as favorable to the party named. In some cases there were stories in which the political party was extremely criticized; those also were still counted as in favor of the political party mentioned. In the category-shared stories, the coders had to look for stories in which both political parties were mentioned. At the end those stories were counted as neutral and consequently they represent the balanced ones. Some of those were criticizing the parties; some were endorsing the good efforts done by the parties.

Whether they were criticizing or endorsing the goods in those parties, as long as they were about both parties, these stories were counted as nonpartisan.

A new category had, however, to be added, the critic category. During the coding there were many stories related to the elections, however, they were not about any of the political parties. Some of them were commenting on the poverty levels in the country and stating what they thought people would want to see done by the new government. Others were criticizing the behavior of the National Committee of Elections (CNE), which created enormous difficulties for international observers. However, criticisms about Frelimo most of the time were indirectly stated. A story would discuss an event and make strong comments against this political party, without even once mentioning the name Frelimo. In those cases, although being Portuguese native speakers, the coders would not understand what the story was talking about. The heads were counted separately from their articles. This was decided when it was perceived that some stories did not have anything to do with their own articles. For this category, the coders were supposed to look for stories about Renamo and Frelimo only. However, during the coding process, some heads had both political parties in it. These heads were categorized as shared heads. They were considered at the end to be the neutral because they had both political parties on them. For the heads that did not match with the articles, even if the articles were about one political party or the other, they were just ignored. The absence of relationship between the heads and the articles became a serious matter for the coders. It seemed, however that this practice is common, because all four newspapers had at least one story in each newspaper where the head did not have anything to do with its story. In the sub-heads category the coders had to

look for both political parties in them. However, a particular problem occurred when some of the coders started to count them as stories, because they were very extensive, which led the coders to think that they were just small articles. In this category, the shared category also had to be added because it was noticed that some sub-heads shared both political parties. Those shared sub-heads were considered neutral. Although the sub-heads looked more like very small articles, none of them turned to be a critical by themselves. The sub-heads would be a small abstract of the real article.

Perhaps the strangest characteristic in all newspapers was the placement of political news. In *Zambeze* it was mixed in the “highlights, opinion, and nation section,” or it sometimes it can be found in the “society section.” In *Savana* the political section was also inside of the “week, opinion, nation, and Africa section,” but sometimes was inside of the culture section. During the 2004 presidential election campaign *Domingo* titled “elections” highlights section from page two up to five; however, like other newspapers political news ran across all the pages. *Demos* was the only newspaper that had a defined section called “politics.”



## CHAPTER 4

### RESULTS

The data showed no major difference among the newspapers in items of the amount of coverage devoted to Renamo and Frelimo. The only exception was that *Domingo* devoted slightly more items to Renamo, while *Savana* devoted slightly more coverage to Frelimo.

The final results indicated there was a moderate relationship between newspapers coverage and the political parties Renamo and Frelimo during the 2004 presidential election campaign. Even though *Savana* and *Zambeze* strongly criticized Frelimo, the political party appears to be the most covered compared to Renamo, as the chi-square results below.

The photos category did not provide a significant result. It did not provide enough data concerning both political parties to give a chi-square significant result. This means that the probability of finding photos of both political parties in any one of the newspapers is very low (see Table 2). Frelimo had more photos than Renamo in the newspaper *Savana*. But in the others *Demos*, *Zambeze*, and *Domingo*, Frelimo and Renamo received an equal number of photos (see figure 5).

Table 2

*Number of Photos Related to Political Parties, per Newspaper*

Newspapers	Renamo	Frelimo	Sub-total
<i>Demos</i>	15	27	42
<i>Zambeze</i>	19	24	43
<i>Savana</i>	11	27	40
<i>Domingo</i>	13	32	45
Total	58	110	168

$\chi^2 = 2.9571$ ,  $df = 3$ ,  $p \text{ value} = 0.3983$ ;  $p > 0.1$

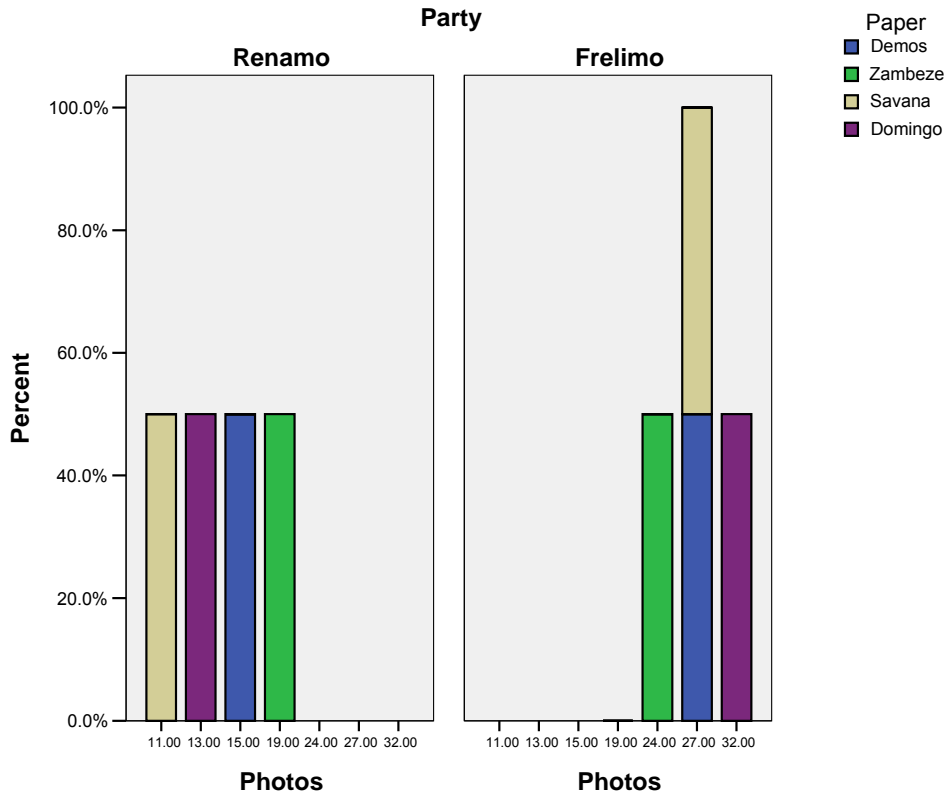


Figure 5. Percentage of photos for each political party, by newspaper.

The degree of freedom is equal to 6. Cramer's phi = 0.42. This table provided a moderate relationship on coverage of both political parties among all newspapers. *Zambeze* was the balanced newspapers; however, *Demos*, *Domingo* and *Savana* were in favour of Frelimo (see Table 3). In the number of stories per newspaper table, *Zambeze* gave both Renamo and Frelimo a balanced coverage rather than in *Demos*, *Savana*, and *Domingo* (see Figure 6).

Table 3

Number of Stories for each Political Party, by Newspaper

Newspapers	Renamo	Frelimo	Both	Sub-total
<i>Demos</i>	16	25	20	61
<i>Zambeze</i>	24	43	20	87
<i>Savana</i>	10	37	57	104
<i>Domingo</i>	46	44	44	134
Total	96	149	290	386

$\chi^2 = 33.5983, df = 6, p\text{-value} = 0; p < .001$

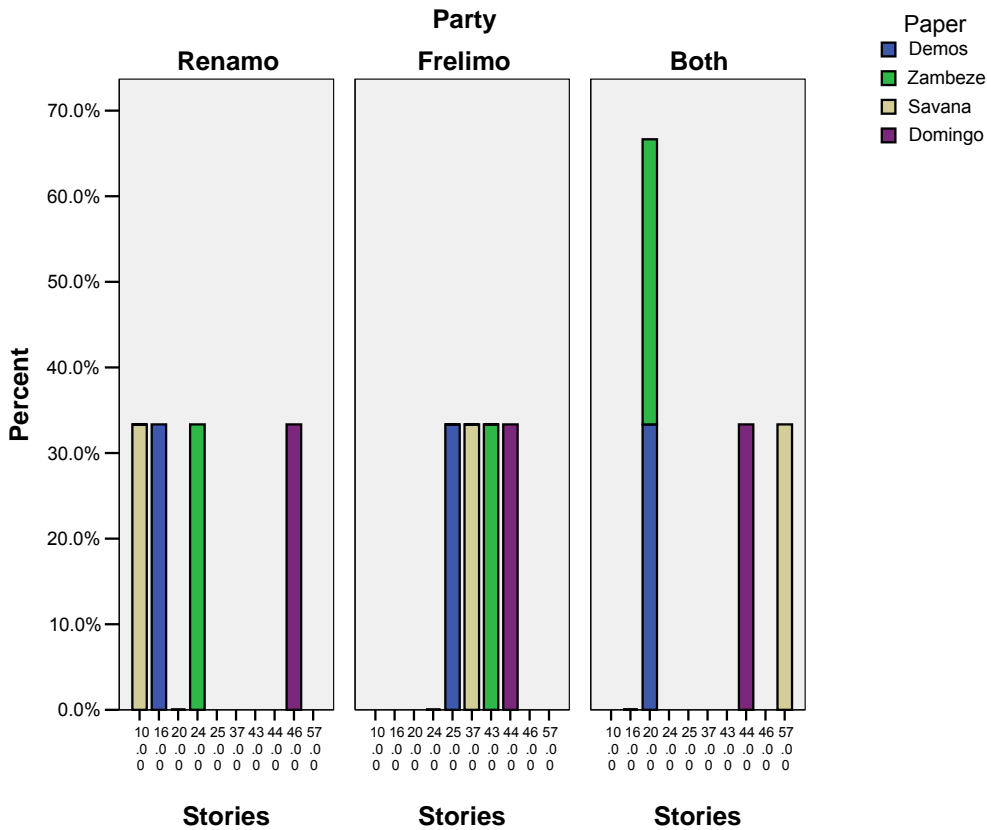


Figure 6. Percentage of stories per political party, by newspaper.

The heads category outcome did not give a significant result. It did not provide sufficient data in relation to both political parties to use in the chi-square. Both political

parties were unlikely to have stories about them with a title that includes both of them (See Table 4 and Figure 7).

Table 4

Number of Column Heads related to Political Party, by Newspaper

Newspapers	Renamo	Frelimo	Both	Sub-total
<i>Demos</i>	14	23	3	40
<i>Zambeze</i>	27	37	9	73
<i>Savana</i>	12	28	8	48
<i>Domingo</i>	24	35	13	72
Total	77	123	33	233

$\chi^2 = 4.4882$ ,  $df = 6$ ,  $p\text{-value} = 0.6109$ ,  $p > 0.1$

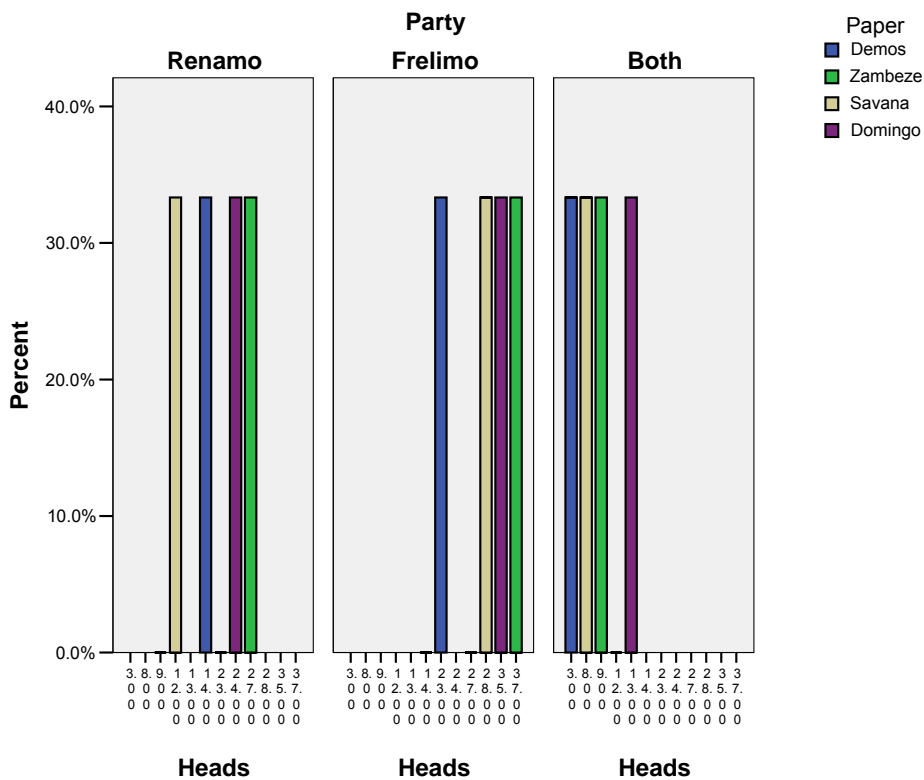


Figure 7. Percentage of column heads relating to political party, by newspaper.

With this effect, the sub-head category did not provide a significant result. It also did not supply enough data regarding both political parties to apply the chi-square (see Table 5). *Domingo* was the most balanced newspaper, Renamo and Frelimo had the same number of sub-heads. However, this result is not statistically significant (see Figure 8).

Table 5

*Number of Subheadings per Political Party, by Newspaper*

Newspapers	Renamo	Frelimo	Both	Sub-total
<i>Demos</i>	5	4	1	10
<i>Zambeze</i>	16	17	4	37
<i>Savana</i>	8	11	2	21
<i>Domingo</i>	8	17	1	26
Total	37	49	8	94

$\chi^2 = 3.3017$ , df = 6, p-value = 0.7701; p>01

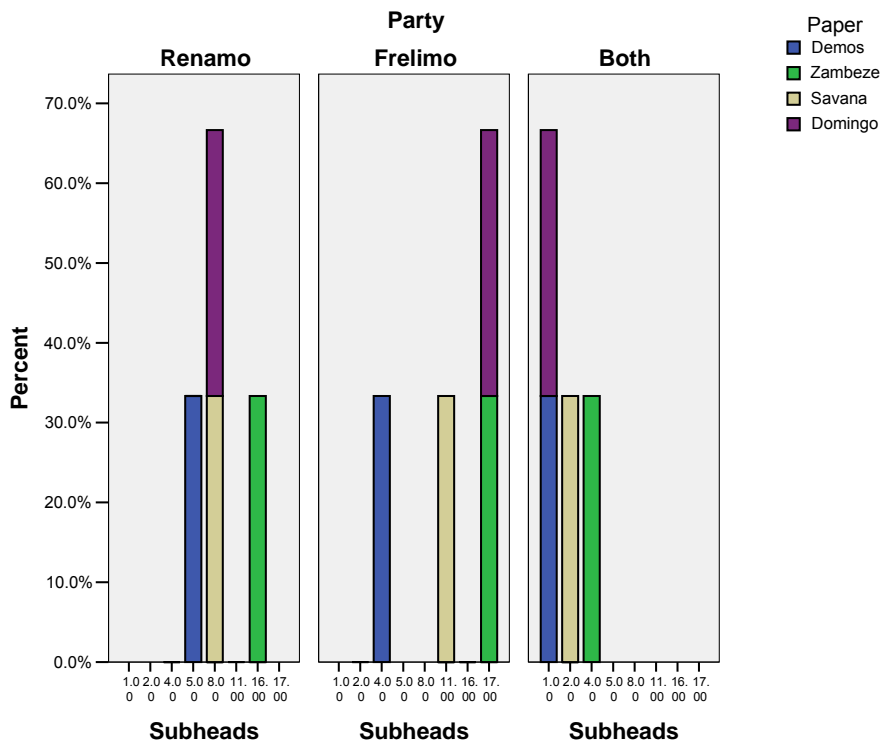


Figure 8.. Percentage of subheadings per political party, by newspaper.

The degree of freedom is equal to 6. By applying the Cramer's phi formula  $X^2 (6) = 18.44$ , Cramer's phi = 0.46. Table 6 provided a statistical significance in the relationship among newspapers commentaries and the stories concerning both political parties. *Savana* had more items about Renamo, but, *Domingo* had more items about Frelimo (see Figure 9).

Table 6

*Number of Commentaries per Political Party, by Newspaper*

Newspapers	Renamo	Frelimo	None	Sub-total
<i>Demos</i>	2	2	9	13
<i>Zambeze</i>	1	1	5	7
<i>Savana</i>	2	5	6	13
<i>Domingo</i>	8	1	1	10
Total	13	9	21	43

$\chi^2 = 18.442$ , df = 6, p-value = 0.0052; p < 0.01

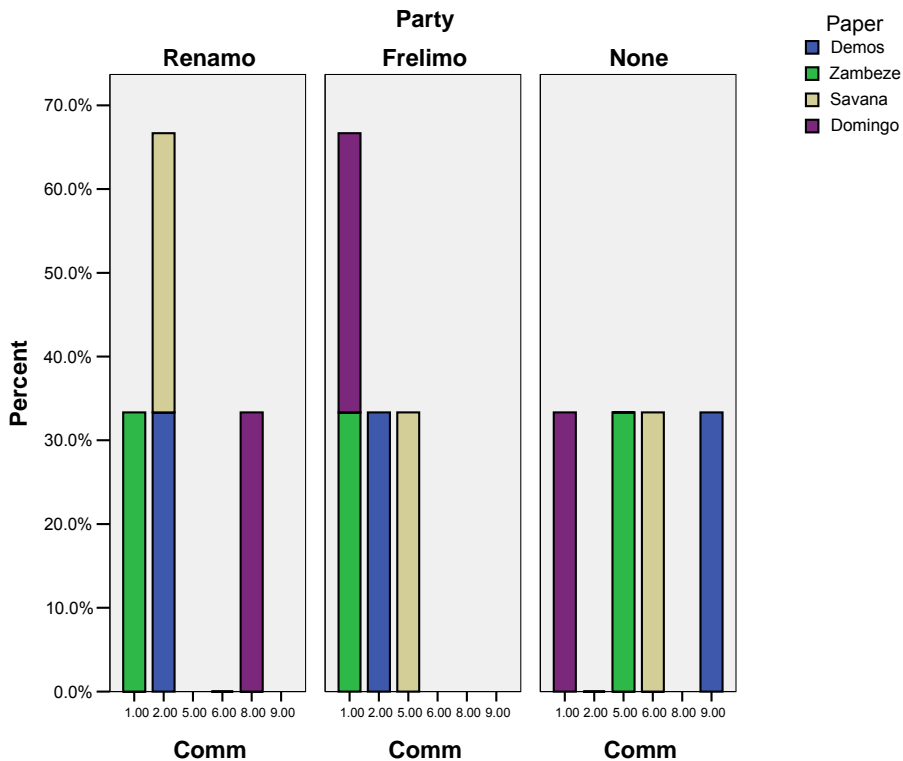


Figure 9. Percentage of commentaries per political party, by newspaper.

The degree of freedom is equal to 6. By applying the Cramer's phi formula  $X^2 (6) = 28.51$ , Cramer's phi = 0.12. This table provided a moderate relationship on all categories for both political parties in all newspapers (see table 7). This graphic provides a clear description about the coverage. Although, in all categories Frelimo received the most coverage, the overall coverage of both political parties was moderate. In other words, it is likely to find both political parties in each one of the studied newspapers (see Figure 10).

Table 7  
Sum of All Tables

Newspapers	Renamo	Frelimo	Both	Sub-total
Demos	62	80	37	179
Zambeze	79	117	34	230
Savana	49	115	74	238
Domingo	88	120	46	254
Total	278	432	191	901

$\chi^2 = 28.5135$ ,  $df = 6$ ,  $p\text{-value} = 0.0001$ ;  $p < 0.001$

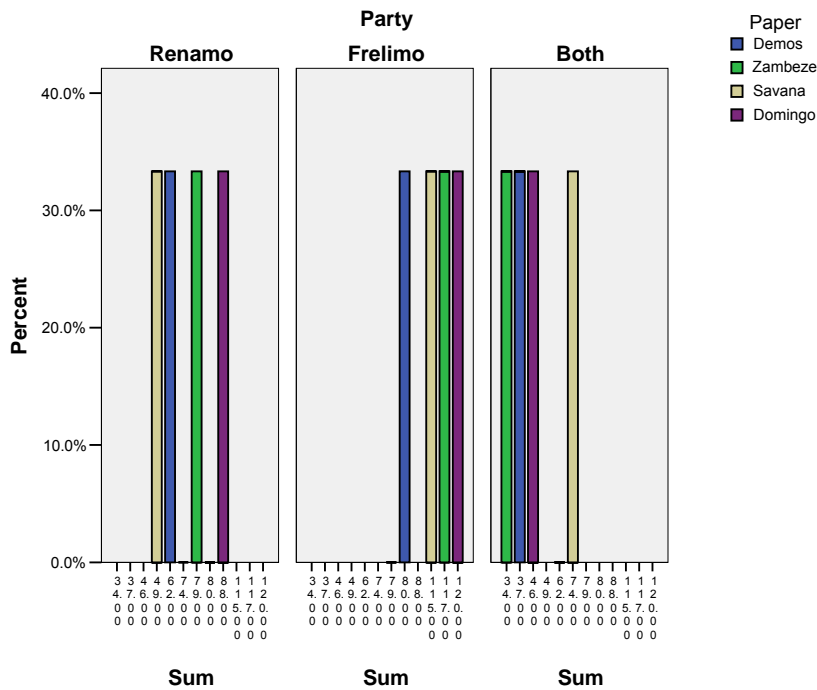


Figure 10. Combined percentages for all previous tables.

## CHAPTER 5

### DISCUSSION

For Mozambique, this study shed light on the newspapers' practice by pinpointing common mistakes that are common for journalism in the country. It is a good starting point for an overview of the country's newspapers and as a resource for upcoming journalism students and scholars. Furthermore, the study would challenge scholars to produce works that can propel the study of journalism in the country because the study found that all the newspapers had problems with photos and organization. It suggests an opportunity for the new School of Communication and Arts in Mozambique to introduce courses such as design and layout and photojournalism to improve the quality of papers.

Concerning the hypothetical scenarios initially presented in this study, for scenario (a) it was expected that the papers would not be based. However, the study found that Mozambican newspapers were balanced, although they had given slightly more coverage to Frelimo. The numbers showed that both parties had moderate coverage. All newspapers strongly criticized Frelimo; however, since this political party appeared more than the other, the final result shows Frelimo as receiving the most coverage. (b) Newspapers were not biased as expected because both political parties had very little difference on treatment by the press. (c) Although showing support to Renamo, Mozambican newspapers sometimes strongly supported Frelimo. (d) For this scenario was expected newspapers would ignore the elections. This scenario did not happen because all newspapers massively covered the election during the period studied.



Overall, the political parties had moderate coverage. Both Renamo or Frelimo received newspaper attention. However, Frelimo received more coverage by the press. For the photos category and structure it is a hope that the new School of Communication and Arts and Eduardo Mondlane University will provide a photojournalism and newspaper page design class for the students to be able to eliminate this limitation.

Dividing the content of 28 newspapers in seven categories and transforming them in six tables is the most simple way to apply the chi-square into the information collected about the coverage of the major Mozambican political parties Renamo and Frelimo. The study not only provided information about the most covered political party, but also about which newspapers spent more space on each one of the political parties. In addition, it provided an unexpected outcome related with the structure of the Mozambican newspapers.

More difficult to study were the photos and the editorials. Photos did not have captions, which make them uneasy to identify. The editorial category had to be abandoned because it did not provide substantial numbers. Most of editorials discussed the election process, what to expect from the new government, and the strong battle between CNE and the international observers of the election process.

#### Future Research

Mozambican media needs to seriously embrace journalism; a further study analyzing the ethical issues of political media has to be conducted. Mozambique now has a new school of communication and arts at Eduardo Mondlane University, the main

public university in the country. It is important that a study about culture and political journalism be developed, so that whether can measure if the media in Mozambique has improved in quality or not. In addition, journalists should know what to report during the campaign time so that people can be able to make better choices. Therefore, it is imperative to develop a definition of political journalism, and the advantages and the disadvantages of that kind of journalism in Mozambique.

This study addressed the content of the newspapers by counting the number of times a political party was the subject of a story. A future study would rely on evaluation of the content of a story based on quality.

### Conclusions

In conclusion, this study shows that the newspapers' had moderate coverage of the two presidential candidates in the 2004 general elections, Afonso Dhlakama and Armando Guebuza. The study also found that there was a moderate relationship between a paper and a political party. In a nutshell, opening any of the four newspapers would lead one to either a Frelimo or Renamo story. It indicated that Frelimo got almost twice as more coverage than Renamo in *Savana*. *Savana* and *Zambeze* were the newspapers that mostly covered the government. The coverage did not reflect stories necessarily in favour of Frelimo. Nevertheless, the newspapers were biased toward Frelimo because those stories were not balanced; most of the time they would comment on Frelimo without even mentioning one line about Renamo. *Domingo*, however, was the newspaper that mostly criticized Renamo and even admitted publicly to be on the government side. The paper, however, had overall the more stories about Renamo

rather than Frelimo, although, those stories did not reflect any favouritism towards Renamo. *Demos* was the most balanced newspaper; it tried to give the same amount of stories photos and even the commentaries for both parties.

This was surprising since it was expected that *Demos*, which had gone through a lot of financial problems for criticising the government, would support the establishment if only to redeem itself financially. *Zambeze*, generally considered the most authoritative for its perceived independence and quality of journalists, however, came out as the paper that covered Frelimo activities the most. *Savana*, which was founded by top journalists and headed by a highly trained editor, was expected to be the most balanced newspaper in the country, but the study found that the paper was heavily leaning towards Frelimo in its coverage. *Domingo*, which is considered the “voice of Frelimo” was expected to have more stories on Frelimo, but the study indicated it had most stories about Renamo.

The previous studies had shown newspapers devoted more coverage to Frelimo alone but *Domingo* was the most biased newspaper towards Frelimo, completely ignoring Renamo. *Zambeze* and *Demos* were relatively balanced. *Savana*, however, ignored the elections altogether.

#### Author’s Limitations and Assumptions

There are three different problems with this methodology. First, it can’t show the effect of bias on the public. Second, “the findings of a particular analysis are limited to the framework of the categories and the definitions used in that analysis” (Wimmer & Dominick, 2003). In other words, other researchers using dissimilar apparatus of

measurement can find a different result. Third, a larger sample is needed to get more information. (Wimmer & Dominick, 2003).

The suggestion for this proposal started years ago when the writer realized some gross newspaper mistakes. At the beginning it was a slight unhappiness when reading political stories, or watching television news shows. The unhappiness became an uncomfortable situation in which the author stopped reading some newspapers, and sometimes turned off TV during the news program.

The first idea came up during a discussion between the author, scholars and students in the international congress of communication for Portuguese speaking countries (V Lusocom), held in Mozambique in 2002. That evaluate the most common problems in mass communication in Portuguese speaking countries such as Mozambique, Angola, Guinea Bissau, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe, Brazil, Portugal, Macau (Asia), Timmor-Leste(Asia), and Goa (Asia).

During that event, the author confronted some journalists with the problems of newspapers coverage of election and social issues. Most the newspaper practitioners denied the existence of corruption or any kind of bias in the newspapers' stories. Since then, the author became obsessed with the idea of studying this matter because even though journalists refused to admit that partisanship and corruption in the newspapers has become a common behaviour, the 2003 municipal election was enough prove that something is wrong with Mozambican newspapers.

During further informal discussions with other newspapers professionals, some of them who have already assumed that there is a style of coverage of news the Mozambican way, the author realized that the problem was deeply rooted. The

Mozambican style allows facts to be embellished, documents to be falsified and people to be less informed about reality. One journalist once said during a conversation with the author “people don’t understand what is going on in the country, why do we need to explain if they are not literate?” (2001<sup>4</sup>) Another journalist said in another conversation with the author that “journalists do the best work in this country, and don’t tell me that we are biased because we are not” (2002<sup>5</sup>). These discussions led the author to think seriously of the need to shed light on Mozambican newspapers through this study.

The author has been a journalist since 1997 and worked for the Eduardo Mondlane University press office as a senior writer of its newsletter. When the author started her master’s degree at Mayborn Institute of Journalism at University of North Texas, she clearly saw the opportunity to study her country’s newspapers. However, her first concern was not having English as the mother language. Professor James Mueller encouraged the author to do the study.

The other problem with this study is very little bibliography on Mozambican newspapers has been written. Actually, this study is a pioneer study on bias in Mozambican newspapers or general media. The study is important since it shed light on the few reports and political studies on the newspapers in the country. It also enriches the discussion about the partisanship in the Mozambican newspapers when covering either political stories or elections. One example happened during the presidential election campaign in 2004, when the author of this thesis and her husband, who was at the time the campaign manager of Renamo, were attacked in by the media. *Domingo*

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<sup>4</sup> The discussion was during a “Reporting Practices” class by James Mueller, journalism professor at the University of North Texas while he lectured in Mozambique.

<sup>5</sup> A debate between students and professional journalists in the International Congress of Communication for Portuguese Speaking Countries (V Lusocom), held in Mozambique.

published in its edition of September 24, 2004, that the author of this thesis, who was in the United States at the time earning her master's degree, was along with her husband who, at the time, was the Renamo's campaign manager were Mozambican spies working for CIA. The same newspaper claimed that the author had a scholarship paid by the CIA. The story was completely false.

APPENDIX A  
SAMPLE DATA SHEETS

Demos 10/13/2004

Page #	Photos	# of stories	R/F story	Heads	Sub-heads	Sub-total	
						R	F
Cover	-	-		-	-	0	0
Editorial	-	?		?	?	?	?
Opinion	-	F		F	-		2
Readers	-	-		-	-	0	0
2	-						
3	-						
Politic	-						
Politic	-						
6	-						
7	-						
8	-						
9	-						
10/11	-						
12	-						
13	-						
14	-						
15	-						
16	-						
Culture	-	F	X			1	2
18	-						
19	-						
20	-						
Total						1	4

\*In this table Renamo has just 1 entrance while Frelimo has 4



Zambeze 10/14/2004

Page #	Photos	# of stories	R/F story	Critic	Heads	Shared Heads	Sub-heads	Sub-total	
								R	F
Cover	1R/1F	-	1	-	1R/1F	-	-	2	2
Editorial				X				0	0
2	-		1					1	1
3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0
4	-	1F	-	-	-	-	1F		2
5	1F	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	1
Readers	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	1
Opinion	-	1F	-	-	1F	-	-	0	2
Opinion	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0
Opinion	-	1F	1	-	2F	-	-	1	4
Opinion	-	1F	-	-	-	-	-	0	1
11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
12	-								
13	-								
14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
15	-								
16/17	1R/1F		1		-	-	1R/1F	3	3
18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
19	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
20	-								
21	-								
22	-								
23	-								
24	-								
25	-								
26	-								
27	-								

28	-								
29	-								
30	-								
31	-								
32	-								
Total								8	17

\*In this table Renamo has 8 entrances while Frelimo has 17

Savana 10/15/2004

Page #	Photos	# of stories	R/F story	Critic	Heads	Shared Heads	Sub-heads	Sub-total	
								R	F
Cover	1R/1F	-	-	X	-	2	-	3	3
Editorial	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	1
2	-	-	2	-	1F	1	-	3	4
3	1R	1R/1F	1	-	1R/2F	-	S=1	5	5
4	1F	1F	-	-	1F	-	1F	0	4
5	1F	1F	-	-	1F	-	1F	0	4
Opinion	1F	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	1
Opinion	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	0	1
Opinion	1F	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	1
Opinion	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
10	-								
11	-								
12	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	0	1
13	-								
14/19	-								
15	-								
16	-								

17	-								
18	-								
20	-								
Sports	-	1F			1F			0	2
22	-								
23	-								
24	-								
25	-								
26	-								
27	-								
28/29									
30	--								
31	-								
32	-			X					1
Suplem	-	-	29	-	-	-	-	29	29
Sacana	1F								
Total								41	57

\*In this table Renamo has 41 entrances while Frelimo has 57

*Domingo 10/17/2004*

Page #	Photos	# of stories	R/F story	Critic	Heads	Shared Heads	Sub-heads	Sub-total	
								R	F
Cover	2F	-	-	-	1F	-	1F/S=1	1	5
Editorial	-			-		-	-		
2	1F	2F	1		2F			1	5
3	-	-	-	-	-	-	--	0	0
4	1R/1F	1R/2F	1	-	1F	2	-	5	7
5	2F	1F	1	-	1F	-	-	1	5

6	2R	1R			1R	-	1R	5	0
7	-	-	-	-	-	--	-		
Opinion	-		1					1	1
Opinion	-								
Opinion	-								
11	-								
12	-								
13	-								
14	-								
15	-								
16/17	-								
18	-								
19									
20									
21									
22									
23									
24									
25									
26									
27									
28/29									
30									
31	1R	4R	-	--	-	-	-	5	0
32									
Total								19	23

\*In this table Renamo has 18 entrances while Frelimo has 22

APPENDIX B  
INTERCODER RELIABILITY CROSSTABS

## Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Rater * PaperParty	2001	100.0%	0	.0%	2001	100.0%

### Rater \* PaperParty Crosstabulation

Count		PaperParty								Total
		dF	DF	dR	DR	SF	SR	ZF	ZR	
Rater	Agueda	183	100	161	68	89	60	169	130	960
	Eliana	185	89	154	75	168	116	146	108	1041
Total		368	189	315	143	257	176	315	238	2001

### Chi-Square Tests

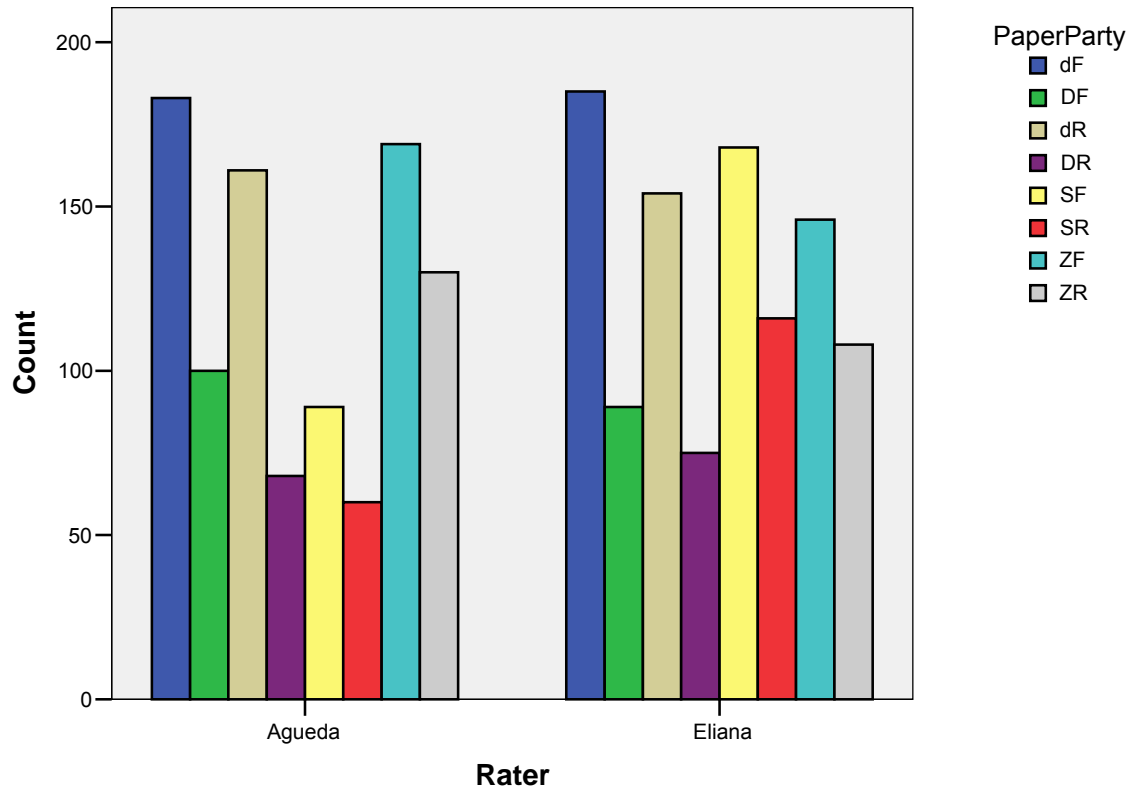
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	43.757 <sup>a</sup>	7	.000	. <sup>b</sup>
Likelihood Ratio	44.401	7	.000	. <sup>b</sup>
Fisher's Exact Test	. <sup>b</sup>			. <sup>b</sup>
McNemar-Bowker Test	.	.	. <sup>c</sup>	
N of Valid Cases	2001			

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 68.61.

b. Cannot be computed because there is insufficient memory.

c. Computed only for a PxP table, where P must be greater than 1.

Bar Chart



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