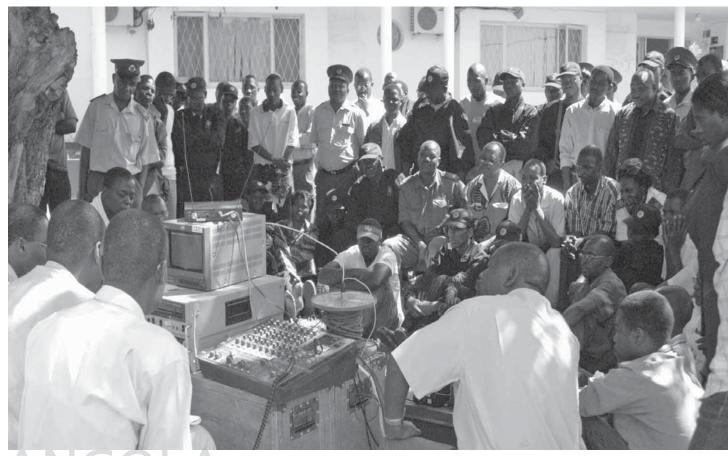
During the civil war, the media were exclusively state controlled. All private radio stations (there were about 13 in 1975), were nationalized and conglomerated into the current nationwide National Radio of Angola (RNA) in 1976.



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Angola attained independence on November 11, 1975 after a 14 year liberation war conducted by the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), and the Union for Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), founded in 1968 by Jonas Savimbi. Immediately after independence, the country embarked on one of the most bitter and longest civil wars in Africa. The FNLA conducted armed actions in the north until 1978, when it gave up. UNITA conducted a guerrilla war throughout the country that finally forced the opening of the MPLA's communist regime in 1989. Peace accords were signed in 1991 and general elections were organized in September 1992 under the supervision of the UN. UNITA lost the elections, refused to accept the results, and went back to war.

After a two-year effort to secure peace, the UN managed to bring together the two warring parties in Lusaka where another peace deal was established. That also collapsed in December 1998 when UNITA, who in the interim managed to acquire heavy weapons from former Soviet bloc countries, launched a massive offensive aiming to seize power. The conflict ended only in February 2002 when Savimbi died in combat and UNITA surrendered. Its leadership was pardoned and allowed to take seats in the parliament and hold cabinet positions in the Government of Reconciliation and National Unity. In the second elections in 2008, UNITA was badly beaten and MPLA acquired an 82 percent majority.

The nature of Angola's media has been a reflection of these events. During the civil war, the media were exclusively state controlled. All private radio stations (there were about 13 in 1975), were nationalized and conglomerated into the current nationwide National Radio of Angola (RNA) in 1976. The last was Radio Ecclésia, owned by the Catholic Church, which followed the same fate in 1977. Approximately 15 newspapers were also nationalized; all of them were grouped into the current *Jornal de Angola*. In that context, according to Marxist-Leninist principles, the media and journalists became propaganda tools of the MPLA.

That situation persisted until 1989 when, following the gradual migration to a free market economy, the first newsweekly, *Correio da Semana*, appeared. About 15 others followed. Many of these have since disappeared, including *Imparcial Fax*, whose founder and director was shot dead at his own door in January 1995, a murder so far unpunished. That same year, arsonists attacked the weekly newspaper *Agora* in a case that remains unsolved.

Private broadcast media also began operations. In 1990 the first four private FM stations began operating, followed by the reopening of Radio Ecclésia in 1997. However, since then only Radio Mais has opened, in 2009. Only one private television station (ZTV, formerly TV Zimbo) has been licensed and is broadcasting. This relative lack of plurality, given the size of the country, is certainly one reason that Angola did not score better in this, its inaugural, MSI study.

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# ANGOLA AT A GLANCE

### **GENERAL**

- > Population: 18,056,072 (July 2011 est., CIA World Factbook)
- > Capital city: Luanda
- > Ethnic groups (% of population): Ovimbundu 37%, Kimbundu 25%, Bakongo 13%, mestico (mixed European and native African) 2%, European 1%, other 22% (CIA World Factbook)
- > Religions (% of population): indigenous beliefs 47%, Roman Catholic 38%, Protestant 15% (1998 est., CIA World Factbook)
- > Languages: Portuguese (official), Bantu and other African languages (CIA World Factbook)
- > GNI (2010-Atlas): \$75.15 billion (World Bank Development Indicators, 2011)
- > GNI per capita (2010-PPP): \$5,430 (World Bank Development Indicators, 2011)
- > Literacy rate: 67.4% (male 82.9%, female 54.2%) (CIA World Factbook)
- > President or top authority: President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos (since September 21, 1979)

### **MEDIA-SPECIFIC**

- > Number of active print outlets, radio stations, television stations: Print: 12 reasonably regular newspapers (1 national daily (state-owned), 11 national private weeklies). Radio Stations: 1 state-owned with national reach and 7 private local FM stations. Television Stations: 1 state-owned with national reach and 1 private local station. Online: 2 private digital journals
- > Newspaper circulation statistics: No verifiable statistics exist; Semanário Angolense, Novo Jornal, and O País (all privately owned) are regarded as the widest circulating newspapers
- > Broadcast ratings: N/A
- > News agencies: ANGOP Angola Press (state-owned)
- > Annual advertising revenue in media sector: N/A
- > Internet usage: 606,700 (2009 est., CIA World Factbook)

# MEDIA SUSTAINABILITY INDEX: ANGOLA WEDIA SUSTAINABILITY INDEX: ANGOLA WEDIA SUSTAINABILITY INDEX: ANGOLA WERE PROFESSIONAL 16.1 1.5.1 OLD FREE PROFESSIONAL PLURALITY OF NEWS SOURCES MANAGEMENT SUPPORTING INSTITUTIONS OBJECTIVES

### Unsustainable, Anti-Free Press (0-1):

Country does not meet or only minimally meets objectives. Government and laws actively hinder free media development, professionalism is low, and media-industry activity is minimal.

### Unsustainable Mixed System (1-2):

Country minimally meets objectives, with segments of the legal system and government opposed to a free media system. Evident progress in free-press advocacy, increased professionalism, and new media businesses may be too recent to judge sustainability.

Near Sustainability (2-3): Country has progressed in meeting multiple objectives, with legal norms, professionalism, and the business environment supportive of independent media. Advances have survived changes in government and have been codified in law and practice. However, more time may be needed to ensure that change is enduring and that increased professionalism and the media business environment are sustainable.

**Sustainable (3-4):** Country has media that are considered generally professional, free, and sustainable, or to be approaching these objectives. Systems supporting independent media have survived multiple governments, economic fluctuations, and changes in public opinion or social conventions.

### **OBJECTIVE 1: FREEDOM OF SPEECH**

### **Angola Objective Score: 1.53**

On paper, freedom of speech is widely and thoroughly safeguarded in the newly approved constitution, which came into force in February 2010; panelists felt that these safeguards are some of the most advanced in Africa. However, they equally agreed that the discrepancy between constitutional rights and reality in regards to the right to freedom of speech as practiced and protected by the authorities undermines largely the spirit of the constitution. Valentino Mateus, a correspondent for Rádio Ecclésia in Lubango, was quite candid, saying, "The Constitution of our country safeguards freedom of speech, either through freedom of speech, or through freedom of demonstrations. Yet, its application in practice has been systematically violated as reports from human rights activists can attest. Civic activists are on trial in Cabinda, and demonstrations are impeded throughout the country."

The panelists agreed generally that while theoretically anyone who wants can apply for a license to operate a media outlet, the regime exercises indirect methods to control who actually can maintain the capacity to keep them running. Those methods are basically full financial support to the public media and literally no support to the private media. Another method is channeling advertisements away from private media considered too critical, as the government is the main advertiser (it is the chief business conglomerate and largest employer).

# LEGAL AND SOCIAL NORMS PROTECT AND PROMOTE FREE SPEECH AND ACCESS TO PUBLIC INFORMATION.

### FREE-SPEECH INDICATORS:

- > Legal and social protections of free speech exist and are enforced.
- > Licensing of broadcast media is fair, competitive, and apolitical.
- Market entry and tax structure for media are fair and comparable to other industries.
- > Crimes against journalists or media outlets are prosecuted vigorously, but occurrences of such crimes are rare.
- > State or public media do not receive preferential legal treatment, and law guarantees editorial independence.
- > Libel is a civil law issue; public officials are held to higher standards, and offended parties must prove falsity and malice.
- > Public information is easily accessible; right of access to information is equally enforced for all media and journalists.
- > Media outlets have unrestricted access to information; this is equally enforced for all media and journalists.
- > Entry into the journalism profession is free, and government imposes no licensing, restrictions, or special rights for journalists.

"The licensing of the media is quite free," said Mateus.
"However, that is not so in the interior of the country." Suzana Mendes, director for information at *Angolense*, added that the licensing process depends totally on the state, with no participation from any professional or civil society organization. Mário Santos, senior editor for Radio Ecclésia, concurred and noted that there is too much political interference in the process of licensing and operation of any kind of media in the country.

The tax regime neither unfairly burdens nor provides advantages for media companies. Interestingly, panelists admitted that they do not concern themselves that much in paying their taxes. The reason they gave is that the government has pledged to help the private media either with financial subsidies or with tax and customs exemptions (media depend totally on imported materials to operate); the government has never fulfilled that pledge. Perhaps because of this the government has historically turned a blind eye to this lack of compliance on the part of media outlets.

However, what has appeared as general laxity on the part of the government may be at a close. As this report was being finalized, the government announced a deadline for all companies to regularize their tax payments or face suspension and several other sanctions. Edna Martinho, senior editor for ZTV, noted, "There is disorganization among the media companies, as nothing should justify the non-payment of the taxes." This state of affairs is not unique to private media. A recent audit of the two biggest media companies, Televisao Popular de Angola (TPA) and Radio Nacional de Angola (RNA), revealed that they have not been paying taxes, including social security for their employees, for decades.

The year 2010 was not a safe one for Angola's journalists. A Radio Despertar (believed to be close to UNITA) reporter, Alberto Chakussanga, was murdered in November. A month later António "Jojó" Manuel, also from Radio Despertar, was knifed on his way home from work. Jojó's program is quite popular and often critical of the regime. Around the same time a journalist from the private ZTV was also attacked on his way home from work. Because of incidences such as these, a Reporters Without Borders report released in December 2010 called Angola "the worst Lusophone country to exercise journalism." Mendes said, "Crimes against journalists are not frequent, but when they occur are quite brutal and never investigated. By the end of last year we had the murder of Chakussanga from Radio Despertar and so far there has not been any explanation from authorities on where the case stands."

Panelists agreed that there is heavy direct interference from the government on the editorial lines of the public media. As indicated above, public media enjoy full financing from the government and preferential access to advertising.

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Libel cases are tried in criminal courts and those found guilty may be fined heavily or even imprisoned.

There was a general agreement among panelists that access to public information is not equal between public and private media. Public media representatives are invited to cover the main state activities, including presidential trips, while those from the private media seldom are. Private media coverage of presidential trips has recently been extended to private media believed to be owned by friends of the ruling party: reporters from *O País*, ZTV, and Radio Mais have been included on some recent presidential trips.

Entry into the journalism profession is free, the panelists agreed, and in practice the government imposes no licensing restrictions or special rights for journalists. Yet, draft laws that are under public discussion and will be submitted shortly to parliament propose that entrants into the field must hold a university degree in social communication or a related field or else hold a university degree in a non-related field and complete a 12-month professionalization course in journalism.

### **OBJECTIVE 2: PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISM**

### Angola Objective Score: 1.70

All panelists agreed that the level of technical performance of journalists in the country is far from adequate due to "historical reasons." Those reasons include the lack of formal training in communication sciences for the first 30 years of Angola's post-independence existence. The few journalists who had specific training during that time received it in Soviet-bloc countries teaching a Marxist-Leninist curriculum. Adriano de Sousa, reporter for Semanário Angolense and the youngest panelist, agreed with other panelists regarding the lack of technical quality in journalism, but added, "It has been improving gradually over the last years." Luisa Rogério, senior journalist at the public and only daily Jornal de Angola and secretary general of the Syndicate of Journalists concurred. "There have been some improvements, and the journalists themselves have applied lots of effort to improve their training academically and professionally," she said. "Yet there are still many shortfalls. The Press Law and the constitution itself place emphasis on the concept of public service but in practice those gaps exist," she added.

The panelists cited insufficient pay as a major reason why news pieces produced by both public and private media journalists too often are not objective, rational, or well-founded. Panelists also generally agreed that current journalism in Angola is quite superficial. Poor pay is also the reason, panelists said, for the breaks in ethics that so often occur among journalists and other media professionals.

Panelists said the same applies to self-censorship. Strong interference from politicians in the public media, added to their capacity to control the stream of advertising—the main revenue source for private media—often persuade editors to avoid or even kill those stories that might harm the government. Rogério said, "The interference of the public powers, the ghost of self-censorship, and the fear of reprisals—denial of access to material goods and/or economic advantages—contribute to the disrespect of the standards of journalism fidelity."

Panelists agreed that coverage of key events is neither uniform nor equal among journalists and media outlets. For example, most of the private media are not invited (and sometimes barred on the spot) from coverage of high profile state functions and events, such as presidential and parliamentary activities. These are reserved for public media who, in turn, seldom cover events of the opposition parties and civil society that may be perceived by the government as opposing them. Nateus provided some specific examples: while private media are barred from covering state events and parliamentary sessions, journalists from the public media were barred from covering March 7 demonstrations called for the opposition.

Another consensus among panelists was that journalists do not earn sufficiently well to make them immune to corruption. A panelist who asked to remain anonymous pointed out that, at best, low pay encourages lack of distinction between serving as a journalist and being for hire as a media or public relations consultant. Private media journalists say public media ones earn better salaries; public media journalists affirm this, but claim what they earn is still insufficient to cover basic needs. While there is a salary scale for journalists in the public media (as part of the general salary scale for public servants) there is no such tool for professionals in the private media.

## JOURNALISM MEETS PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS OF QUALITY.

### PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISM INDICATORS:

- > Reporting is fair, objective, and well sourced.
- > Journalists follow recognized and accepted ethical standards.
- $\,>\,$  Journalists and editors do not practice self-censorship.
- > Journalists cover key events and issues.
- > Pay levels for journalists and other media professionals are sufficiently high to discourage corruption.
- > Entertainment programming does not eclipse news and information programming.
- > Technical facilities and equipment for gathering, producing, and distributing news are modern and efficient.
- Quality niche reporting and programming exists (investigative, economics/business, local, political).

Some panelists, like Guilhermina de Fátima, a marketer with the advertising agency Movimento in Namibe, said that in the public media there is a balance between entertainment and news, while that is not so in the private media, with the balance tipping toward entertainment. Martinho had a different opinion. In her view, entertainment in the private media, and in general, does not obscure news programs. However, the private media depend heavily on revenue from advertising; therefore programming must be attractive to the public to ensure a large audience that advertisers will be attracted to. The public media is immune to this pressure as it is fully funded by the state.

In general, the public media enjoy more modern facilities than their counterparts in the private media. Overall, though, the technology used is quite modern: most media outlets have entered the digital era.

### **OBJECTIVE 3: PLURALITY OF NEWS**

Angola Objective Score: 1.46

The panelists agreed that Angola does not offer its citizens a full plurality of public and private news sources—in print, on the air, and online. Nationwide radio and television broadcasting is the sole domain of state broadcasters. Private radio stations only cover Luanda and a few other cities; private ZTV is only available in Luanda. While there is plurality in the print media, this again is limited largely to urban areas. Poor transportation and spotty ICT infrastructure, combined with poverty and illiteracy, in rural areas limits severely the ability of citizens in those areas to access the plurality of media sources that is available to city dwellers.

# MULTIPLE NEWS SOURCES PROVIDE CITIZENS WITH RELIABLE AND OBJECTIVE NEWS.

### PLURALITY OF NEWS SOURCES INDICATORS:

- A plurality of affordable public and private news sources (e.g., print, broadcast, Internet) exists.
- > Citizens' access to domestic or international media is not restricted.
- > State or public media reflect the views of the entire political spectrum, are nonpartisan, and serve the public interest.
- > Independent news agencies gather and distribute news for print and broadcast media.
- > Independent broadcast media produce their own news programs.
- > Transparency of media ownership allows consumers to judge objectivity of news; media ownership is not concentrated in a few conglomerates.
- > A broad spectrum of social interests are reflected and represented in the media, including minority-language information sources.

Although regional radio stations controlled by RNA play a very important role in the interior of the country, community radio stations have not been licensed to date. The explanation given by the authorities was that these must wait for the development and enactment of the Press Law, in which they are included. Nine years have passed since the law was enacted, however, and still community broadcast licenses are not considered by the government regulators.

Panelists agreed that the access to national and international media is generally unrestricted, especially now with the dissemination of satellite television dishes. They also agreed that whatever restriction that may exist in this regard has its origin in cultural, rather than political, factors. "There is a big deficit in broadcasting in local languages," explained Mendes, seconded by Martinho. Because of that, Mateus said, access to international media is higher in urban than in rural areas.

All panelists agreed that the state media do not reflect the opinion of the whole political spectrum. On the contrary, they tend to ignore certain events or distort the message of the opposition or civil society organizations understood as unfriendly to the government. Opposition parties, civil society, and the National Council of Social Communication (known by its Portuguese acronym CNCS), the body that regulates the performance of the media in the country, have repeatedly complained of this behavior exhibited by the state media. The CNCS's resolution of June 2011 was particularly adamant, appealing directly to TPA, RNA, and *Jornal de Angola* to revise their approach and grant equal treatment to all actors on the political landscape.

There is only one news agency—ANGOP—and it is state-owned. Mendes summarized the situations as follows: "Independent news agencies are non-existent; only ANGOP, which is public, and whose administration board is nominated by the minister of social communication, who in turn is nominated by the president of the republic."

However, bolstering plurality is the variety private media outlets producing their own news programs. All media outlets, public and private, produce their own news programs, and that makes the news spectrum quite wide in terms of topics covered. Yet, that independence was perceived to be at risk by all panelists. "The risk of monopolies or even oligopolies in the private media is increasingly bigger. 'Unknown owners' are now acquiring the most important private media newsweeklies, radios, and even a TV station," Mendes said. It is noteworthy that in the current Press Law, monopolies and oligopolies, as well as anonymous ownership of media companies, are forbidden. Nonetheless two anonymous cartels bought the newsweeklies A Capital and Semanário Angolense in mid 2010 and another company, Medianova, operates simultaneously a radio station (Radio Mais), ZTV, the newsweekly O Pais, and a printing company (Damer).

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The state broadcasters offer programming in the twelve major local languages; RNA even has a channel (Radio Ngola Yetu) that broadcasts solely in local languages 24-hours-a-day. However, private media do not offer such services. There is absolutely no print media, public or private in, local languages. Panelists pointed to this as something that the media sector should rectify.

### **OBJECTIVE 4: BUSINESS MANAGEMENT**

### Angola Objective Score: 1.24

Objective 4 received the lowest score, but generated disagreement amongst the panelists. All panelists, with the exception of Mateus, believe that the independent media are not managed in a way that generates sufficient income to ensure editorial independence. Mateus supported his dissent, saying, "Taking in account that the private media are not funded by the government, they have established a relationship with advertising agencies, which ensures editorial independence." Mendes, who is the only female manager of a newsweekly, countered, "The management of the independent media is very informal and that jeopardizes the ability to access revenue." One of the panelists from the state media, who requested not to be identified, shared the opinion that state media are generally well managed.

All panelists agreed that advertising is the only source of income for the private media; sales of copies are negligible for private print media. Yet they pointed out that the advertisement market, according to one panelist, "is still very weak and not strong enough to ensure sufficient income to warrant editorial independence for the private media."

# INDEPENDENT MEDIA ARE WELL-MANAGED BUSINESSES, ALLOWING EDITORIAL INDEPENDENCE.

### **BUSINESS MANAGEMENT INDICATORS:**

- > Media outlets and supporting firms operate as efficient, professional, and profit-generating businesses.
- > Media receive revenue from a multitude of sources.
- > Advertising agencies and related industries support an advertising market.
- > Advertising revenue as a percentage of total revenue is in line with accepted standards at commercial outlets.
- > Independent media do not receive government subsidies.
- Market research is used to formulate strategic plans, enhance advertising revenue, and tailor products to the needs and interests of audiences.
- > Broadcast ratings and circulation figures are reliably and independently produced.

One of the panelists, who asked to remain anonymous, pointed out that religious advertising is becoming increasingly important for the financial sustainability of the private media. He gave the example of the Universal Church of God's Kingdom, founded in Brazil, which floods the private media with advertising. He also noted that the price media pay for receiving such advertising is to not criticize any of the church's activities, otherwise it pulls advertising immediately. Salas Neto, director of *Semanário Angolense*, said that this church stopped advertising in his newspaper after they published a news report the church found unflattering.

Panelists agreed that independent media do not receive any subsidy from the government, although that is provided for in the Press Law. The law also includes financial incentives such as discounted prices for paper and other essentials, but to date these have not materialized.

Panelists also agreed that there is no tradition or practice of using market research to formulate strategic plans, enhance advertising revenue, or tailor media products to the needs and interests of audiences. In the few cases where such research has been undertaken, media organizations use questionnaires, phone interviews, and other feedback systems to elicit the views of their audiences or targeted populations. But, the panelists said, that even in such cases media outlets very rarely follow through on the findings by changing content or program schedules.

### **OBJECTIVE 5: SUPPORTING INSTITUTIONS**

### Angola Objective Score: 1.91

Objective 5 received the highest score of all objectives. All the panelists felt strongly that civil society in general, and NGOs and professional associations specifically, provide useful support to all media, public and private, with an emphasis on helping private media.

The issue of trade associations was one exception: the panelists noted that they are very weak. "There is a long way to go for them to be efficient and truly represent the interests of the media people," said Martinho. "The support for the private media from trade associations is almost non-existent," agreed Santos.

All panelists agreed that there is at least one professional organization, the Syndicate of Journalists of Angola, which offers solid support to its members. Syndicate members are drawn from the ranks of both state and private media outlet staff. At one time the government-backed Union of Angolan Journalists operated as well, but it ceased operating in the early 1990s.

The Syndicate has proved to be extremely effective in its defense of the professional rights of journalists, especially

in efforts regarding the decriminalization of laws regulating journalists in the pursuit of professional activities. The panelists agreed that the situation of the media in general could be worse if not for past actions taken by the Syndicate.

Panelists also agreed that NGOs support actively freedom of speech. "There is no doubt that they lend strong support to freedom of speech by facilitating and financing airtime for controversial programs, especially on the private radios" said Mateus. Three such NGOs were mentioned in particular: a lawyers human rights organization called Free Hands (Mãos Livres in Portuguese), another called Association for Justice, Peace, and Democracy, and the Angolan branch of George Soros' Open Society Foundation. Two days before the panelists met, these three organizations started a campaign against a law that would criminalize certain uses of ICT tools, which had been surreptitiously approved by the parliament the week before. The bill would give security forces broad powers to search and confiscate data and create harsher penalties for activities described in existing laws (including the state secrets law and state security law) surrounding the collection and dissemination of information, photos, and videos.1 As a result of the lobbying by these NGOs, the ruling party was compelled to withdraw the law from further discussion.

There were no graduate-level courses in Journalism or Social Communication between Angola's independence in 1975 and 2002, when the Private University of Angola started the first program. Currently, three more have followed suit, including the Faculty of Literacy and Social Sciences at the public university. Panelists disagreed on the quality of those graduate programs. Martinho, herself a graduate from one of

<sup>1</sup> "Angola: Withdraw Cybercrime Bill." Human Rights Watch website, May 13, 2011. Available at: http://www.hrw.org/news/2011/05/13/ angola-withdraw-cybercrime-bill

# SUPPORTING INSTITUTIONS FUNCTION IN THE PROFESSIONAL INTERESTS OF INDEPENDENT MEDIA.

### SUPPORTING INSTITUTIONS INDICATORS:

- > Trade associations represent the interests of private media owners and provide member services.
- > Professional associations work to protect journalists' rights.
- > NGOs support free speech and independent media.
- Quality journalism degree programs that provide substantial practical experience exist.
- > Short-term training and in-service training programs allow journalists to upgrade skills or acquire new skills.
- > Sources of newsprint and printing facilities are in private hands, apolitical, and unrestricted.
- > Channels of media distribution (kiosks, transmitters, Internet) are private, apolitical, and unrestricted.

the universities, said that the quality is acceptable; Mendes, who also graduated with distinction from another program, said courses could benefit from more practical, hands-on training. "They are very theoretical," she complained.

Panelists agreed in general that short-term professionalization courses are of good quality and ensure that all those who did not attend journalism and/or social communication universities supplement their on-the-job training with formal journalism training. Panelists mentioned the Center of Training of Journalists (part of the Ministry of Social Communication) as the leading institution in this regard, ensuring that at least some training was available during the years the country did not have university training.

Panelists had complaints about the state of the printing industry. "[Printing companies] are too few, only three for more than 10 weekly newspapers plus their other [non-media] clients," said Mendes. Martinho agreed: "They are too few to give solid support to the media," she said. Another complaint from the panelists is that the private newspapers circulate almost exclusively in Luanda and a few provinces along the coast. In addition to logistical and geographical obstacles, there are consistent and recurrent reports of authorities in the provinces of the interior blocking the circulation of print media in the territories under their jurisdiction.

### List of Panel Participants

Suzana Mendes, director for information, Angolense, Luanda

**Luisa Rogério**, senior reporter, *Jornal de Angola*; secretary-general of the Syndicate of Journalists of Angola, Luanda

Salas Neto, director, Semanário Angolense, Luanda

Mário Santos, senior editor, Radio Ecclésia, Luanda

Edna Martinho, senior editor, ZTV, Luanda

**Guilhermina de Fátima**, marketer, Movimento advertising agency, Namibe

Adriano de Sousa, reporter, Semanário Angolense, Luanda

Valentino Mateus, correspondent, Radio Ecclésia, Lubango

Amor de Fátima Mateus, freelance journalist and media adviser, Luanda

Two additional panelists participated only on condition of anonymity.

### **Moderator and Author**

**Celso Malavoloneke**, deputy head, Department of Social Communication and International Relations, Private University of Angola, Luanda

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