*The results indicate that the worldwide media community has more in common than we may realize or acknowledge. The MSI approach works as well in Africa as it has in Europe and the Middle East. Professional norms, the importance of laws promoting free expression, sound management practices, and the importance of supporting institutions are not bound by geography or unduly constrained by cultural differences.*

I am pleased to introduce the 2009 Africa Media Sustainability Index (MSI), the third such study of the region. The MSI provides an analysis of the media environment in 40 countries of Sub-Saharan Africa during 2009 and also shows trends in the media sector since 2006/2007. The MSI was first conceived in 2000 and launched in Europe and Eurasia in 2001, in cooperation with the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). Since that time, it has become a universally recognized reference for benchmarking and assessing changes in media systems across Africa, Europe and Eurasia, and the Middle East.

The MSI allows policymakers and implementers to analyze media systems and determine the areas in which media development assistance can improve citizens' access to news and information. Armed with knowledge, citizens can help improve the quality of governance through participatory and democratic mechanisms, and help government and civil society actors devise solutions to pervasive issues such as poverty, healthcare, conflict, and education.

The MSI also provides important information for the media and media advocates in each country and region. The MSI reflects the expert opinions of media professionals in each country and its results inform the media community, civil society, and governments of the strengths and weaknesses of the sector. IREX continues to encourage professionals in their vital efforts at developing independent and sustainable media in their own countries or, in many cases, preserving alternative voices in the face of repressive governments.

IREX would like to thank all those who contributed to the publication of the Media Sustainability Index 2009. Participants, moderators, authors, and observers for each country, listed after each chapter, provided the primary analysis for this project. At IREX, Leon Morse managed the MSI with editorial assistance from Dayna Kerecman Myers. USAID has been a consistent supporter of the MSI, helping to develop the project and ensure its ongoing implementation.

We hope you will find this report useful, and we welcome any feedback.

Sincerely,

W. Robert Pearson
President, IREX

INTRODUCTION

*Interestingly, many governments that censor traditional media do not yet restrict the Internet. Perhaps believing it unnecessary, these governments instead might be relying on poor access and the prohibitive cost of connecting to dampen the Internet's influence.*

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The 2009 edition of the Africa Media Sustainability Index (MSI) includes 40 individual studies. The MSI began studying sub-Saharan Africa in 2006/2007. As this is the third MSI study of the region, there are now several years of data, enough to draw a meaningful understanding of the development trajectories for the region, and the individual countries studied.

Our analysis is both quantitative and qualitative, but it is not intended to be exhaustive, and neither are any of the recommendations made here. The MSI is designed to serve as a summary of overall developments, and a starting point for further research by local media practitioners, international media development workers, academics, and others. IREX intends for the MSI results to serve as one tool in the diverse conversation about media development, and to support advocacy efforts aimed at improving the media's ability to inform the citizens of the countries under study.

The MSI panelists incorporate findings related to new media development in their discussions, and the MSI is poised to identify emerging trends and chart progress in this area over the coming years. The MSI's methodology is designed to incorporate into its finding the use of new technology in the media as it pertains to each country. The MSI's methodology captures the performance of a country's media sector regardless of the specific nature of its prevailing platforms. The MSI will include the impact of current and yet-to-be invented forms of media in future editions.

## New Media Landscape

In Uganda, you need look no further than schoolchildren clad in hot pink uniforms, or to the ubiquitous buildings painted hot pink and plastered with the logo of the telecommunications company Zain, to grasp the important role that telecommunications technology plays in this and many other African countries.

In bustling Internet cafés from Abidjan to Johannesburg, signs of a growing new media presence are increasingly evident. Already, more South Africans access the Internet with the help of their mobile phones than computers. SMS technology played an important role in helping Zanzibar achieve near-elimination status in the battle against malaria by giving community health workers the ability to record invaluable data and to access information across the Tanzanian island. Similarly, in Namibia, MSI panelists underscored the success of a similar SMS public health campaign targeted at halting the spread of tuberculosis. Across the continent, during the fever pitch of the 2010 World Cup soccer tournament, advertisers seized upon the burgeoning opportunities offered by new media tools.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Although new media promise to open new avenues of expression across the continent, some governments view the expansion of such technologies as a threat. At one end of the spectrum, South Africa and Tanzania enjoy a relatively high degree of digital freedom. At the other end of the spectrum, the authorities in Eritrea are thought to have enlisted assistance from the Chinese authorities to implement Internet monitoring technology. Other governments, as in Niger, do not control or restrict access overtly but there are signs they monitor e-mail and the online distribution of data. Furthermore, Nigerien authorities pressured one website developer to withdraw a number of articles they found upsetting. The Ethiopian authorities launch periodic cyber blockades of content they deem threatening.

Interestingly, many governments that censor traditional media do not yet restrict the Internet. Perhaps believing it unnecessary, these governments instead might be relying on poor access and the prohibitive cost of connecting to dampen the Internet's influence. For instance, for most people living in the Central African Republic the Internet is a luxury—even for residents in Bangui, where only a handful of media outlets have websites. While the government does not restrict access to the Internet, it is a matter less of freedom of speech than the simple lack of need (or possibly resources) to control Internet use. Most certainly the government realizes the limited reach of the Internet does not yet justify worry when considering what information is being received by the majority of the population.

Ethiopians in major cities are able to access online news sources with growing ease, but outside urban areas, Internet reliability and speed weaken predictably. In Tanzania, as in Kenya, reliable power sources, Internet access, and computers, are concentrated in urban areas. In Kenya's cities and towns with Internet availability, however, few use it to read the news—it is primarily a personal communication tool.

Cost and logistical barriers remain the most common obstacles to access to new media in many countries. In Côte d'Ivoire, the popularity of the Internet, which has become an essential source of information, is proving to be formidable competition for the print media. Internet users pay XOF 200 (about $0.40) for an hour of Internet access—less than the price of a daily newspaper. In contrast, many African countries cannot afford the technology, and thus lag behind.

The authorities in Cameroon do not attempt to restrict access, but given high fees and slow connections, only about two percent of all citizens have access. Access is so limited in remote parts of Burundi that many rural residents do not even know what the Internet is. Only some urban centers have Internet connections—although youth are helping to spark interest. Similarly, in Burkina Faso, radio continues to be the dominant medium—partly because of the cost of other platforms, and partly because of Burkina Faso's low literacy rate. On a positive note, radio stations there are beginning to embrace the use of the Internet. ONATEL, Burkina Faso's telecommunications operator, established Internet access in the late 1990s, but for some time the Internet was essentially a luxury for the urban elite. Now, the growth of Internet cafés is helping to correct that imbalance.[1] Meanwhile, along with spreading enthusiasm of new media tools, public interest in news is rising.

While countries such as Ghana enjoy a rich foundation of ICT infrastructure and services to aid the telecommunications and media industries, poor electrical infrastructure remains a significant barrier to access in many countries, including Liberia. Liberia is an interesting example, however, of a country where the use of the Internet for news is expanding rapidly, despite the high cost and challenging infrastructure. The growing popularity of mobile phones has introduced a powerful new dimension to communication, and the mobile phone companies have introduced digital EDGE technology—unlocking Internet accessibility for some rural residents.

Only a handful of countries mentioned widespread use of blogs and SMS for news. In The Gambia, although the Internet is still something of a novelty, awareness is growing with the emergence of mobile-phone Internet service providers—an important injection for a country with just one, government-controlled, television station and where the authorities often block websites they consider threatening. Echoing the way that Burundi's youth have embraced new media, the recent introduction of SMS news alerts has proved particularly attractive to Gambian youth. In addition, Gambians outside of the country have set up online newspapers, radios, and blogs.

Elsewhere, as in Namibia and Uganda, SMS news alerts, or news blogs, are emerging, but not yet common—though the publication of SMS messages in newspapers remains popular. Blogging is still uncommon in Ethiopia, and SMS news alerts are nonexistent. Blogs are rare in Guinea, despite the relatively low cost of access there, but the local telecom companies have embraced SMS news texts. Niger's government called on newspapers to cease SMS service (where readers, for only $1, can send comments and opinions that frequently criticize the government and other public institutions). In Sudan, although mobile-phone news alerts exist, few Sudanese can afford to subscribe.

In other countries, however, blogging about news and current events is beginning to take off—demonstrating the power it holds to draw in more public involvement, and interest, in

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[1] The Panos Institute West Africa: "Radio and ICT Connectivity and Use in West Africa." October, 2008: p. 44.

news. For example, Madagascar's political crisis stimulated citizens' interest in news, and blogging emerged as a viable debate forum. Furthermore, demonstrating the potential of new media to forge new connections between citizens across the continent, a blogger from Madagascar—Andriankoto Harinajaka Ratozamanana—covered Gabon's elections for Global Voices Lingua and blogged about the experience for the Committee to Protect Journalists. He highlighted the fact that many candidates were making use of websites and social networking sites, including Facebook, Flickr, YouTube, and Twitter, in their campaigns, and one sent out SMS messages.[2] Ratozamanana also described how the election unlocked the potential of new media for the Gabonese. "At first, many young people I met did not seem very interested in the Internet. In fact, the most educated told me they used the web exclusively to check e-mail and visit chat or dating sites… Nevertheless, with help, a few people took their first steps in using the web as social media, and a handful of new citizen voices slowly emerged." Ratozamanana described how a journalist named Gaston Asséko broadcast his election-day experience on YouTube.[3] Thus, the transformational role that blogging played in the island nation of Madagascar was transferred to Gabon, on the other side of the continent, where new media has been slow to take off—bringing greater awareness of the power of new media platforms to include and amplify new voices.

## Notable Country Developments

Although many scores did not change dramatically, serious shifts within the objectives nonetheless reveal significant changes. For example, although Niger's overall score did not change dramatically, for the first time Objective 1 (freedom of speech) fell below a 2 (the threshold of near-sustainability), signifying a setback reflected in the Niger government's decision to close the Press House in 2008.

Although no countries studied in the MSI Africa edition have yet moved in the range of sustainability on the MSI scale (signified by a score between a 3 and a 4), at 2.99, South Africa's 2009 MSI overall score climbed to the brink, strengthening its leadership status in the region and on the continent. For South Africa's neighbor, Botswana, the authorities continue to erode past gains in media freedom. Botswana's overall score fell to a small degree, and most objectives did not change dramatically—but, significantly, objective 1 (freedom of speech) dropped a third of a point. This major setback was dealt when the government signed the

Media Practitioners Act (MPA) into law, requiring journalists to secure government accreditation and stipulating that media organizations must be licensed by a statutory media council. Madagascar's poor overall score—which dipped into the unsustainable, mixed-system range—reflected the effects of a political crisis that threatened media sustainability, with setbacks in objectives 1, 2, and 3.

A handful of countries, including Eritrea, Equatorial Guinea, and Zimbabwe, continued on a severely destructive course. Eritrea continues to receive the lowest scores—the lowest for not only the Africa MSI, but the Middle East & North Africa and the Europe & Eurasia editions, as well. All semblance of an independent media in Eritrea has been swept away. In Equatorial Guinea, despite an overall score that notched up slightly to 0.87 from last year's score of 0.79, the persecution of journalists remains commonplace, and the government shows zero tolerance for dissenting views. Scores for Zimbabwe, another country that fared poorly, with an overall score of 1.13, barely changed from last year. The restrictive media environment has left citizens unable to express their opinions freely about the course of events unfolding in their country. Even Internet café patrons are subject to surveillance by the ever-watchful authorities. Meanwhile, journalists are kept in check by harassment, arrest, and prosecution under the repressive media laws that remain on the books.

The Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) declared 2009 the deadliest year for African journalists since 2002. Twelve African journalists were murdered in cases that were clearly linked to their work. Most of these journalists—nine of them—lived in Somalia, but there were also killings in Nigeria, Kenya, and Madagascar. In addition, two journalists were killed under suspicious circumstances in the Republic of Congo and the Democratic Republic of Congo. Furthermore, CPJ's East Africa consultant, Tom Rhodes, said, "No perpetrator in any of the African cases has been brought to justice. Such a record sends a chilling message to local reporters: you can be killed, at any time, without repercussions."[4]

Indeed, concern over the impunity enjoyed by those that harm journalists was a major reason for regressions in the MSI scores for Objective 1 (legal and social protections for free speech). Reflecting the severe mistreatment of journalists, indicator 4 (crimes against journalists) dropped to the lowest possible score in Somalia, and more than a third of a point in other countries, including Sudan and Ethiopia. Some West African governments are cracking down sharply on media outlets, too. Nigeria's Objective 1 score retained its place as the lowest-scoring of the five objectives for the third year running.

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[2] Ratozamanana, Andriankoto Harinajaka. "Gabon's bloggers struggle to take hold." Committee to Protect Journalists Blog, http://cpj.org/blog/2009/10/gabons-bloggers-struggle-to-take-hold.php (Accessed October 15, 2010.)

[3] Ibid, Ratozamanana.

[4] Rhodes, Tom. "2009 marks decade's deadliest year for African journalists." Worldfocus website, December 17, 2009. http://worldfocus.org/blog/2009/12/17/2009-marks-decades-deadliest-year-for-african-journalists/8918/

In Niger, following the government's decision to close down the Press House in June 2008, tension between media outlets and the authorities has grown thick. The persecution of journalists can often be traced to the nominally independent Higher Communications Council—the very agency tasked with protecting the freedom and independence of the media.

While violence against the media is sadly all too common across the African continent, there are many countries that uphold the freedom of speech. The MSI's highest-scoring countries continue to be in Southern Africa and East Africa. Benin continues to be a West African leader, with strong, active media outlets providing relatively objective news. These voices are helping to establish a prosperous democracy and a role model for the region.

Côte d'Ivoire has also demonstrated a commitment to defending freedom of speech and promoting the freedom of the press, despite the lingering effects of civil war. In addition to Côte d'Ivoire's fundamental law upholding the freedom of speech, the laws on print and broadcast media adopted in 2004 are considered fairly strong. Still, only the radio sector has succeeded in making full use of Côte d'Ivoire's press freedom. In the five years since the radio and television media law passed, not one private television channel has gone on the air in Côte d'Ivoire. As further evidence of the power of new media, however, Ivoirians are showing interest in the possibilities of broadcasting television programs on the Internet.

In southern Africa, on a positive note, the huge public outcry (expressed in a flurry of letters and SMS messages in the local media) regarding a government ban on a popular program in Namibia, *Chat Show*, showcased Namibia's strong civil society sector and general high regard for freedom of speech. Similarly, in Botswana, journalists, independent media houses, and civil society sector all vehemently opposed the signing of the Media Practitioners Act (MPA). In an otherwise challenging year in which the freedom of speech objective dipped by a third of a point, objective 5 (supporting institutions) remained static: the passing of the MPA spurred civil society activists into forming an umbrella organization named the Coalition for the Freedom of Expression.

Another development to watch is the growth of investigative reporting. Too risky an endeavor in many countries in Africa, there are a few countries that are making progress. Kenya is seeing a growth in investigative reporting, especially in exploring problems in the health system. In Rwanda, investigative reporting is growing, and some journalists have taken up specialized reporting—but still on a small scale, and not as prevalent in broadcast as in print.

## Obstacles to Access: Poverty, the Urban-Rural Divide, and Illiteracy

From Benin, to Zimbabwe, to Kenya, rural residents are being left behind in terms of access to news. Furthermore, the cost deters many would-be users—especially in rural areas, where potential users must pay about four times more than someone in Nairobi. In some rural areas lacking computers, electricity, or other basic infrastructure, Internet access seems an especially distant prospect. However, the Ministry of Information is designing plans to introduce "digital villages" to help bridge the technological divide between urban and rural Kenyans.

Across much of the continent, radio continues to be the dominate medium. This is partly due to affordability: radio batteries, while out of reach for some, are generally much more affordable than television and even newspapers. The lack of electrical infrastructure and poor distribution of print media outside major cities also hamper access.

Still another factor is widespread illiteracy—especially among women. In Burkina Faso, for example, only about 15 percent of women can read and write, while about 30 percent of men are literate. The numbers are similar in many other countries—especially in West Africa. In Niger, about 43 percent of men are literate, but only 15 percent of women. In Chad, about 41 percent of men can read, compared to less than 13 percent of women. Compare that to Botswana (roughly 80 percent of men and 82 percent of women are literate), Kenya (about 91 percent of men are literate, compared to 80 percent of women), South Africa (87 percent of men, 85 percent of women) and Rwanda (76 percent of men, 65 percent of women). It is also interesting to consider that Ghana and Benin, two West African countries where the freedom of speech is respected relatively well—and the proliferation of new media tools is evident—have slightly higher literacy rates. In Ghana, with about 66 percent of men and 50 percent of women able to read—rates which are somewhat low for the continent, but high for the region. In Benin, about 48 percent of men and about 23 percent of women are literate.

Of course, in countries with repressive governments, a high literacy rate cannot save the independent media. Equatorial Guinea and Zimbabwe, with male literacy rates in the low 90s and female literacy rates in the upper 80s provide ample proof of that. Still, an examination of the sustainability of media outlets in Africa cannot overlook the challenge of illiteracy. There is a huge, untapped market for print and online media.

## The Greatest Needs for External Assistance

Some of the countries studied by the MSI, such as Burundi, Chad, and Togo, still lack journalism schools or degree programs in journalism. Elsewhere, as in Cameroon, schools

blur the line between communication and journalism. Beninese students interested in becoming journalists can find training institutions, but the cost is prohibitive. On a more positive note, Nigeria's journalism training institutions are increasingly incorporating more practical, hands-on experience into their training programs, and encourage students to seek out newsroom internships. These programs are also helping their students gain practical training in various aspects of running campus radio stations or producing campus newspapers or journals. Burkina Faso's schools offer degree-level programs and professional training in journalism, and panelists have noted improvements in the quality of academic programs. Many Chadian journalists train abroad. Burkinabè students also commonly study journalism in other African countries (Senegal, Togo, Côte d'Ivoire), and in Europe. There is a downside to improved training, however, seen in a number of countries, such as the Central African Republic, Sudan, and Eritrea—and it is a phenomenon not limited to Africa. Many of the best media professionals with formal training in journalism leave their jobs for better-paying opportunities.

There are many countries that lack schools dedicated to journalism, and quality is lacking in some of the institutions in countries where they do exist. Panelists from the Democratic Republic of Congo underlined the need to reform the curriculum of journalism schools, with a particular emphasis on developing speaking capabilities, foreign languages, computer knowledge, history, geography, and even geopolitics.

Despite limited quality degree options, there are other training opportunities for journalists, both locally and internationally, and these help journalists fill in gaps. In Burkina Faso, journalists take short-term training classes to help develop their skills, sometimes in the form of exchanges with European donors. For example, media professionals in one city, Bobo-Dioulasso, set up a partnership with journalists from the Rhône-Alpes region of France to facilitate trainings. Journalists from France came to Bobo-Dioulasso for a 10-day training in journalistic techniques. More exchanges are planned for 2010 and 2011, as well.

In The Gambia, journalists depend heavily on short-term training courses, both local and international, covering basic skills as well as niche topics. In 2009, the training courses were all free, and the journalists have taken advantage of the offerings and benefited—a model that has worked well. In contrast, in Nigeria, while there are some short-term, in-service training opportunities, for the most part media managers have not been very supportive, and journalists must pay for their own training. As a result they are not as popular. Other training constraints cited in various country reports include the

lack of training institutions, and the lack of skilled journalists to facilitate training.

In Burundi, media classes are often developed by local organizations, but funded by NGOs and international organizations (such as UN agencies). Eventually, most journalists take advantage of short-term, on-the-job training as well. These trainings emphasize news gathering skills as well as cover special topics such as security, the environment, and human rights. However, one panelist said that these training sessions are insufficient, and sometimes the per diem is not attractive enough to lure participants.

Quality niche reporting continues to be a rarity, from Burundi to Zambia. Burundian panelists said they receive little training in specialized topics such as diplomacy, trade, or economics. Sudanese panelists called for more training in basic journalism skills, and covering events in a sensitive war zone. In Rwanda, panelists attributed the relative strength of some organizations in niche reporting to extra investments in training. Panelists from Gabon and Rwanda emphasized the need to train advertising professionals in the media; Rwanda's panelists expressed concern that training programs disproportionately target editorial departments to the detriment of business management. Back-end web support and telecommunications training is needed as well, to encourage more widespread use of new media.

## Facilities and Equipment

In addition to the clear calls for more targeted training, many panelists expressed a dire need for upgraded equipment— and for training on using it properly. Journalists grapple with obsolete technical equipment in a number of countries. In an extreme example, some media outlets in the Democratic Republic of Congo are so poor that they not only struggle to buy computers and digital photo and video cameras— some cannot even afford a radio or television set. Other countries still rely on Dictaphones. Even in countries such as Rwanda, which have managed to upgrade their facilities and equipment, there is room for improvement. Computers and digital cameras are in particularly short supply. There is also a need for modern training facilities. Although some media outlets have upgraded equipment and facilities used to gather and distribute the news, there is still much need for improvement—and the shortage of modern equipment clearly inhibits the quality and reach of news coverage.
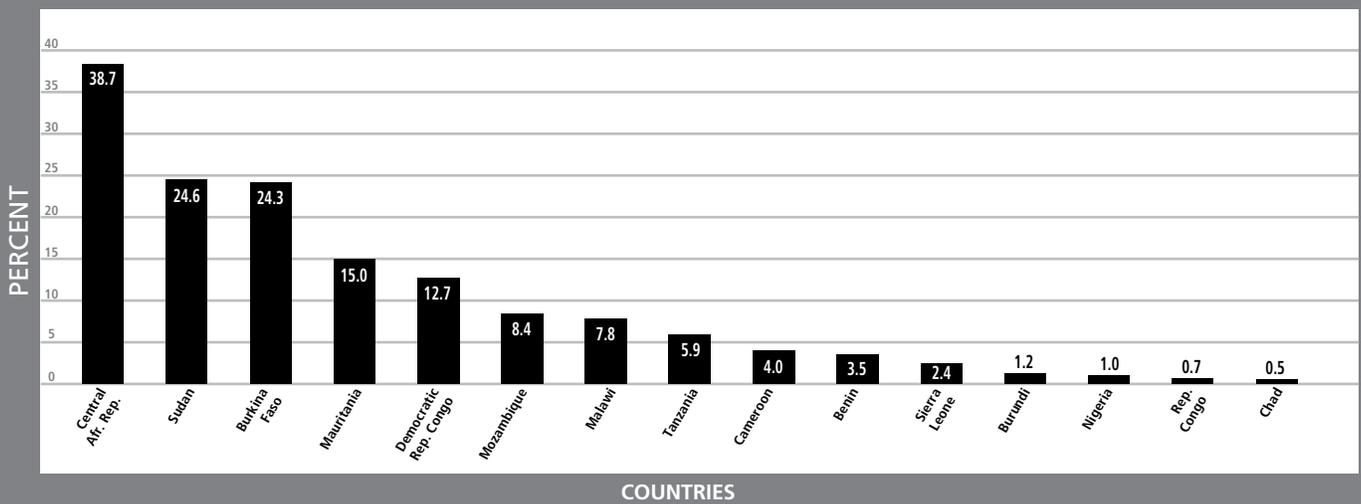
## Changing Civil Society Structure

Countries emerging from war or humanitarian crises, such as Liberia and Burundi, have received a lot of international attention, including some support for the media. There is a concern, though, that the media might be becoming too

dependent upon aid for operations, while neglecting to pursue more sustainable approaches. For example, in Burundi a panelist noted that media outlets do not invest in training their personnel, expecting international organizations to help. Another concern is that some training programs sponsored by international organizations fail to address sustainability. This has created an expectation that the media needs outside support, preventing the media sector from improving internal training or business management practices. Shifting the focus away from outright operational support and toward training geared toward improving sustainability—such as income generation models for media outlets, effective management models, and methods to boost management and sales—could help address this challenge. The development of local media rights NGOs is another pillar of sustainability that needs support—perhaps through more training for professional associations. Part of the equation, thoug h, is working to create more demand and purchasing power from the citizens, improving education and literacy, and lobbying for a more just playing field for the independent media.
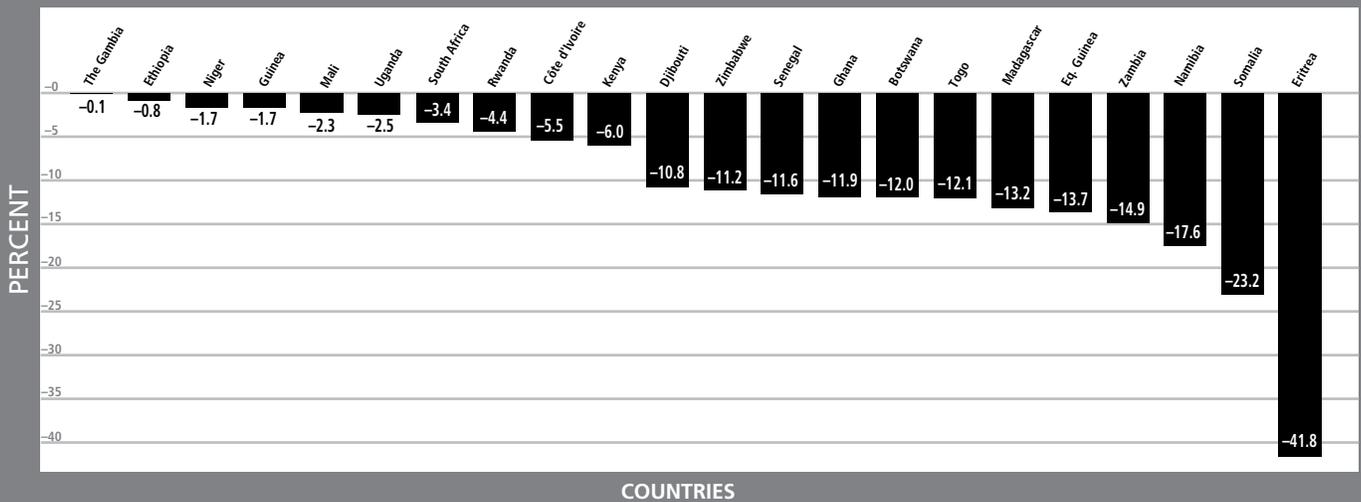
## PERCENT CHANGE GAINS IN MSI 2006–2009: **AFRICA**

PERCENT

| Country | Value |
|---|---|
| Central Afr. Rep. | 38.7 |
| Sudan | 24.6 |
| Burkina Faso | 24.3 |
| Mauritania | 15.0 |
| Democratic Rep. Congo | 12.7 |
| Mozambique | 8.4 |
| Malawi | 7.8 |
| Tanzania | 5.9 |
| Cameroon | 4.0 |
| Benin | 3.5 |
| Sierra Leone | 2.4 |
| Burundi | 1.2 |
| Nigeria | 1.0 |
| Rep. Congo | 0.7 |
| Chad | 0.5 |

COUNTRIES

Data for Gabon, Liberia, and Somaliland will be included in this chart in future editions once three years of data are available.
Post-publication correction, May 17, 2011: The percent change in score for South Africa, Sudan, Tanzania, Togo, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe was incorrect in the print version. This page reflects the correct changes in score.

## PERCENT CHANGE LOSSES IN MSI 2006–2009: **AFRICA**

PERCENT

| Country | Value |
|---|---|
| The Gambia | −0.1 |
| Ethiopia | −0.8 |
| Niger | −1.7 |
| Guinea | −1.7 |
| Mali | −2.3 |
| Uganda | −2.5 |
| South Africa | −3.4 |
| Rwanda | −4.4 |
| Côte d'Ivoire | −5.5 |
| Kenya | −6.0 |
| Djibouti | −10.8 |
| Zimbabwe | −11.2 |
| Senegal | −11.6 |
| Ghana | −11.9 |
| Botswana | −12.0 |
| Togo | −12.1 |
| Madagascar | −13.2 |
| Eq. Guinea | −13.7 |
| Zambia | −14.9 |
| Namibia | −17.6 |
| Somalia | −23.2 |
| Eritrea | −41.8 |

COUNTRIES

Data for Gabon, Liberia, and Somaliland will be included in this chart in future editions once three years of data are available.
Post-publication correction, May 17, 2011: The percent change in score for South Africa, Sudan, Tanzania, Togo, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe was incorrect in the print version. This page reflects the correct changes in score.

## MEDIA SUSTAINABILITY INDEX 2009: **OVERALL AVERAGE SCORES**

| 0 – 0.50 | 0.51 – 1.00 | 1.01 – 1.50 | 1.51 – 2.00 | 2.01 – 2.50 | 2.51 – 3.00 | 3.01 – 3.50 | 3.51 – 4.00 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | ▲ Benin (2.36) | | | |
| | | | | ▼ Botswana (2.21) | | | |
| | | | | ▲ Burkina Faso (2.39) | | | |
| | | | ▲ Cameroon (1.77) | ▲ Burundi (2.16) | | | |
| | | | ▲ Cent. Afr. Rep. (1.71) | ⬜ Côte d'Ivoire (2.09) | | | |
| | | | ▲ Chad (1.87) | ▼ Ghana (2.27) | | | |
| | | | ⬜ D. R. Congo (1.69) | ⬜ Guinea (2.21) | | | |
| | | | ▲ Gabon (1.94) | ⬜ Kenya (2.23) | | | |
| | | | ⬜ The Gambia (1.62) | ▼ Malawi (2.35) | | | |
| | | | ⬜ Liberia (1.96) | ▲ Mali (2.11) | | | |
| | | | ▼ Madagascar (1.86) | ▲ Mozambique (2.40) | | | |
| | | | ▼ Mauritania (1.54) | ▼ Namibia (2.39) | | | |
| | | | ⬜ Niger (1.94) | ▲ Nigeria (2.23) | | | |
| | | ▼ Rep. Congo (1.42) | ▼ Sierra Leone (2.00) | ▼ Rwanda (2.19) | | | |
| | | ▼ Djibouti (1.27) | ⬜ Somaliland (1.82) | ⬜ Senegal (2.08) | | | |
| | | ▼ Ethiopia (1.23) | ▲ Sudan (1.60) | ⬜ Tanzania (2.34) | | | |
| | | ▼ Somalia (1.29) | ▼ Togo (1.54) | | | | |
| ▼ Eritrea (0.16) | ⬜ Eq. Guinea (0.87) | ⬜ Zimbabwe (1.13) | ⬜ Zambia (1.91) | ⬜ Uganda (2.35) | ▲ South Africa (2.99) | | |

| UNSUSTAINABLE ANTI-FREE PRESS | | UNSUSTAINABLE MIXED SYSTEM | | NEAR SUSTAINABILITY | | SUSTAINABLE | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

## MEDIA SUSTAINABILITY INDEX 2009: **FREE SPEECH**

| 0 – 0.50 | 0.51 – 1.00 | 1.01 – 1.50 | 1.51 – 2.00 | 2.01 – 2.50 | 2.51 – 3.00 | 3.01 – 3.50 | 3.51 – 4.00 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | ▼ Botswana (2.30) | | | |
| | | | | ▲ Burundi (2.24) | | | |
| | | | | ⬜ Cent. Afr. Rep. (2.06) | | | |
| | | | ▲ Cameroon (1.86) | ▲ Côte d'Ivoire (2.22) | | | |
| | | | ▼ Chad (1.80) | ▼ Ghana (2.46) | | | |
| | | | ⬜ D. R. Congo (1.70) | ▲ Guinea (2.31) | | | |
| | | | ▲ Rep. Congo (1.91) | ⬜ Liberia (2.29) | | | |
| | | | ▼ Gabon (1.88) | ▼ Malawi (2.28) | | | |
| | | | ▼ Kenya (1.90) | ⬜ Mali (2.32) | | | |
| | | | ▼ Madagascar (1.83) | ▼ Namibia (2.37) | | | |
| | | ⬜ Djibouti (1.44) | ▼ Niger (1.71) | ▼ Rwanda (2.34) | | | |
| | | ⬜ Eq. Guinea (1.08) | ▲ Nigeria (1.95) | ▼ Sierra Leone (2.03) | | | |
| | | ⬜ Ethiopia (1.35) | ⬜ Senegal (1.94) | ⬜ Somaliland (2.07) | ▲ Benin (2.61) | | |
| | | ⬜ The Gambia (1.42) | ⬜ Sudan (1.56) | ▼ Tanzania (2.40) | ▲ Burkina Faso (2.66) | | |
| | | ▼ Mauritania (1.43) | ▼ Togo (1.91) | | ▲ Mozambique (2.61) | | |
| ⬜ Eritrea (0.09) | ⬜ Zimbabwe (0.57) | ⬜ Somalia (1.33) | ⬜ Zambia (1.92) | ⬜ Uganda (2.26) | ⬜ South Africa (3.09) | | |

| UNSUSTAINABLE ANTI-FREE PRESS | | UNSUSTAINABLE MIXED SYSTEM | | NEAR SUSTAINABILITY | | SUSTAINABLE | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

### CHANGE SINCE 2008
▲ (increase greater than .10)   ⬜ (little or no change)   ▼ (decrease greater than .10)

## MEDIA SUSTAINABILITY INDEX 2009: **PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISM**

| 0 – 0.50 | 0.51 – 1.00 | 1.01 – 1.50 | 1.51 – 2.00 | 2.01 – 2.50 | 2.51 – 3.00 | 3.01 – 3.50 | 3.51 – 4.00 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | ▲ Cameroon **(1.85)** | | | | |
| | | | ▲ Cent. Afr. Rep. **(1.80)** | | | | |
| | | | ▲ Côte d'Ivoire **(1.60)** | | | | |
| | | | ▲ Gabon **(2.00)** | | | | |
| | | | ▯ The Gambia **(2.00)** | | | | |
| | | | ▼ Ghana **(1.99)** | | | | |
| | | | ▼ Kenya **(1.88)** | ▯ Benin **(2.05)** | | | |
| | | | ▼ Liberia **(1.73)** | ▯ Botswana **(2.24)** | | | |
| | | | ▼ Madagascar **(1.75)** | ▲ Burkina Faso **(2.13)** | | | |
| | | | ▲ Mali **(1.98)** | ▲ Burundi **(2.44)** | | | |
| | | | ▼ Mauritania **(1.51)** | ▲ Chad **(2.22)** | | | |
| | | | ▼ Niger **(1.87)** | ▯ Guinea **(2.14)** | | | |
| | | ▯ D. R. Congo **(1.43)** | ▼ Senegal **(1.91)** | ▲ Malawi **(2.50)** | | | |
| | | ▼ Rep. Congo **(1.31)** | ▼ Sierra Leone **(1.92)** | ▲ Mozambique **(2.17)** | | | |
| | | ▯ Djibouti **(1.43)** | ▯ Somaliland **(1.74)** | ▯ Namibia **(2.23)** | | | |
| | | ▼ Ethiopia **(1.32)** | ▲ Sudan **(1.60)** | ▲ Nigeria **(2.12)** | | | |
| | ▲ Eq. Guinea **(0.99)** | ▼ Somalia **(1.38)** | ▼ Uganda **(1.91)** | ▼ Rwanda **(2.12)** | | | |
| ▼ Eritrea **(0.19)** | ▯ Zimbabwe **(0.94)** | ▼ Togo **(1.08)** | ▯ Zambia **(1.83)** | ▲ Tanzania **(2.26)** | ▲ South Africa **(2.81)** | | |

| UNSUSTAINABLE ANTI-FREE PRESS | UNSUSTAINABLE MIXED SYSTEM | NEAR SUSTAINABILITY | SUSTAINABLE |
|---|---|---|---|

## MEDIA SUSTAINABILITY INDEX 2009: **PLURALITY OF NEWS SOURCES**

| 0 – 0.50 | 0.51 – 1.00 | 1.01 – 1.50 | 1.51 – 2.00 | 2.01 – 2.50 | 2.51 – 3.00 | 3.01 – 3.50 | 3.51 – 4.00 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | ▯ Botswana **(2.14)** | | | |
| | | | | ▯ Burkina Faso **(2.23)** | | | |
| | | | | ▯ Burundi **(2.31)** | | | |
| | | | | ▲ D. R. Congo **(2.31)** | | | |
| | | | | ▯ Côte d'Ivoire **(2.28)** | | | |
| | | | | ▯ Gabon **(2.30)** | | | |
| | | | ▯ Cameroon **(1.94)** | ▼ Ghana **(2.33)** | | | |
| | | | ▲ Cent. Afr. Rep. **(1.83)** | ▼ Guinea **(2.29)** | | | |
| | | | ▲ Chad **(1.78)** | ▼ Kenya **(2.15)** | | | |
| | | | ▼ Rep. Congo **(1.67)** | ▯ Liberia **(2.08)** | | | |
| | | | ▼ Madagascar **(1.83)** | ▼ Malawi **(2.39)** | | | |
| | | | ▼ Mauritania **(1.53)** | ▯ Namibia **(2.21)** | ▲ Benin **(2.55)** | | |
| | | | ▼ Niger **(2.00)** | ▯ Nigeria **(2.34)** | ▲ Mali **(2.52)** | | |
| | | | ▼ Somalia **(1.46)** | ▯ Senegal **(2.32)** | ▲ Mozambique **(2.53)** | | |
| | | ▼ Djibouti **(1.19)** | ▯ Somaliland **(1.89)** | ▼ Sierra Leone **(2.17)** | ▼ Rwanda **(2.55)** | | |
| | ▯ Eq. Guinea **(0.89)** | ▼ Ethiopia **(1.15)** | ▲ Sudan **(1.78)** | ▼ Tanzania **(2.37)** | ▲ South Africa **(2.79)** | | |
| ▯ Eritrea **(0.17)** | ▯ Zimbabwe **(0.84)** | ▼ The Gambia **(1.50)** | ▲ Togo **(1.90)** | ▯ Zambia **(2.05)** | ▯ Uganda **(2.66)** | | |

| UNSUSTAINABLE ANTI-FREE PRESS | UNSUSTAINABLE MIXED SYSTEM | NEAR SUSTAINABILITY | SUSTAINABLE |
|---|---|---|---|

### CHANGE SINCE 2008
▲ (increase greater than .10)   ▯ (little or no change)   ▼ (decrease greater than .10)

Annual scores for 2006 through 2009 are available online at http://www.irex.org/system/files/Africa_msiscores.xls

# MEDIA SUSTAINABILITY INDEX 2009: BUSINESS MANAGEMENT

| 0 – 0.50 | 0.51 – 1.00 | 1.01 – 1.50 | 1.51 – 2.00 | 2.01 – 2.50 | 2.51 – 3.00 | 3.01 – 3.50 | 3.51 – 4.00 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | ▲ Benin (1.64) | | | | |
| | | | ▲ Burkina Faso (2.00) | | | | |
| | | | ▲ Burundi (1.62) | | | | |
| | | | ▯ Ethiopia (1.52) | | | | |
| | | ▯ Cameroon (1.24) | ▲ Gabon (1.65) | | | | |
| | | ▲ Cent. Afr. Rep. (1.04) | ▯ Madagascar (1.94) | ▼ Botswana (2.08) | | | |
| | | ▯ Chad (1.44) | ▯ Mali (1.53) | ▲ Côte d'Ivoire (2.15) | | | |
| | | ▼ D. R. Congo (1.03) | ▼ Mauritania (1.58) | ▼ Ghana (2.02) | | | |
| | | ▯ Djibouti (1.11) | ▲ Niger (1.86) | ▯ Guinea (2.01) | | | |
| | | ▯ The Gambia (1.45) | ▼ Rwanda (1.75) | ▯ Malawi (2.09) | | | |
| | | ▯ Liberia (1.45) | ▲ Senegal (1.80) | ▲ Mozambique (2.22) | | | |
| | ▼ Rep. Congo (0.93) | ▯ Somaliland (1.48) | ▲ Sierra Leone (1.55) | ▼ Nigeria (2.02) | | | |
| | ▲ Eq. Guinea (0.59) | ▯ Togo (1.14) | ▯ Sudan (1.78) | ▯ Tanzania (2.20) | ▲ Kenya (2.62) | | |
| ▯ Eritrea (0.14) | ▼ Somalia (0.89) | ▯ Zimbabwe (1.49) | ▲ Zambia (1.73) | ▯ Uganda (2.35) | ▼ Namibia (2.51) | ▲ South Africa (3.02) | |

| UNSUSTAINABLE ANTI-FREE PRESS | UNSUSTAINABLE MIXED SYSTEM | NEAR SUSTAINABILITY | SUSTAINABLE |
|---|---|---|---|

# MEDIA SUSTAINABILITY INDEX 2009: SUPPORTING INSTITUTIONS

| 0 – 0.50 | 0.51 – 1.00 | 1.01 – 1.50 | 1.51 – 2.00 | 2.01 – 2.50 | 2.51 – 3.00 | 3.01 – 3.50 | 3.51 – 4.00 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | ▯ Botswana (2.28) | | | |
| | | | | ▲ Burundi (2.19) | | | |
| | | | | ▲ Chad (2.10) | | | |
| | | | | ▼ Côte d'Ivoire (2.21) | | | |
| | | | ▲ Cameroon (1.98) | ▯ Guinea (2.31) | | | |
| | | | ▲ Cent. Afr. Rep. (1.83) | ▼ Liberia (2.25) | | | |
| | | | ▯ D. R. Congo (1.97) | ▲ Mali (2.20) | ▼ Benin (2.96) | | |
| | | | ▼ Gabon (1.91) | ▯ Mozambique (2.46) | ▲ Burkina Faso (2.94) | | |
| | | | ▯ The Gambia (1.72) | ▯ Niger (2.29) | ▼ Ghana (2.56) | | |
| | | | ▼ Madagascar (1.96) | ▯ Rwanda (2.17) | ▲ Kenya (2.57) | | |
| | | ▼ Rep. Congo (1.28) | ▼ Mauritania (1.63) | ▯ Senegal (2.42) | ▯ Malawi (2.51) | | |
| | | ▼ Djibouti (1.17) | ▯ Somaliland (1.91) | ▼ Sierra Leone (2.31) | ▯ Namibia (2.65) | | |
| | ▯ Eq. Guinea (0.80) | ▼ Somalia (1.39) | ▼ Togo (1.67) | ▼ Tanzania (2.48) | ▲ Nigeria (2.73) | | |
| ▯ Eritrea (0.19) | ▼ Ethiopia (0.81) | ▯ Sudan (1.31) | ▯ Zimbabwe (1.81) | ▼ Zambia (2.03) | ▯ Uganda (2.57) | ▲ South Africa (3.26) | |

| UNSUSTAINABLE ANTI-FREE PRESS | UNSUSTAINABLE MIXED SYSTEM | NEAR SUSTAINABILITY | SUSTAINABLE |
|---|---|---|---|

## CHANGE SINCE 2008

▲ (increase greater than .10)   ▯ (little or no change)   ▼ (decrease greater than .10)

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