

# AFRICA



# GAP WIDENS BETWEEN GOOD AND BAD PERFORMERS IN AFRICA

# Dramatic falls by countries that cracked down on mass unrest

The 2011 Arab Spring did not spill over into sub-Saharan Africa to the point of bringing down any governments, but some regimes had to face forceful political and social demands, and journalists covering demonstrations were often the victims of indiscriminate police repression or were targeted by police who did not want them covering the crackdown.

This was the case in **Angola** (132<sup>nd</sup>), where many journalists were arrested during protests in September, and in **Uganda** (139<sup>th</sup>), which fell 43 places in the index after a year that will not be forgotten by its media. They were the targets of violence and surveillance during the presidential election in February and were targeted again during the brutal crackdown on the "Walk to Work" protests later in the year, when dozens of journalists were arrested.

It was even worse in Malawi (146<sup>th</sup>), which plunged 67 places in the index, the biggest fall of any country in the world. Malawi's journalists were treated like demonstrators during the crackdown on protests in the summer. Many were arrested and mistreated, and equipment was broken. A student and blogger, Robert Chasowa, who was found dead in September, was almost certainly murdered. Media that wanted to investigate the case were threatened. Before all this, Malawi's media legislation had been toughened so much at the start of the year that some European partners suspended part of their aid.

# Closed and authoritarian countries near bottom of index

Reporters Without Borders regards the situation in **Rwanda** (156<sup>th</sup>) and **Equatorial Guinea** (161<sup>st</sup>) as very grave because of the control that their governments exercise over the media and freedom of expression in general. They have been joined by Djibouti (159<sup>th</sup>), which fell 49 places. Its president, Ismael Omar Guelleh, was returned to office at the start of 2011 in an election that was decided in advance and gave the opposition no possibility of expressing itself in the media. There is no free press, six people who provide an exile radio station with information were jailed for four months, and social networks are closely monitored to ensure that there are no protests.

The presence of **Côte d'Ivoire** in this same group of countries (sharing 159<sup>th</sup> position with Djibouti) could be misleading. Côte d'Ivoire has real media, unlike Guelleh's Djibouti or Teodoro Obiang Nguema's Equatorial Guinea, and they say what they think, unlike the media in Paul Kagame's Rwanda, which have little freedom of expression. Côte d'Ivoire's poor ranking reflects the dramatic impact that the post-election crisis had on the media in the first half of 2011, including harassment of all kinds, acts of violence and the murders of a journalist and a media worker. During the battle of Abidjan at the start of April, it was impossible for a journalist venture out into the city.

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# Violence, censorship and prison give East Africa three worst rankings

The three worst sub-Saharan rankings are all to be found in East Africa. Year after year, journalists continue to be exposed to the chaos and anarchy in **Somalia** (164<sup>th</sup>), a country embroiled in civil war and without a stable government since 1991. Four journalists were killed in Mogadishu in 2011. The bad ranking assigned to Omar al-Bashir's **Sudan** (170<sup>th</sup>) was due to prior censorship, closures of newspapers, and arrests, prolonged detention and mistreatment of journalists.

Finally, Eritrea (179th) came last in the index for the fifth year running. Freedom of opinion, like all the other freedoms, does not exist under the totalitarian dictatorship that President Issaias Afeworki has imposed on this Horn of Africa country. At least 30 journalists are currently detained in appalling conditions. Some have been held for more than 10 years.

At the other end of the index, several African countries made significant progress or showed that respect for freedom of information has taken a firm hold in their societies.

# **Good countries group gets** bigger

The number of African countries that are in the top 50 of the index has risen from seven last year to nine this year, while the number that are in top 100 has risen from 24 to 27. The highest non-European country in the index is an African one and in fact it is in the top 10. It is **Cape Verde** (9<sup>th</sup>), a healthy democracy and model of good governance, where governments can be changed through the ballot box, as last summer's presidential election again showed. Journalists there are completely free and all the political parties have access to the state media. **Namibia** (20<sup>th</sup>) also has an excellent ranking, better than Japan or the United Kingdom, for example.

**Botswana** (42<sup>nd</sup>), which rose 20 places, and **Comoros** (45<sup>th</sup>), which rose 25 places, are now jostling **Mali** (25<sup>th</sup>) and **Ghana** (41<sup>st</sup>), Africa's traditional leaders in respect for journalists.

# A spectacular jump and other notable improvements

Niger (29th) rose 75 places in the index, the biggest leap by any country in the world this year. The economic environment for Niger's media is very precarious but they are free and benefit from favourable legislation. Media freedom violations have virtually disappeared. The improvement has been seen in both concrete and symbolic measures. At the end of 2011, Mahamadou Issoufou, who was elected president in the spring, became the first African head of state to sign the Declaration of Table Mountain, thereby undertaking to promote media freedom.

Other African leaders could follow suit, such as Mohamed Ould Abdel Aziz, the president of **Mauritania** (67<sup>th</sup>), which rose 28 places thanks to the adoption of a law on the electronic media, the opening up of the broadcasting sector, and other developments. Its progress needs to be confirmed.

Cameroon (97<sup>th</sup>) fell sharply in 2010 because of the journalist Bibi Ngota's death in detention but recovered a respectable ranking in 2011 although light has yet to be shed on all aspects of his death and on the death in November of this year of Reporters Without Borders correspondent Jules Koum Koum, a journalist who wrote about corruption. Cameroon also badly needs to decriminalize media offences and modernize its communication law. Madagascar (84<sup>th</sup>) continued to improve for the second year running after plummeting in 2009 because of that year's political crisis but, 2012, as an election year, will pose challenges.





### **Africa**

### **Soft underbelly**

The absence of major incidents involving the media allowed **Senegal** (75<sup>th</sup>) to rise 18 places but the situation is fragile one month ahead of a presidential election that is likely to be tense. Like their Cameroonian counterparts, the Senegalese authorities are still not ready to protect journalists from prison sentences by decriminalizing media offences. Aside from abusive lawsuits, **Liberia** (110<sup>th</sup>) usually allows its media a great deal of freedom but it fell 26 places this year because journalists were attacked and media were closed during the presidential election in October and November, when challenger Winston Tubman boycotted the run-off against the incumbent, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf.

**South Sudan** (111<sup>th</sup>), which became independent on 9 July, entered the index with a respectable ranking. The challenge for this country is to build a solid and viable state in a very unstable region while guaranteeing freedom of expression. It must make every effort to avoid sinking to the level of its neighbours.

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### WORLD PRESS FREEDOM INDEX 2011-2012



# CRACKDOWNS ON PROTESTS CAUSE BIG CHANGES TO INDEX POSITIONS

# Syria, Bahrain and Yemen get worst ever rankings

"This year's index sees many changes in the rankings, changes that reflect a year that was incredibly rich in developments, especially in the Arab world," Reporters Without Borders said today as it released its 10<sup>th</sup> annual press freedom index. "Many media paid dearly for their coverage of democratic aspirations or opposition movements. Control of news and information continued to tempt governments and to be a question of survival for totalitarian and repressive regimes. The past year also highlighted the leading role played by netizens in producing and disseminating news.

"Crackdown was the word of the year in 2011. Never has freedom of information been so closely associated with democracy. Never have journalists, through their reporting, vexed the enemies of freedom so much. Never have acts of censorship and physical attacks on journalists seemed so numerous. The equation is simple: the absence or suppression of civil liberties leads necessarily to the suppression of media freedom. Dictatorships fear and ban information, especially when it may undermine them.

"It is no surprise that the same trio of countries, Eritrea, Turkmenistan and North Korea, absolute dictatorships that permit no civil liberties, again occupy the last three places in the index. This year, they are immediately preceded at the bottom by Syria, Iran and China, three countries that seem to have lost contact with reality as they have been sucked into an insane spiral of terror, and by Bahrain and Vietnam, quintessential oppressive regimes. Other countries such as Uganda and Belarus have also become much more repressive.

"This year's index finds the same group of countries at its head, countries such as Finland, Norway and Netherlands that respect basic freedoms. This serves as a reminder that media independence can only be maintained in strong democracies and that democracy needs media

freedom. It is worth noting the entry of Cape Verde and Namibia into the top twenty, two African countries where no attempts to obstruct the media were reported in 2011."

### **Protest movements**

The Arab world was the motor of history in 2011 but the Arab uprisings have had contrasting political outcomes so far, with Tunisia and Bahrain at opposite ends of the scale. Tunisia (134<sup>th</sup>) rose 30 places in index and, with much suffering, gave birth to a democratic regime that has not yet fully accepted a free and independent press. Bahrain (173<sup>rd</sup>) fell 29 places because of its relentless crackdown on pro-democracy movements, its trials of human rights defenders and its suppression of all space for freedom.

While Libya (154<sup>th</sup>) turned the page on the Gaddafi era, Yemen succumbed to violence between President Ali Abdallah Saleh's opponents and supporters and languished in 171<sup>st</sup> position. The future of both of these countries remains uncertain, and the place they will allow the media is undecided. The same goes for Egypt, which fell 39 places to 166<sup>th</sup> because the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces, in power since February, dashed the hopes of democrats by continuing the Mubarak dictatorship's practices. There were three periods of exceptional violence for journalists: in February, November and December.

Already poorly ranked in 2010, Syria fell further in the index, to 176<sup>th</sup> position, because total censorship, widespread surveillance, indiscriminate violence and government manipulation made it impossible for journalists to work.

Elsewhere in the world, pro-democracy movements that tried to follow the Arab example were ruthlessly suppressed. Many arrests were made in Vietnam (172<sup>nd</sup>). In China (174<sup>th</sup>), the government responded to regional and local protests and to public impatience with scandals and acts of injustice by feverishly reinforcing

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its system of controlling news and information, carrying out extrajudicial arrests and stepping up Internet censorship. There was a dramatic rise in the number of arrests in Azerbaijan (162<sup>nd</sup>), where Ilham Aliyev's autocratic government did not hesitate to jail netizens, abduct opposition journalists and bar foreign reporters in order to impose a news blackout on the unrest.

Led by President Yoweri Museveni, Uganda (139<sup>th</sup>) launched an unprecedented crackdown on opposition movements and independent media after the elections in February. Similarly, Chile (80<sup>th</sup>) fell 47 places because of its many freedom of information violations, committed very often by the security forces during student protests. The United States (47<sup>th</sup>) also owed its fall of 27 places to the many arrests of journalist covering Occupy Wall Street protests.

# Several European countries fall far behind rest of continent

The index has highlighted the divergence of some European countries from the rest of the continent. The crackdown on protests after President Lukashenko's reelection caused Belarus to fall 14 places to 168th. At a time when it is portraying itself as a regional model, Turkey (148th) took a big step backwards and lost 10 places. Far from carrying out promised reforms, the judicial system launched a wave of arrests of journalists that was without precedent since the military dictatorship.

Within the European Union, the index reflects a continuation of the very marked distinction between countries such as Finland and Netherlands that have always had a good evaluation and countries such as Bulgaria (80<sup>th</sup>), Greece (70<sup>th</sup>) and Italy (61<sup>st</sup>) that fail to address the issue of their media freedom violations, above all because of a lack of political will. There was little progress from France, which went from 44th to 38th, or from Spain (39<sup>th</sup>) and Romania (47<sup>th</sup>). Media freedom is a challenge that needs addressing more than ever in the Balkans, which want to join the European Union but are suffering the negative effects of the economic crisis.

### **Endemic violence**

Many countries are marked by a culture of violence towards the media that has taken a deep hold. It will be hard to reverse the trends in these countries without an effective fight against impunity. Mexico (149<sup>th</sup>) and Honduras (135<sup>th</sup>) are two cases in point. Pakistan (151<sup>st</sup>) was the world's deadliest country for journalists for the second year running. Somalia (164<sup>th</sup>), which has been at war for 20 years, shows no sign of finding a way out of the chaos in which journalists are paying a heavy price.

In Iran (175<sup>th</sup>), hounding and humiliating journalists has been part of officialdom's political culture for years. The regime feeds on persecution of the media. Iraq (152<sup>nd</sup>) fell back 22 places and is now worryingly approaching its 2008 position (158<sup>th</sup>).

### **Noteworthy changes**

South Sudan, a new nation facing many challenges, has entered the index in a respectable position (111<sup>th</sup>) for what is a breakaway from one of the worst ranked countries, Sudan (170<sup>th</sup>). Burma (169<sup>th</sup>) has a slightly better position than in previous years as a result of political changes in recent months that have raised hopes but need to be confirmed. Niger (29<sup>th</sup>) achieved the biggest rise in a single year, 75 places, thanks to a successful political transition.

It was Africa that also saw the biggest falls in the index. Djibouti, a discreet little dictatorship in the Horn of Africa, fell 49 places to 159th. Malawi (146<sup>th</sup>) fell 67 places because of the totalitarian tendencies of its president, Bingu Wa Mutharika. Uganda, mentioned above, fell 43 places to 139<sup>th</sup>. Finally, Côte d'Ivoire fell 41 places to 159<sup>th</sup> because the media were badly hit by the fighting between the supporters of rival presidents Laurent Gbagbo and Alassane Ouattara.

The biggest fall in Latin America was by Brazil, which plunged 41 places to 99th because the high level of violence resulted in the deaths of three journalists and bloggers.

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 $\begin{array}{ll} \Uparrow \Uparrow & \text{Evolution of more than} \\ \Downarrow \Downarrow & \text{10 ranks} \end{array}$ 

Evolution of less than 10 ranks

# WORLD PRESS FREEDOM INDEX 2012

Rank	Country	Grade	
1	Finland	-10,00	=
-	Norway	-10,00	=
3	Estonia	-9,00	1
-	Netherlands	-9,00	<b>↓</b>
5	Austria	-8,00	1
6	Iceland	-7,00	<b>↓</b>
-	Luxembourg	-7,00	1
8	Switzerland	-6,20	<b>\</b>
9	Cape Verde	-6,00	11
10	Canada	-5,67	11
-	Denmark	-5,67	1
12	Sweden	-5,50	
13	New Zealand	-5,33	<b>V</b>
14	Czech Republic	-5,00	1
15	Ireland	-4,00	<b>U</b>
16	Cyprus	-3,00	1
-	Jamaica	-3,00	11
-	Germany	-3,00	1
19	Costa Rica	-2,25	11
20	Belgium	-2,00	<b>\</b>
-	Namibia	-2,00	1
22	Japan	-1,00	₩₩
-	Surinam	-1,00	11
24	Poland	-0,67	<b>↑</b>
25	Mali	0,00	1
-	OECS	0,00	<b>↑</b> ↑
-	Slovakia	0,00	11
28	United Kingdom	2,00	<b>\</b>
29	Niger	2,50	11
30	Australia	4,00	$\downarrow \downarrow$
-	Lithuania	4,00	$\downarrow \downarrow$
32	Uruguay	4,25	1
33	Portugal	5,33	↑ ↑
34	Tanzania	6,00	↑ ↑
35	Papua New Guinea	9,00	1
36	Slovenia	9,14	111
37	El Salvador	9,30	11
38	France	9,50	<b>1</b>

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Rank	Country	Grade	
39	Spain	9,75	=
40	Hungary	10,00	$\downarrow\downarrow\downarrow$
41	Ghana	11,00	$\downarrow \downarrow \downarrow$
42	South Africa	12,00	<b>U</b>
-	Botswana	12,00	111
44	South Korea	12,67	<b>U</b>
45	Comoros	13,00	111
-	Taiwan	13,00	1
47	United States of America	14,00	↓↓
-	Argentina	14,00	₩.
-	Romania	14,00	1
50	Latvia	15,00	₩.
-	Trinidad and Tobago	15,00	₩.
52	Haiti	15,67	1
53	Moldova	16,00	11
54	Hong-Kong	17,00	↓↓
-	Mauricio	17,00	111
-	Samoa	17,00	111
57	United States of America (extra-territorial)	19,00	111
58	Malta	19,50	₩₩
-	Bosnia and Herzegovina	19,50	1
-	Guyana	19,50	₩₩
61	Italy	19,67	₩₩
62	Central African Republic	20,00	1
63	Lesotho	21,00	111
-	Sierra Leone	21,00	11
-	Tonga	21,00	11
66	Mozambique	21,50	111
67	Mauritania	22,20	11
68	Croatia	23,33	↓↓
-	Burkina Faso	23,33	₩
70	Bhutan	24,00	₩
-	Greece	24,00	=
72	Nicaragua	24,33	11
73	Maldives	25,00	↓↓
-	Seychelles	25,00	₩
75	Guinea-Bissau	26,00	. ↓
-	Senegal	26,00	111
77	Armenia	27,00	111
78	Kuwait	28,00	1
79	Togo	28,50	₩₩
80	Serbia	29,00	↓↓
-	Bulgaria	29,00	₩₩
-	Chile	29,00	₩
_	Paraguay	29,00	↓↓↓





Evolution of less than 10 ranks

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Rank	Country	Grade	
84	Kenya	29,50	↓↓
-	Madagascar	29,50	11
86	Guinea	30,00	11
-	Kosovo	30,00	1
-	Timor-Leste	30,00	1
-	Zambia	30,00	
90	Congo	30,38	<b>1</b> 1
91	Benin	31,00	$\downarrow \downarrow$
92	Israel (Israeli territory)	31,25	<b></b>
93	Lebanon	31,50	↓↓
94	Macedonia	31,67	$\downarrow \downarrow \downarrow$
95	Dominican Republic	33,25	1
96	Albania	34,44	$\downarrow \downarrow \downarrow$
97	Cameroon	35,00	<b>^ ^</b>
-	Guatemala	35,00	$\downarrow \downarrow \downarrow$
99	Brazil	35,33	$\downarrow \downarrow \downarrow$
100	Mongolia	35,75	$\Downarrow \Downarrow$
101	Gabon	36,50	1
102	Cyprus (North)	37,00	$\downarrow \downarrow \downarrow$
103	Chad	37,67	1
104	Ecuador	38,00	$\downarrow$
-	Georgia	38,00	$\downarrow$
106	Nepal	38,75	<b>^</b>
107	Montenegro	39,00	$\Downarrow$
108	Bolivia	40,00	$\downarrow$
-	Kyrgyzstan	40,00	<b>1</b> 1
110	Liberia	40,50	$\Downarrow \Downarrow$
111	South Sudan	41,25	nc
112	United Arab Emirates	45,00	↓↓
113	Panama	45,67	$\downarrow \downarrow \downarrow$
114	Qatar	46,00	1
115	Peru	51,25	₩
116	Ukraine	54,00	<b>^ ^</b>
117	Cambodia	55,00	<b>^ ^</b>
-	Fiji	55,00	<b>↑</b> ↑
-	Oman	55,00	1
-	Venezuela	55,00	<b>^ ^</b>
-	Zimbabwe	55,00	<u> </u>
122	Algeria	56,00	<b>↑</b> ↑
-	Tajikistan	56,00	<b>^</b>
-	Malaysia	56,00	
125	Brunei	56,20	11
126	Nigeria	56,40	111
127	Ethiopia	56,60	11
128	Jordan	56,80	<b></b>

Grade

57,00

57,75

58,00

58,43

59,00

60,25

61,00

125,00

 $\Downarrow \Downarrow$ 

 $\Downarrow$ 

 $\Downarrow \Downarrow$ 

 $\Downarrow$ 

 $\Downarrow \Downarrow$ 

 $\downarrow$ 

 $\uparrow \uparrow$ 





Rank

129

130

131

132

133

134

135

173

↑↑ Evolution of more than  $\downarrow \downarrow \downarrow$ 10 ranks

Evolution of less than 10 ranks

1 Honduras 61,00 1 137 Thailand 61,50  $\uparrow \uparrow$ 138 Morocco 63,29  $\Downarrow$ 139 Uganda 64,00  $\Downarrow \Downarrow$ 140 **Philippines** 64.50  $\uparrow \uparrow$ 141 Gambia 65,50  $\Downarrow \Downarrow$  $\Downarrow$ 142 Russia 66,00  $\uparrow$ 143 Colombia 66,50 144 Swaziland 67,00  $\uparrow \uparrow$ 145 Democratic Republic of Congo 67,67 1 146 Indonesia 68,00  $\Downarrow \Downarrow$ Malawi 68,00  $\Downarrow \Downarrow$  $\Downarrow \Downarrow$ 148 Turkey 70,00 149 Mexico 72,67  $\Downarrow \Downarrow$ 150 Afghanistan 74,00  $\Downarrow$ 151 Pakistan 75,00 = 152 Iraq 75,36  $\Downarrow \Downarrow$ 153 Palestinian Territories 76,00  $\Downarrow$ Kazakhstan 77,50  $\uparrow$ 154 \_ Libya 77,50 1 156 Rwanda 81,00  $\uparrow \uparrow$ 157 Uzbekistan 83,00 1 158 Saudi Arabia 83,25  $\downarrow$ Côte d'Ivoire 159 83,50  $\Downarrow \Downarrow$ Djibouti 83,50  $\Downarrow \Downarrow$ Equatorial Guinea 86,00 161  $\uparrow$ 162 Azerbaijan 87,25  $\Downarrow \Downarrow$ 163 Sri Lanka 87,50  $\Downarrow$ 164 Somalia 88,33  $\Downarrow$ ⇑ 165 Laos 89,00 166 Egypt 97,50  $\Downarrow \Downarrow$ 167 Cuba 98,83  $\downarrow$ 168 Belarus 99,00  $\Downarrow \Downarrow$ 169 Burma 100,00 1 170 Sudan 100,75  $\uparrow$ 171 101,00  $\Downarrow$ Yemen 172 Vietnam 114,00  $\Downarrow$ 

Bahrain

Country

Bangladesh

Burundi

India

Angola

Israel (extra-territorial)

Tunisia

Singapore

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↑↑ Evolution of more than

↓↓ 10 ranks

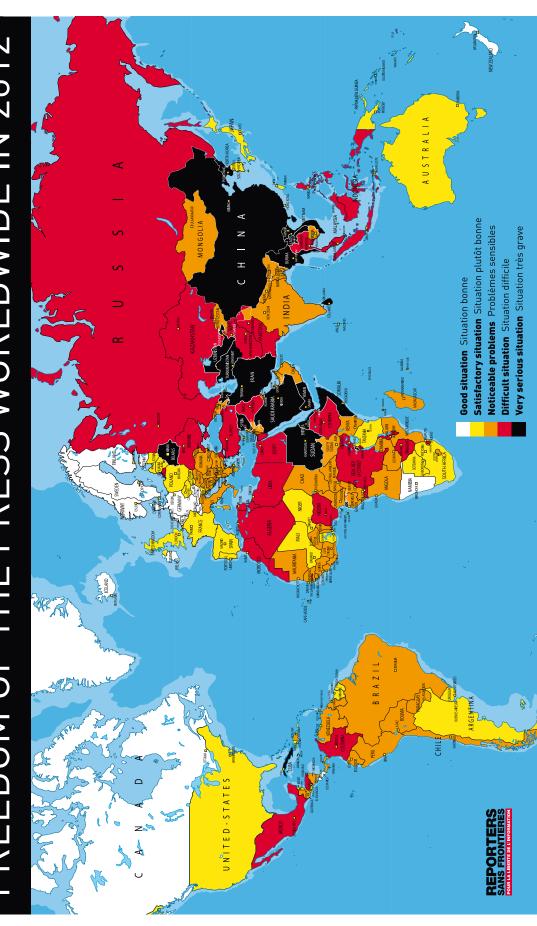
Evolution of less than 10 ranks

Rank	Country	Grade	
174	China	136,00	
175	Iran	136,60	=
176	Syria	138,00	
177	Turkmenistan	140,67	↓
178	North Korea	141,00	↓
179	Eritrea	142,00	↓

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# FREEDOM OF THE PRESS WORLDWIDE IN 2012



LA LIBERTÉ DE LA PRESSE DANS LE MONDE EN 2012