EMPOWERING INDEPENDENT MEDIA

U.S. Efforts to Foster Free and Independent News Around the World

INAUGURAL REPORT: 2008

CIMA Center for International Media Assistance

NED National Endowment for Democracy
Supporting freedom around the world

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Cover Photo: An Egyptian student participates in a hands-on training for producing documentary films in Cairo, Egypt sponsored by the International Center for Journalists. Photo courtesy of Craig Duff.

About the Center for International Media Assistance

The Center for International Media Assistance (CIMA), an initiative of the National Endowment for Democracy, aims to strengthen the support, raise the visibility, and improve the effectiveness of media assistance programs throughout the world. The Center approaches its mission by providing information, building networks, conducting research, and highlighting the indispensable role independent media play in the creation and development of sustainable democracies globally. CIMA also serves as a catalyst to address needs in the media assistance field, bringing together policymakers, practitioners, funders, and academics to reach shared goals.

CIMA convenes working groups, commissions research reports, and holds events. The Center has also compiled a searchable bibliography of international media assistance resources. CIMA's Advisory Council advises the Center on topics in media development that need further study and how it can assist organizations involved in media assistance. CIMA is funded by an annual grant from the U.S. State Department's Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor.

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Message from the President and Chairman of the Board
National Endowment for Democracy

In September 2006, the National Endowment for Democracy established the Center for International Media Assistance (CIMA) at the urging of the U.S. Congress and with a grant from the U.S. Department of State's Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor. CIMA's mission is to identify strategies to improve the effectiveness of U.S. assistance programs to foster free and independent media around the world.

CIMA has filled a needed and previously neglected role in the media development field—fostering coordination and collaboration among donors and implementers through professional working groups, research, and events that explore lessons learned and identify a variety of ways in which to improve media assistance.

We are pleased to share with you this inaugural report on the state of media assistance. It represents the culmination of CIMA's efforts to date—a comprehensive look at the various aspects of media assistance and recommendations for policymakers, donors, and implementers on how to improve U.S. efforts in this realm. It offers an important perspective on independent media development, and will serve as a significant baseline document for future reports examining the state of the field.

Carl Gershman
President

Vin Weber
Chairman

Message from the Senior Director
Center for International Media Assistance

"Were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers, or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter."

So spoke Thomas Jefferson in 1787 before becoming third President of the United States. In today's Information Age his words are more important than ever.

Free and independent media, enshrined in the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution, are the backbone of American democracy. They are the backbone of any true democracy. Yet in much of the world today, both democratic governance and its corollary, a free and open media, are under sustained attack.

Press freedoms worldwide are at a critical juncture. According to Freedom House's *Freedom of the Press* 2008 survey, 2007 was the sixth year in a row that press freedoms declined globally. Indeed, press freedom setbacks outnumbered advances two to one last year. Of the world's 6.6 billion people, the survey found that 82 percent live in countries with media deemed "Partly Free" or "Not Free," with the largest percentage—42 percent—in countries where media are considered Not Free. Only 18 percent—or 1.1 billion people—live in countries where the media are considered "Free."

Establishing independent media in a country where they do not exist, or strengthening them in a country where they are weak, is no simple task. Required is an intricate structure with many interdependent parts. Picture a stool with strong supporting legs—professional journalists, a supportive legal environment, economically sustainable media, and news literate citizens and public officials. Take away a supporting leg, and the stool becomes unstable and is in danger of collapsing.

In this comprehensive inaugural report of the Center for International Media Assistance, we look at these supporting "legs." We explore why independent media are important, which U.S. public- and private-sector organizations are funding media development globally, and the issues surrounding that assistance.

Marguerite H. Sullivan
Senior Director

Many people collaborated on this report. We owe special thanks to veteran investigative journalist David E. Kaplan, who took our concept, outline, and reports and shaped them into a coherent final document. Dave served as managing editor and principal writer, overseeing a team of CIMA researchers and reporters. His insight and knowledge of the field were invaluable. On our CIMA staff, our principal research and reporting team included Angela Stephens, Spencer Hayne, and Eleeza Agopian. Shannon Maguire and Alicia Dolan also assisted with the effort, as did consultants Anahit Khachatryan and Ann McFeatters. This was a hard-working team, all of whom lent their diverse talents to the project.

We are also grateful to our report reviewers: Enrique Armijo, associate with Covington & Burling LLP; Luis Botello, senior program director for the International Center for Journalists; Meg Gaydosik, senior media development advisor with the U.S. Agency for International Development; Shanthi Kalathil, World Bank consultant; Persephone Miel, senior advisor for Internews and fellow at the Berkman Center for Internet & Society at Harvard Law School; and Mark Whitehouse, director of media development for the International Research & Exchanges Board (IREX).

Information from CIMA's shorter reports on

working group discussions and from individual research also contributed. Writers of those included: international development consultant Peter Graves, author of *Independent Media's Vital Role in Development* and *U.S. Public and Private Funding of Independent Media Development Abroad*; Ellen Hume, research director for the Center for Future Civic Media at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, who wrote *University Journalism Education: A Global Challenge*; Shanthi Kalathil, who wrote *Scaling a Changing Curve: Traditional Media Development and the New Media*; David E. Kaplan, author of *Global Investigative Journalism: Strategies for Support*; and media development consultant Ann Olson, who wrote *The Role of Media-support Organizations and Public Literacy in Strengthening Independent Media Worldwide*. Emily Gee, Anahit Khachatryan, Angela Stephens, Spencer Hayne, and Dijana Despodova-Pajkovski also helped research and edit some of these reports. Others served as rapporteurs on CIMA working groups: Ann McFeatters, Ann Olson, and Anahit Khachatryan wrote reports covering discussions on media law assistance, economic sustainability of media, professional development of journalists, and community radio.

Finally, our appreciation goes to the many individuals working for media organizations, colleges and universities, government, nongovernmental organizations, and foundations who gave us their advice and insights.

Our intent in *Empowering Independent Media: U.S. Efforts to Foster Free and Independent News Around the World* was not to cover every aspect of U.S. efforts in media development, but rather to start a conversation. We look forward to the resulting dialogue.

Abbreviations

AP	Associated Press
BBG	Broadcasting Board of Governors
CIMA	Center for International Media Assistance
CPJ	Committee to Protect Journalists
DOD	U.S. Department of Defense
DRL	U.S. Department of State's Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor
FOI	Freedom of Information
E&E	USAID's Europe and Eurasia Bureau
GAO	U.S. Government Accountability Office
GFMD	Global Forum for Media Development
IFEX	International Freedom of Expression eXchange
ICFJ	International Center for Journalists
ICT	Information Communication technology
IJNet	International Journalists' Network
IREX	International Research & Exchanges Board
MCC	Millennium Challenge Corporation
MDLF	Media Development Loan Fund
MSI	Media Sustainability Index
NED	National Endowment for Democracy
NGO	Nongovernmental organization
OBN	Open Broadcast Network (Bosnia and Herzegovina)
OSI	Open Society Institute
OTI	USAID's Office of Transition Initiatives
RSF	Reporters Without Borders (Reporters sans frontières)
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

Executive Summary

In the last two decades, independent media assistance has become a significant aspect of the development field, helping countries to make democratic transitions, spur economic growth, conduct public health campaigns, and improve government accountability. Efforts to spread a free press have resulted in the professional development of tens of thousands of journalists and the founding of hundreds of new media enterprises.

Following the Cold War, as international aid increasingly focused on democracy building and good governance, nurturing independent media outlets was widely embraced as a key component in democratic development. Media assistance in the 1990s concentrated on the former Soviet Union and on Eastern Europe, particularly the Balkan states. While the 9/11 attacks resulted in a shift in focus to the Muslim world, media development programs have also made inroads in other regions, ranging from community radio projects in Africa to investigative journalism training in Latin America.

Scholars and other experts have increasingly recognized the role of independent media in fostering democracy and development. A free media has the ability to impact a number of critical areas in a given society—education, government accountability, health practices, empowerment of women and minorities, the economy, and more. Independent media projects, however, face numerous obstacles. Among the challenges: insufficient funding, unstable legal environments, lack of donor coordination, and problems in sustainability and evaluation.

Although lessons are drawn from media development globally, this report's focus, given the mandate of the Center for International Media Assistance (CIMA), is on U.S. efforts. It examines eight areas deemed essential to the success of independent media assistance: funding, professional development, higher education, the legal-enabling environment, sustainability, media literacy, new media, and monitoring and evaluation.

Funding. In 2006, U.S. donors spent an estimated $142 million on media assistance projects overseas, split almost evenly between government funding and private sources. The amount is believed to be by far the largest from any single country, although at least $100 million more is estimated to come from other nations and international organizations. Most of the U.S. funds go to training and direct assistance to media organizations. Despite dedicated work by staffers at the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), the Open Society Institute (OSI), and other donors, funding is widely seen as insufficient, uncoordinated, and short-term. A lack of information about current projects contributes to problems in coordination among donors.

Scholars and other experts have increasingly recognized the role of independent media in fostering democracy and development.

Professional Development. Poor standards, inadequate research and sourcing, and corruption are among the problems plaguing newsrooms in developing countries. Better-trained journalists offer a direct path to transforming the overall media landscape. In response, media assistance groups have provided a wide array of short- and long-term training programs, ranging from basic skills to computer-assisted reporting. The three major U.S.-based media assistance groups—the International Center for Journalists (ICFJ), International Research & Exchanges Board (IREX), and Internews—spent more than half of their combined budgets, or some $23 million, on training in 2006. Workshops, fellowships, guidebooks, and distance learning are some of the avenues for improving professional skills. Much of the training is carried out by some 81 nonprofit media centers worldwide, which often must struggle to obtain adequate funding.

Education. University programs should offer an important opportunity to teach aspiring journalists professional standards and the basic skills necessary for success. There are several thousand university-level journalism programs around the world. Many university programs in developing countries, however, suffer from entrenched faculty and outdated curricula and teaching methods, and they provide students with little, if any, practical experience.

The Law. Legal assistance plays a pivotal role in creating the environment necessary for independent media. Despite its importance, the legal-enabling environment has not received enough attention. Regulatory reform, the decriminalization of libel and other onerous laws, passage and enforcement of freedom of information laws, and punishment of those who attack journalists are among the key measures needed to protect and nurture independent media. Also important are training programs for judges and legislators on the importance of protecting the media.

Sustainability. Experts broadly agree that more should be done to ensure that media enterprises are sustainable. Business practices bolster independent media's efforts to survive and contribute to a stronger marketplace. A commitment to long-term support is widely seen as integral to crafting successful media development strategies.

Media Literacy. In transitioning societies, citizens are often faced with the challenge of differentiating between reliable, quality, and unbiased information sources and those that are biased, corrupted, or unprofessional. Strengthening media literacy can not only help citizens better understand the news, but also build public support for independent media. In addition, media literacy can help government officials and others in positions of authority better understand news media's crucial role in a democracy.

New Media. While new technologies have altered the media landscape around the world, the media development community has only recently begun to seriously consider their potential. Among the critical trends are: the impact of citizen journalism, cell phones as news devices, bloggers as journalists, growing online censorship, and shifting business models. While an exciting field, new media will be limited by local conditions and will not replace the need for basic journalism skills.

Monitoring and Evaluation. Unlike traditional efforts in global assistance, such as building roads or planting crops, media development poses difficult challenges in determining whether money has been well spent on specific projects and countries. Evaluation techniques vary widely, and no consensus exists on the best approach. Several broad indices are available that measure press freedom, attacks on journalists, and media sustainability, but they measure only specific aspects of the media environment and have been applied inappropriately to measure specific projects in a given country. ❐

Recommendations

Take a Holistic Approach. Media development requires an integrated approach. Professional development is critical, but insufficient; well-trained journalists need supportive laws; editors need supportive publishers; and owners need managers with business skills to make their enterprises sustainable. A public that understands the value of quality journalism and government officials who understand the role of an independent press are equally important. Change will happen faster if all the factors—professional development, economic sustainability, legal-enabling environment, and media literacy—are addressed simultaneously.

Promote Media Development as Its Own Sector. Independent media development deserves a higher profile within USAID and the State Department, which provide almost half of all current funding. Because media development has an impact across multiple fields, it often receives federal funding as a part of other projects—under civil society and election reform, for example, or AIDS prevention and health care. Frequently this has meant that media development is addressed as a second thought. USAID, for example, should increase the number of media specialists it employs and continue to improve its projects database so that media programs can be easily searched.

Expand Funding. Despite its potential to effect change overseas, independent media development receives relatively little from official U.S. foreign aid funding and private foundation grants. Much more should be done to educate potential funders about the importance of promoting independent media. Additional funding models, such as the Media Development Loan Fund (MDLF), should be explored and developed.

Integrate "Communication for Development." Funding of issue-specific programs, such as coverage of HIV/AIDS prevention or tax reform, should include components that contribute more generally to support of independent media. This can mean adding professional training, infrastructure development, and better coordination with existing media development efforts.

Take a Long-term Approach. Too often media development projects are short-term, ranging from one-year projects to weekend workshops. Funding also tends to concentrate on "hot spots," such as Eastern Europe in the 1990s or the Middle East today, while ignoring other regions, such as sub-Saharan Africa and Central Asia. Creating sustainable independent media overseas requires a global approach and a tenacious commitment that spans years, not months.

Think Locally. The most successful media development efforts emanate from the ground up, using the knowledge that local journalists and media professionals have of their country and region. The current integration of USAID programs into the State Department should preserve the locally-based approach used by both agencies, which relies heavily on the experience of officials in the field, rather than adopting primarily a headquarters-driven model.

Improve Professional Development. At media centers and news outlets, training of journalists should emphasize international standards, integrate ethics with practical skills, and generally employ a long-term approach. Investigative journalism techniques, focused on corruption and accountability, should be more broadly taught. Media managers and owners also should be targeted in programs. In universities, real-world experience should be emphasized, curricula reformed, and student-run media and new technology encouraged.

Put More Emphasis on Legal Issues. Improving the legal-enabling environment should be a higher priority, including abolition of criminal libel laws and reform of broadcast regulations. Projects should include more training of judges and legislators on the importance of press protections, and support a globally accessible Web site

that provides model media laws and other materials relevant to the legal-enabling environment.

Encourage Media Literacy. Media literacy programs should be expanded to educate the general public about the role of a free press in a democracy. Additional programs should be targeted at government officials to explain the role of professional public affairs and the importance of open information.

> The most successful media development efforts emanate from the ground up, using the knowledge that local journalists and media professionals have of their country and region.

Develop Better Resources and Networking. The International Journalists' Network, already available in five languages, should be expanded into Chinese, Russian, and French. Online resources for media law and investigative reporting should be further developed. The Global Forum for Media Development should grow into an independent, international voice for media assistance, helping unlock needed funding, reforms, and recognition at the highest levels.

Build in Stronger Media Management. Management skills and good business practices should be built into media development programs. Projects should have exit strategies so that they do not collapse when outside financial support ends.

Integrate New Technology. Recent advances in information and communication technology need to be better integrated into media assistance projects. Cell phone messaging, citizen journalism, and blogging are among the innovative tools available as new technologies become increasingly accessible worldwide.

Improve Monitoring and Evaluation. More research is needed to find accurate ways to monitor and evaluate media assistance projects. IREX's *Media Sustainability Index* should be expanded worldwide to Asia and Latin America.

Coordinate Better. There is a need for better coordination among donors as well as implementing groups, and in the field as well as in Washington. Donors, both public and private, are often unaware of the various programs being supported—particularly by funders in other countries. Better communication and networking can help stretch limited funding. ❐

INDEPENDENT MEDIA: WHY IT'S ESSENTIAL

As the Treaty of Versailles was being negotiated after the end of the First World War, the Associated Press (AP) made what may be the first U.S. effort to promote American ideas about press freedom abroad. AP attempted to include language in the treaty on the right of journalists to have access to the news, wherever it might occur. As Craig LaMay notes in *Exporting Press Freedom*, the agency's motive was not altogether unselfish: AP belonged to a consortium that barred it from covering events in Europe, and it was getting scooped overseas by the upstart United Press.[1]

AP's attempt failed, but the idea that freedom of the press was something to be exported and extolled overseas resurfaced after the Second World War. Under the guidance of U.S. occupation officials, Germany and Japan were to be pacified, purged of war criminals, and rebuilt into democratic allies. As part of that effort,

Photos taken from cell phones showed the world the protests led by Buddhist monks against the military government in Burma, September 2007.
Photo: Mizzima News Agency

U.S. officials gradually eased off censorship and encouraged the growth of a robust, independent press—developments whose impact can still be felt today.[2]

The ensuing Cold War produced a handful of media assistance programs, but such efforts tended to be wrapped up in public diplomacy programs run by the State Department and U.S. Information Agency—efforts designed more to broadcast news into closed societies or boost America's image abroad than to nurture an independent media. Similarly, when USAID initially ventured into what it called "communications aid," its programs were tied not to democracy promotion but to narrow economic development goals such as increasing farm yields or boosting family planning efforts. In the mid-1980s, however, as war raged in Central America, the U.S. government started funding media training for Latin American journalists. The nonprofit, federally funded National Endowment for Democracy (NED), founded in 1983, also began supporting independent media through grants to pro-democracy groups.[3]

The breakthrough, though, came with the crumbling of the Berlin Wall in 1989. The idea of promoting democracy rapidly grew into a major focus of diplomatic and developmental efforts, and a free press was seen as integral to the process. Backed by major infusions of funding from the U.S. Congress, USAID began pouring resources into supporting independent media in the newly free nations of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. USAID was joined by the State Department and by allied governments, as well as by private funders, most notably by philanthropist George Soros. By the mid-1990s, millions of dollars were streaming into former Communist states to buy printing presses, build television and radio networks, start newspapers and magazines, and set up nonprofit media centers. Dozens of American media advisors—reporters, editors, broadcasters, publishers, lawyers—offered their help overseas. Peter Graves, who then directed USAID's media projects in Europe and Eurasia, recalls the enthusiasm of the time. "The greatest thrill was watching women and men implement

media projects they could only dream of just 10 years earlier," he says. "The new-found freedoms brought enormous energy and creative genius to a wide variety of projects."[4]

Increasingly, independent media are seen by scholars and other experts as key to economic and social development.

As the Balkans erupted into conflict in the early 1990s, more funds headed to Southeast Europe to support the peace process, fight corruption, and help the region rebuild. Although still a fraction of the billions spent on overall aid, the media assistance numbers were nonetheless impressive. During the 1990s, U.S. donors spent at least $600 million on independent media overseas—three-quarters of it in Europe and Eurasia. USAID, the largest single funder, is thought to have provided nearly half of that amount.[5]

The growing interest in media development was due not only to the fact that two dozen countries appeared to be shaking off decades of communism and harsh rule, but also because Western donors were increasingly embracing the role of democratization in development. Investing foreign aid and foundation grants into the media was part of a vast effort to remake developing and democratizing countries by revamping their governments and elections, their legal systems, and their civil society—as well as their communications. No longer an afterthought in development policy, independent media was starting to be seen as a fundamental building block in developing democratic states.

The Case for Independent Media

Today, support of independent media overseas attracts at least $142 million from U.S. donors each year, and serves as the focus of dozens of programs run by government agencies, nonprofit training centers, professional associations, and universities.[6] At least $100 million more comes from donors outside the United States. The impact has been impressive, according to Mark Whitehouse, who oversees media assistance for IREX. "Media development has changed the agenda," he argues. "You support these people, help put them on the map, make them viable, and by doing so we've managed to substantially change the playing field. Governments must acknowledge the media, whereas 10 to 15 years ago they didn't have to do that."[7]

Increasingly, independent media are seen by scholars and other experts as key to economic and social development. "A free press is not a luxury," wrote James D. Wolfensohn while president of the World Bank in 1999. "A free press is at the absolute core of equitable development, because if you cannot enfranchise poor people, if they do not have a right to expression, if there is no searchlight on corruption and inequitable practices, you cannot build the public consensus needed to bring about change."[8] The stakes are indeed considerable. There are 1.2 billion people living on less than a dollar a day, many of them in Africa and parts of Asia, where communications and media infrastructure are in dire need of development.[9] To some leaders in the field, the issues go beyond even development and democracy. "If we don't move ahead on some of these environmental and health issues, we could end up permanently damaging the planet," warns Eric Newton, vice president of the Journalism Program at the John S. and James L. Knight Foundation, a major media development funder. "But the world will never solve its most difficult problems until news and information flow more easily across national and cultural borders."[10]

Building up independent media around the globe poses challenges that are both enormous and extraordinarily diverse—from setting up community radio stations in impoverished African countries with the barest of infrastructure, to rebuilding and reforming media in post-conflict societies like the former Yugoslavia, to teaching state-of-the-art investigative reporting in fast-growing countries like Brazil that are wrestling with crime and corruption. Networks of journalists, activists, implementers, and donors—both online and in the field—now tie together thousands of people working to foster independent media around the world. They work on an array of projects as diverse as the media itself. Much of the effort focuses on professional training of journalists

and direct assistance to promising news outlets. Other programs are targeted efforts to use the media to educate the public and change behavior, by subsidizing reports on AIDS, family planning, or other topics. Still other projects concentrate on reform of media laws and regulations, business and management training, or development of professional associations.

The field has grown rapidly, if somewhat chaotically. There is no shortage of debate, and criticism abounds: funding is short term and still relatively scarce; projects are poorly evaluated and unsustainable; new technology is underutilized; and donors and implementers are not cooperative enough in stretching scarce resources. Critics also complain that not enough funders take a long-term holistic approach, assembling the kind of programs needed to sustain independent media, including legal reform, management and business training, and media literacy. Much more should also be done, say advocates, to further programs in community radio, investigative journalism, and higher education. Even when successful, the gains can be fragile; repressive governments in some former Soviet republics, among others, have quickly managed to undo years of work. Shifting and adapting programs originally set up for European societies also poses challenges, particularly in poorer, conflict-ridden countries where the demand is greatest. "We have not explored enough the needs in parts of the developing world, where there are no resources, no teaching faculty, and people can't even afford to buy a newspaper," notes State Department senior social scientist Krishna Kumar, author of *Promoting Independent Media: Strategies for Democracy Assistance*.[11] The risks, moreover, are all too real for those in the field: attacks on representatives of the news media are at near-record highs. Those on the front lines of independent media—reporters, bloggers, editors—face official harassment, prosecution, physical assaults, and murder.

Within the U.S. government, meanwhile, independent media is still seen as a secondary aspect of development policy. Media assistance programs tend to be buried under broader programs for democracy and human rights, making them difficult to track in USAID's project database. At USAID, only five people

A reporter interviews a woman at a Darfuri refugee camp in Iriba, Chad, for the Internews-produced women's radio program ***She Speaks, She Listens.***
Photo: Jaime Little/Internews

are assigned to work exclusively on media development (although in some overseas missions foreign nationals assist full time on media development and civil society issues); fewer are dedicated to media development at the State Department. This is despite the two organizations' nearly $70 million of independent media projects each year. These amounts, moreover, are but a fraction of what Washington spends on foreign broadcasting and the huge outlays believed to be spent by U.S. military and intelligence agencies for psychological warfare and media influence.[12]

"Attempts to improve America's image through foreign broadcasting and DOD-funded psyops have been clearly counterproductive," argues David Hoffman, president of Internews. "If you think about this from the perspective of America making friends abroad, it is far more effective to promote media development."[13]

Despite these challenges, the field of independent media development has grown in recognition and can lay claim to some real successes. Tens of thousands of journalists have been trained and hundreds of new media enterprises begun. Community radio has brought vital news to Afghan villagers and Darfur refugees. Investigative reporting has forced accountability onto governments in the Balkans and Southeast Asia. Coverage of health issues has helped cut the spread of infectious diseases in Africa. Professional business reporting has helped modernize markets in China and India. Even in places like Russia, where democracy has lost ground, progress can be seen. "If you look at most of the countries in that region, the role of private and independent media is accepted by and large," says IREX's Whitehouse. "Even states that are trying to repress the media now have to do so in such a way that

A WEEK UNDER FIRE

Twice each week, the International Freedom of Expression eXchange (IFEX) publishes an online digest of attacks on freedom of information. Drawn from 81 organizations worldwide, the list makes for a sobering read. Here are events from the week of April 9-15, 2008.[18]

AFRICA

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO: Writers in Prison Committee calls for release of newspaper editor detained incommunicado. Newspaper editor's assistant also detained.

THE GAMBIA: Two journalists banned from covering court proceedings.

NIGERIA: U.S. documentary film crew and local assistant arrested by military, remain in detention.

ZIMBABWE: Committee to Protect Journalists calls for charges to be dropped against two South African journalists. Accredited journalist arrested, his house searched, and his materials seized.

AMERICAS

AMERICAS: Inter American Press Association concerned at ongoing wave of violence against journalists in several countries.

CUBA: Provincial journalist detained and expelled from Havana.

GUATEMALA: Journalist covering corruption receives threatening phone calls. Camera operator shot, journalist assaulted and robbed, while covering protest in San Juan Alotenango.

HAITI: Three reporters injured while covering mass protests in capital.

MEXICO: Local community believes state government is behind the killing of two indigenous radio journalists.

acknowledges their right to exist."[14]

Some experts refer to independent media's broad effect as "cross-sector impact," in that a free media has the ability to impact a number of critical areas in a given society—education, government accountability, health practices, empowerment of women and minorities, the economy, and more. The potential for positive change is enormous, and still largely untapped, say advocates. Nobel Prize winner Amartya Sen neatly summed up the stakes in his oft-quoted study of democracies: "No substantial famine has ever occurred in any independent and democratic country with a relatively free press."[15] Yet media development is about more than strengthening democracy. The free flow of information can have a positive effect on many aspects of society. Consider what can happen when conditions allow independent media to operate and flourish.[16]

On Corruption. One of independent media's primary roles is as public watchdog, acting as a check on crime and corruption by government officials and other powerful figures. Often its efforts lead to reforms and the resignation of high-ranking officials. At the same time, a professional news media provides a window for the public on the inner workings of government, increasing both transparency and accountability. Studies by the World Bank have shown repeatedly the connection between a free press and lower rates of corruption.[17] The Manila-based Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism (PCIJ), for example, has broken hundreds of stories in print, radio, TV, and online documenting official corruption as it trains a generation of investigative journalists in the region. In 2000, a PCIJ team revealed how then-President Joseph Estrada had amassed luxury homes, lavished money

PANAMA: Television cameraman and photographer killed while covering gang conflict.

PARAGUAY: Radio journalist critical of drug trafficking seriously wounded, his wife killed, in shooting.

PERU: Journalists assaulted by labor leaders while covering regional strike. Newspaper editor's telephone tapped. Police detain reporters for more than four hours.

URUGUAY: Government urged to protect newspaper editor and her children who have been receiving threats.

ASIA-PACIFIC

AFGHANISTAN: Grenade attack on home of female radio journalist.

CHINA: Imprisoned Internet writer and activist Zhu Yufu receives tougher sentence after retrial.

INDONESIA: Government blocks YouTube and other file-sharing sites to stop viewing of anti-Islam film. New Internet law threatens free expression.

NEPAL: Authorities step up media crackdown as country prepares for elections. Party militants assault and threaten to kill journalists over election coverage.

PAKISTAN: Political interference suspected in two-hour suspension of two television news channels. Journalist shot dead in Baluchistan province, motive unknown.

PHILIPPINES: Reporters Without Borders expresses shock over murder of newspaper journalist.

EUROPE & CENTRAL ASIA

AZERBAIJAN: Persecuted journalist beaten during interrogation.

BULGARIA: Organized crime writer shot and killed in Sofia.

CROATIA: News magazine director eludes assassination attempt.

KYRGYZSTAN: Investigation into editor's murder shut down again.

RUSSIA: Suspect in correspondent's murder acquitted in Tula. Journalist who contested outcome of State Duma elections beaten.

MIDDLE EAST & NORTH AFRICA

EGYPT: U.S. photographer arrested, his interpreter detained; several bloggers harassed. Several journalists detained, including Al-Jazeera cameraman, covering violently suppressed Mahalla demonstrations.

IRAQ: British journalist freed after being held hostage in Basra for two months.

ISRAEL: Seven employees placed under house arrest, material seized following police raid on radio station.

MOROCCO: Police beat four journalists covering protests.

Reprinted and adapted from the IFEX Digest on Freedom of Expression, a service of the International Freedom of Expression eXchange (IFEX), a global network of nongovernmental organizations working to defend and promote the right to free expression. For more information, visit IFEX's Web site at http://www.ifex.org.

on mistresses, and acquired secret stakes in a dozen companies. The series goaded the Philippine media into action, helped form key charges in an impeachment trial, and ultimately led to Estrada's downfall.[19]

On Education. The media hold great potential to educate by teaching people valuable information to improve their lives. In Nicaragua, an innovative radio program that teaches mathematics to primary school students improved test scores, especially for children in rural areas with limited access to quality schools.[20] In Panama, editors of the daily *La Prensa*, concerned that young students knew little of the country's history, geography, and politics due to out-of-date textbooks, ran a six-week educational supplement in the newspaper's Sunday edition. Not only did many schools add the supplements to their curriculum, but the series boosted the paper's circulation by 18 percent.[21] In Uganda, the government ran a newspaper campaign aimed at reducing fraud by local officials in charge of school budgets. By simply publishing the amount of grant money transferred for local education, the government increased the funds ultimately received by the schools from 20 percent to 80 percent.[22]

While satellite TV and the Internet have expanded the ability to access and share information on a global scale, reliable information on local issues remains of critical importance.

On Business. The media's key role in economic growth is often overlooked, say development experts. Information is at the core of commerce, with open markets dependent on transparent pricing and the free flow of data. As the World Bank noted in *World Development Report 2002*, advertising—largely carried by commercial news media—creates demand for products, which further increases commerce.[23] Among the success stories is *Caijing*, a privately backed biweekly magazine founded in 1998 by Chinese journalist Hu Shuli following her year-long Knight Fellowship at Stanford University. The Beijing-based magazine has become required reading among China's elite. *Caijing*'s investigative reporting on China's financial markets has sparked crackdowns on stock manipulators and promoted market reforms, while also breaking taboos for reporting on natural disasters, epidemics, and financial crimes.[24]

On Disaster Relief. Media and access to information can play a crucial role when natural or manmade disasters strike. Radio Absoun in Chad, a community radio station serving refugees from Darfur, for example, has proved instrumental in relief efforts, warning listeners to avoid areas of fighting and spreading word of available health and food services.[25] A study by scholars at the London School of Economics looked at selected Indian states and found that the higher a newspaper's circulation, the greater the increases in public food distribution and disaster relief expenditures. The study concluded that "states with higher levels of media development are more active in protecting vulnerable citizens."[26]

On Health Care. The effect that media and information access have on changing health practices has been well-documented. In 1990, the World Health Organization found that a jump in the number of fully vaccinated children in the Philippines was "significantly attributable" to a government media campaign. Vaccinations were also more likely to be started and finished on time.[27] A Save the Children United Kingdom study in Mali on HIV/AIDS in 1994 showed that of the 2,000 people interviewed, 47 percent of people had heard about AIDS through the radio, 24 percent from neighbors, and just 5.7 percent from health services.[28] In South Africa, a study of a Soul City TV health campaign found that 32 percent of respondents with high exposure to the campaign said they always use condoms, compared to 26 percent of those who did not watch Soul City.[29]

On Local Communities. While satellite TV and the Internet have expanded the ability to access and share information on a global scale, reliable information on local issues remains of critical importance. Independent media can play an important role in servicing the needs of local communities, whether it is reporting

on crop prices, relaying information about medical services, or providing education. In Mongolia, for example, Gobi Wave Radio, backed by the local government and international donors, gives listeners a forum to talk to the governor and offers tips on how to start a business and sell fermented mare's milk. The station's annual budget: $8,000.[30] In rural Zambia, discussions on local issues by 13 women's clubs were taped and edited into a program and then aired nationally by state radio. The program sparked action by several agencies, resulting in the drilling of water boreholes for two medical clinics, a community school for AIDS orphans, a solar panel for a medical clinic, a polling station, and new roofs for a school and a teacher's house.[31]

On the Disenfranchised. A 2000 World Bank survey of the poor—the largest ever done—found that what people wanted most was not money, but a voice in decisions affecting their lives.[32] Media assistance can help by offering a voice to those who are often not heard, particularly women, children, and religious and ethnic minorities. In Brazil, the News Agency for Children's Rights, a child rights advocacy group, reportedly helped increase coverage of topics related to childhood and adolescence from 10,700 newspaper articles in 1996 to 161,807 in 2004.[33] In Burundi, the BonSem Association produces a weekly radio show and publishes a newsletter designed to encourage discussion about how civil society can work for the political and economic inclusion of the marginalized Twa communities.[34]

Despite these varied successes, the potential for independent media development remains largely unrealized. The field itself is barely 20 years old, and its participants are still wrestling with how to best move forward. What strikes many of them is the enormity of the task at hand and challenge of achieving maximum impact with limited resources. Opening up media markets in the Middle East, pushing reform in Russia, training new generations of reporters in Africa, Asia, and Latin America—the challenges are indeed vast. "Go to Africa," says Joyce Barnathan, ICFJ president. "My God, the need is huge. And we're talking about a relatively small pool of money."[35] What is needed, she and others say, is to markedly expand support for media development. For the donor community, it means making the case to funders that independent media can create positive change and empower people. And it means demonstrating to the U.S. government that a free and fair press is in America's economic and political interest. "We know what's needed," says Internews' Hoffman. "There just isn't the political will. And that's going to come by making this a higher level of urgency."[36] ☐

INDEPENDENT MEDIA AND INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING

The U.S. government spends considerably more money on international broadcasting than on developing independent media around the world. Media-development advocates argue that this constitutes a failure to capitalize on the opportunity to build democracy through support of local, indigenous media overseas. In 2006, the U.S. government spent $646 million on international broadcasting operations through the Broadcasting Board of Governors (BBG)—nearly five times what was spent on media development.[37] Among the BBG's operations are Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, and Radio Martí.

James K. Glassman, as BBG chairman, wrote of the organization, "While the core purpose is to be a free press in countries that do not have a free press, BBG is concerned with enhancing the understanding of our audiences; that is, their understanding of their own political, economic, and social affairs; of key concepts such as the rule of law, human rights, and civil society; and, equally important, of U.S. policies, actions, and culture."[38] Others contend that some of those efforts would be more effectively applied to developing local, independent media. "Our argument is that it's not a good idea to spend much more telling people what they're supposed to think than on developing the capacity for them to think for themselves," says the Knight Foundation's Eric Newton.

FUNDING: FOLLOWING THE MONEY

U.S. OVERSEAS DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE—from both public and private sources—is at its highest level ever. Official U.S. foreign aid more than doubled after the 9/11 attacks, reaching nearly $23 billion in 2006.[39] Private U.S. giving to developing countries has also grown sharply and surpasses that of the government. The Hudson Institute's Center for Global Prosperity found that U.S. philanthropic giving to developing countries grew from $62 billion in 2003 to $95 billion in 2005.[40]

To learn how much of this overall funding went to develop independent media, CIMA conducted a survey in 2007.[41] The research proved challenging. CIMA's report identified 140 funders, large and small, public and private, with myriad ways of categorizing and accounting for projects.

Armenia's first independent television station, A1+, lost its broadcast license in 2002, yet still distributes news through other means—public service announcements, videos on YouTube, and a Web site in multiple languages. *Photo: Meltex Ltd.*

Within the U.S. government alone, funding is split among a dozen different agencies, bureaus, and offices. Many media projects are commissioned by local embassies and USAID posts and not closely tracked by home offices in Washington. USAID officials, in fact, have found it difficult to search the agency's projects database for individual media programs, which tend to be subsumed under broader headings, such as "democracy and governance" or "civil society."[42] (Planned changes to the database, however, should enable more accurate searches by the end of 2008.)

CIMA's survey was not exhaustive, but rather aimed to provide a snapshot of the sector by focusing primarily on funders of projects whose goal is to strengthen independent media abroad. The survey did not include some government public diplomacy projects, specifically the State Department's Bureaus of International Information Programs or Educational and Cultural Affairs, and Public Affairs. These bureaus oversee programs, such as the Fulbright exchanges and journalist speaker programs, which assist media development goals. Nor did it include federal funds spent on international broadcasting, such as those by Voice of America, except for a relatively small amount spent on media training. Department of Defense funding for media-related projects was also excluded, and the survey did not include all private organizations involved in "communication for development"—projects that use media to promote specific issues such as AIDS education or family planning, rather than work specifically to develop the media sector. Among the findings:

- U.S. funding for international media development in 2006—public and private—exceeded $142 million;
- U.S. government funding totaled nearly $69 million;
- U.S. private sector funding totaled over $60 million; and
- Funding from government-supported nonprofit organizations—the National Endowment for Democracy and U.S. Institute of Peace—totaled $13 million.

Where the Money Goes

Following the survey, CIMA's staff conducted additional interviews and research to ascertain how the money was being spent. Because of the difficulty in tracking media programs within the government, CIMA concentrated on the big three implementers of media development—ICFJ, IREX, and Internews. In 2006, the three nonprofit groups received a combined total of $44 million in media development grants, comprising a large share of the available funding from both the U.S. government and private foundations. To those programs, CIMA then added the $12 million in grants dispersed that year by NED. (This figure does not include NED grants to ICFJ, IREX, or Internews.) The combined total represents just over $56 million—or some 40 percent—of the $142 million in U.S. media assistance that CIMA's survey identified that year. What follows, then, is not a comprehensive portrait of media funding, but an analysis of a substantial segment of the funds being spent. A large number of private foundations, for example, are active in the "communication for development" category, which is underrepresented in this analysis.

To follow the funding, CIMA assigned 10 categories through which media assistance spending could be tracked: training and professional development; higher education programs; a legal-enabling environment; economic sustainability; professional associations; media literacy; journalist safety and legal defense; direct assistance; communication for development programs; and other forms of assistance. Again, the figures are not meant to be definitive, as there is considerable overlap between categories. Some direct assistance, for example, likely goes to support work on training and sustainability. Nonetheless, the figures are instructive. The breakdown of funding shows that training ranked first, at 44 percent, followed by direct assistance—equipment, salaries, and other operational expenses—at 25 percent. Then came support for the legal-enabling environment and economic sustainability, each receiving about 9 percent of the funding. Less than 1 percent went to programs involving higher education, media literacy, or journalist safety and legal defense.

THE GLOBAL EFFORT IN MEDIA ASSISTANCE

The $142 million spent by U.S. donors in 2006 is only part of a global effort in independent media assistance. Although the American contribution is believed to be the largest, at least $100 million more comes annually from governments, multilateral agencies, and private donors outside the United States. A 2005 report, *Non-U.S. Funders of Media Assistance Projects*, identified 70 non-U.S. donors in 25 countries, from the Anna Lindh Euro-Mediterranean Foundation in Alexandria, Egypt, to the Westminster Foundation for Democracy in London, England. Researchers of the study, at the University of Georgia's Cox Center for International Mass Communication Training and Research, found it difficult to estimate a precise figure, however, because of differences in how donors define media support and inconsistencies in the data.[43]

Of the 70 donors identified, for example, only 38 responded to the Cox Center survey. And of those who responded, donors often lumped in small-scale training with massive telecommunications projects, such as building transmission lines and laying fiber optic cable. "Often, we were dealing with broad categories of assistance, of which media was only nominally a part," explains co-author Lee Becker. "The most difficult part of our work was trying to determine how much of the funding actually went to media assistance."[44]

Among the donors more closely associated with independent media funding, the report cited the Swedish Helsinki Committee for Human Rights, which spent $30 million in 2005; the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), with some $17 million in 2003; and official aid agencies of various Western governments: Canada ($19 million), Netherlands ($16 million), United Kingdom ($14 million), Germany ($8 million), Sweden ($7 million), and Norway ($4 million). In contrast, USAID, the U.S. government's principal donor of foreign aid, dispersed approximately $53 million in media assistance in 2006, according to CIMA's survey of U.S. funders.[45]

MEDIA DEVELOPMENT FUNDERS

Government Funders	Total Spending (2006)
U.S. Agency for International Development	$ 49,684,000
U.S. Department of State/Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor	$ 11,800,000
USAID/Office of Transition Initiatives	$ 3,000,000
U.S. Department of State/Middle East Partnership Initiative	$ 3,000,000
Broadcasting Board of Governors	$ 1,500,000
Total Government Funding	**$ 68,984,000**

Private Funders	Total Spending (2006)
Open Society Institute	$ 40,000,000
John S. and James L. Knight Foundation	$ 7,000,000
Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation*	$ 6,749,198
Central European Media Enterprises (CME)	$ 1,750,000
John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation*	$ 1,630,000
Ford Foundation*	$ 1,259,500
David and Lucile Packard Foundation*	$ 854,400
McCormick Tribune Foundation	$ 480,000
Rockefeller Foundation*	$ 200,000
Carnegie Corporation of New York	$ 162,700
William and Flora Hewlett Foundation*	$ 50,000
Total Private Funding	**$ 60,135,798**

Government-Supported Nonprofit Funders	Total Spending (2006)
National Endowment for Democracy	$ 11,658,242
U.S. Institute of Peace	$ 1,413,019
Total Government-Supported Nonprofit Funding	**$ 13,071,261**

Total Funding of Media Development	**$ 142,191,059**

*This figure was added to the survey responses from a separate information search.

Note: Funding in some cases represents multi-year allocations approved in 2006.

Public Sector Funding

Federal funding for international development goes to support the government's overall foreign policy mission, according to the State Department-USAID's *Strategic Plan Fiscal Years 2007-2012*. Under the plan, the government will "advance media freedom by helping to create and develop independent media outlets and media infrastructure, and by providing training on media sector skills (for example, reporting and investigative techniques), processes, and products, including Web-based services."[46]

In 2006, the government provided nearly $69 million, or almost 49 percent, of the funding to develop independent media abroad identified by the CIMA survey. Another $13 million went to federally funded nonprofit organizations, boosting the total to $82 million, or some 58 percent.

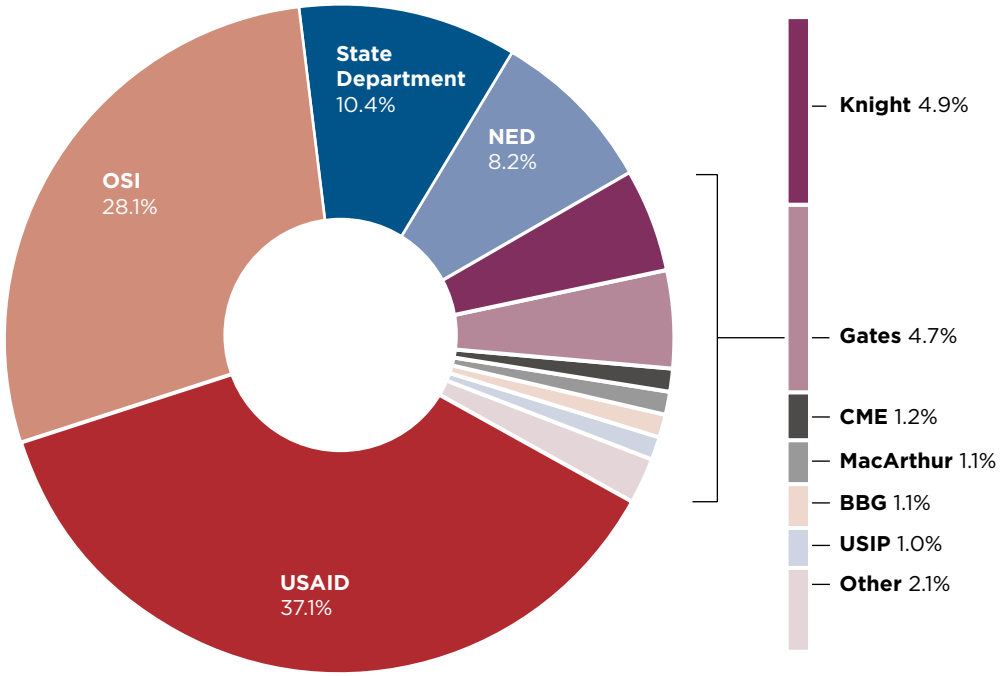
U.S. Agency for International Development:

USAID, Washington's principal vehicle for foreign assistance, is also the largest single U.S. funder, public or private, of independent media abroad. It spent $52.7 million in 2006 on international media sector development—37 percent of all funding identified by this survey. The agency is divided into eight functional and geographic bureaus, of which only two—the Europe and Eurasia Bureau (E&E) and the Democracy, Conflict, and Humanitarian Assistance Bureau (DCHA)—have staff positions dedicated to international media development. In other bureaus, officers in charge of overall democracy efforts include media as part of their funding considerations. Much of USAID's media assistance work traditionally has been determined by missions in the field rather than staff in Washington, in keeping with the agency's decentralized decision-making structure. The field offices typically do not have dedicated experts working on media development, although in some posts, foreign national employees focus on media and civil society projects.

USAID's **Office of Democracy and Governance** (DCHA/DG) works to increase development of civil societies, including independent media in other countries. Reflecting USAID's decentralized approach

U.S. MEDIA DEVELOPMENT FUNDING BY DONOR (2006)

Based on survey responses, interviews, and online searches



to media assistance, the office focuses its efforts on providing technical advice to USAID missions that are already implementing or planning to launch media assistance programs. Its year-to-year funding fluctuates, but the office manages roughly $500,000 annually for media-related work, according to Mark Koenig, USAID's senior advisor for independent media development. In addition to Koenig, one other staff member is dedicated to doing full-time media development work.

USAID's **Office of Transition Initiatives** (OTI), which was created in 1994 to provide a quick response mechanism in times of crisis, including post-war situations, spent $3 million on international media sector development in 2006. OTI has two experts on staff dedicated to international media development.

The **Europe and Eurasia Bureau** (E&E) currently manages $130,000 annually to support publication of the *Europe and Eurasia Media Sustainability Index*, but its influence extends well beyond that amount. The bureau's senior media development advisor works with mission offices in the region, where most funding decisions are made, on how best to allocate resources for media work.

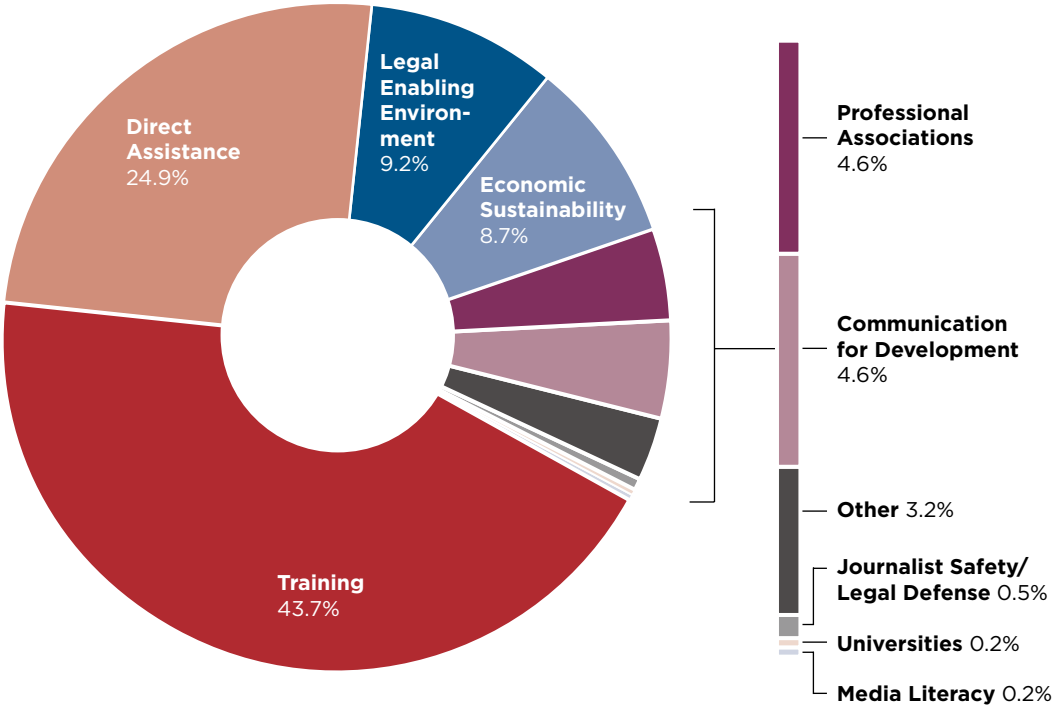
U.S. Department of State: The State Department spent nearly $15 million in 2006 on international media sector development—11 percent of all funding identified by CIMA. The State Department's largest single funder of independent media sector development is its **Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor** (DRL), which spent $11.8 million on the sector in 2006. The bureau, however, does not have staff dedicated exclusively to media development work. DRL also provides an annual grant to CIMA that is the Center's primary source of funding.

The **Middle East Partnership Initiative** (MEPI), which was created in 2002 to promote democracy in the Middle East, included approximately $3 million to support independent media in 2006.[47] MEPI has one employee overseeing media development work.

U.S. embassies, through ambassadors' funds and other sources, also provide considerable funding of local media projects. Other State Department bureaus, such as the Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration, also support international media work.

U.S. MEDIA DEVELOPMENT FUNDING BY ACTIVITY (2006)

This breakdown represents only $60 million (40 percent) of the total media assistance funding from CIMA's survey. Numbers are based on information received from ICFJ, Internews, IREX, and NED. Note that "communication for development" funding is higher in the field overall than the percentage provided by these four organizations, which are primarily engaged in direct media development.



Voice of Peace Radio is an Internews partner station in Afghanistan. The station owner was murdered in her home in June 2007.
Photo: Noah Miller/Internews

Broadcasting Board of Governors: BBG is responsible for all U.S. government-sponsored, non-military broadcasting for international audiences. This includes the Voice of America, Alhurra, Radio Sawa, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, Radio Free Asia, and Radio and TV Martí. BBG's total budget for fiscal year 2006 was $645 million, of which $1.5 million went to the training of international journalists, according to the CIMA survey.

Millennium Challenge Corporation: MCC, founded in 2004, is a government corporation tasked with assisting some of the world's poorest countries. Dollar amounts are tied to countries' progress on several key indicators, including improved press freedom. MCC has incorporated media development in at least five of the countries: Malawi, Moldova, Niger, Tanzania, and Ukraine.

Government-supported Nonprofit Organizations

In 2006, the **National Endowment for Democracy** (NED) allocated nearly $11.7 million to independent media development worldwide. NED funded nearly 200 separate media-related development projects that year. Projects included radio stations broadcasting independent programming into North Korea, publications by Burmese exile media organizations, the training of women journalists in Pakistan, and programs to promote the abolition of criminal defamation laws in Mexico.

The **U.S. Institute of Peace** seeks to help "prevent and resolve violent conflicts, promote post-conflict stability and development, and increase peace-building capacity, tools, and intellectual capital worldwide."[48] The nonprofit organization, funded by the U.S. Congress and governed by a Senate-confirmed board, allocated $1.5 million to media development in 2006.

Private Sector Funding

Private sector funding of independent media abroad, which totaled over $60 million, or 42 percent, of the funding identified in this survey, has several advantages over public financing. Private funders can be more flexible about use of new technology and innovative projects, and their programs can operate in countries where U.S. government-funded programs are unwelcome. "In many places around the world, the people we train are more open to participating in programs funded by private sources than those funded by the U.S. government," says Patrick Butler, ICFJ vice president.[49]

By far the largest private funder is the **Open Society Institute** (OSI) and its associated foundations. Founded by philanthropist George Soros, OSI has made support of independent media a cornerstone of its mission to promote democracy around the world. In 2006, through the OSI Network Media Program and affiliates, OSI allocated $40 million to development of independent media abroad. This comprised 28 percent of all funding identified in this survey and two-thirds of all private sector funds identified. Soros foundations in 29 countries have been active in funding programs in nearly all major areas of media sector development—journalism training, business management, professional associations, media law, and legal defense.[50]

The John S. and James L. Knight Foundation, created in 1950, is one of the oldest U.S. foundations focused on improving journalism. The foundation's journalism initiatives program spends approximately $7 million per year on international journalism training and education. It also funds many U.S. university journalism programs and training initiatives. Through these programs, the foundation "seeks to emphasize education for current and future journalists; increase

the impact and number of journalists reached by existing programs; and encourage the $100-billion-a-year news industry to increase its investment in training."[51]

The Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation gave out nearly $6.75 million during 2006 to communication for development projects. Among them were major grants to bolster health reporting overseas, with a focus on prevention of AIDS and other diseases in India and Africa.[52] Gates Foundation officials have said that "other media capacity-building projects are currently under development."[53]

The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation spent more than $1.6 million in 2006, on programs that included training journalists in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Sudan, and Uganda on the International Criminal Court, strengthening environmental media coverage in the Lower Mekong River region of Southeast Asia, and activities to support and monitor media rights in Russia.[54]

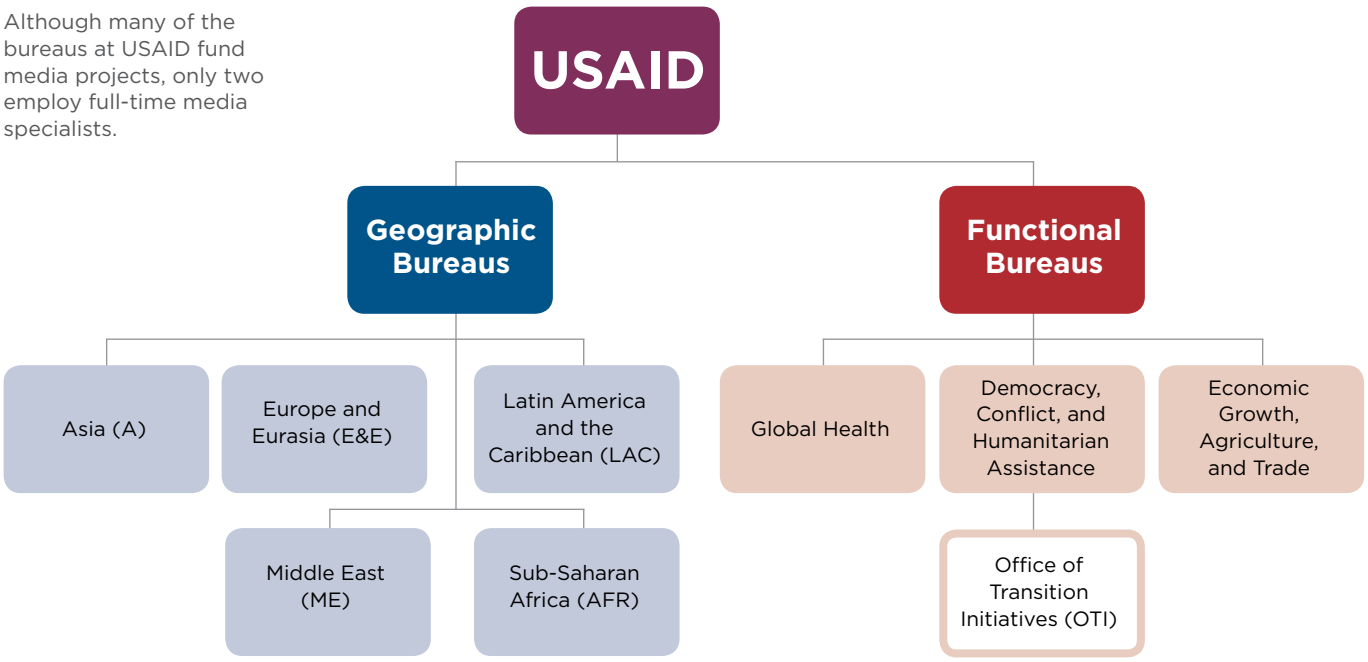
The Ford Foundation spent nearly $1.3 million on international media projects in 2006, including production of a documentary on maternal mortality in Nigeria, a competition for social and independent news programming on regional radio stations in Russia, and training and mentoring to develop and sustain high-quality public interest television production in Kenya.[55]

The David and Lucile Packard Foundation has supported initiatives that use media to further its goals "to improve the lives of children, enable the creative pursuit of science, advance reproductive health, and conserve and restore the earth's natural systems."[56] In 2006, the foundation's support for projects that involved media totaled $854,400, focusing on such issues as family planning and HIV/AIDS in Ethiopia and Nigeria.

The McCormick Tribune Foundation, which spent $480,000 on media assistance in 2006, gives grants to nonprofit organizations working to defend journalists, particularly in Latin America. It seeks to "promote freedom of expression and the vital importance of all news media in a free society" with programs that "monitor and protest abuses against journalists; examine restrictive laws, rulings, and regulations; and strengthen public support for the First Amendment."[57]

The Carnegie Corporation of New York focuses its media-related funding mainly on U.S. university

Although many of the bureaus at USAID fund media projects, only two employ full-time media specialists.



journalism programs, but it has also supported international training programs. In 2006, it gave $70,000 to the Center for Public Integrity for a pilot training project in investigative reporting in Nigeria, and $23,000 to ICFJ for dissemination of a media training manual for Arab and American journalists.[58]

Other major foundations are involved in media funding overseas. **The Rockefeller Foundation**, for example, gave $200,000 in 2006 to a fellowship program that allows journalists from the six countries that make up the Mekong River region to cover cross-border issues.[59] **The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation** awarded $50,000 to Internews for media support to people affected by the 2006 earthquake in Indonesia.

> Private funders can be more flexible about use of new technology and innovative projects, and their programs can operate in countries where U.S. government-funded programs are unwelcome.

Additional Funding Sources

Foundations. Many foundations have shied away from media development work as they typically have not seen it fitting into their priority areas. "Traditionally they have seen news and information as wild animals," explained one executive who has tried to push media programs within her foundation. Still, with the dramatic increase in new foundations in the last 20 years and the growth in overall foundation giving, foundations could prove a significant source for additional media support. According to a May 2008 Foundation Center report, in 2007 foundations set a record with nearly $43 billion in donations. In addition, three-fifths of today's active foundations were established after 1989. In 2006 alone, 1,400 new grant-making foundations were created.[60] Although only a few foundations, such as the Knight Foundation, include journalism in their funding priorities, their interests in specific issues might be leveraged to support media development goals. For example, the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation is giving ICFJ $1.7 million to support 13 Knight International Health fellows in five African countries over the next year.[61]

Smaller Foundations and Individuals. Many smaller and family-run foundations have given grants for international media development. The Glaser Progress Foundation's support of independent Serbian broadcaster B92 is one example. Nonprofit groups, such as ICFJ and Internews, also receive substantial amounts from individual donors.

Corporate Giving. Yahoo! Inc. gave $1 million to Stanford University in 2006 to expand the university's Knight Fellowships for international journalists. To launch its graduate business journalism program at China's Tsinghua University, ICFJ raised funding from Merrill Lynch and Deloitte Touche Tohmatsu, and received 10 Bloomberg terminals from Bloomberg News. Other assistance has come in the form of *pro bono* work from attorneys and their law firms on reform of media law overseas. Major media corporations, including leading television news networks and newspapers, have also made donations.

Public-Private Partnerships. Microsoft, Cisco Systems, and Intel are among the corporations that participate in USAID's "Global Development Alliance," joining private-sector and public resources in funding development projects, including expanded access to communications and information technology.

In-house Training. Some media organizations devote considerable resources to training their staff internally. Central European Media Enterprises, a broadcasting company founded in 1994 by former Ambassador Ronald Lauder, spent $1.75 million in 2006 on internal training and other media development activities in Central Europe, including a "media university" in Romania for its staff.

Internet Donations. One of the fastest-growing tools for international giving is the Internet. Dozens of

Web sites welcome individual online contributions for international development projects, including several prominent nonprofit groups working on media development.

Socially Conscious Investing. The Media Development Loan Fund (MDLF) has pioneered a novel way to raise money, by offering bond-like financial instruments to the public. Socially conscious investors can help finance MDLF's low-interest loans to independent media, while earning a modest rate of return.[62]

Remittances. In 2005, Americans and foreign nationals in the United States sent overseas remittances totaling $61.7 billion, according to the *Index of Global Philanthropy 2007*—equivalent to 65 percent of total U.S. private assistance to developing countries.[63] This offers enormous potential for support to independent media. Among the outlets that have made use of remittances is RTV21, a television and radio station in Kosovo, established with backing from the Albanian/Kosovar diaspora in Switzerland and the United States. ❐

MEDIA DEVELOPMENT VS. COMMUNICATION FOR DEVELOPMENT

The argument over the role of "communication for development" fuels passions on both sides. "It's like giving a person a fish instead of teaching him to fish," says Internews' Hoffman.[64] "Most of that money is wasted." The debate is a "false and distracting dichotomy," counters Warren Feek of the Communication Initiative Network, an online resource center for communications in development.[65]

"Communication for development" uses the media to convey specific messages on issues, such as health care, poverty reduction, good governance, and environmental protection. Much of the money in media development today, in fact, goes not to building independent, professional media, but to paying for issue-specific programs. Officials at USAID estimate they spend four times more on communication for development than they do on developing independent media. Foundations also tend to target their grants toward specific issues, seeking to battle disease or environmental degradation by creating media programs or training journalists to report on these issues. The Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, for example, gave out nearly $6.75 million in 2006 to bolster health reporting in developing countries. Given the shortage of funding in the field, many NGOs eagerly accept whatever resources are available, and attempt to build basic training into their programs.

Some veterans believe that there should be little tension between the two streams of media development—that they are complementary and both sorely needed. Feek points to the Ford Foundation's role in supporting young African-American journalists during the civil rights era. "Is this initiative 'media development?'" he asks. "Is it 'communication for development'?...We have more in common than what divides us." Because media development's impact cuts across so many sectors, all support should be welcome, argues Feek. "Both freedom of expression and the right to information are as important to a soap opera script writer and producer, a local drama theater manager, and the developer of a mass media campaign as they are to journalists."[66]

Others, however, warn that the field is skewed far too much toward communication for development; they argue, moreover, that investing first and firmly in independent media is the surest path to serious coverage of the very social issues that funders want addressed. "You need both," says ICFJ's Barnathan. "But to have journalists report well on accountability and health and the environment, they first need to have good skills."[67] Others point to the fact that communication for development programs do little to build a long-term base for independent media. "When you're looking at it through the lens of a health program or an election program, you are forced to neglect the whole sustainability question," says IREX's Whitehouse.

The contribution of communication for development programs is significant, say its backers, who included participants from more than 90 countries at a 2006 World Congress on Communication for Development.[68] Held in Rome by the World Bank and the Food and Agriculture Organization, among others, the congress issued a "Rome Consensus," citing such success stories as radio forums boosting productivity in rural India and media campaigns reducing genital mutilation in Senegal and the spread of infectious disease in Cambodia. But while the findings stressed the importance of people having access to communication tools, they made no mention of the importance of developing independent news media.[69]

FUNDING: MORE BANG FOR THE BUCK

KEY PROBLEMS

- Funding is inadequate to meet the challenges.
- Funding is too often short-term.
- Pool of donors remains relatively small.
- Donors do not always coordinate their efforts.
- U.S. government programs are difficult to track.

KEY SOLUTIONS

- Educate and expand the pool of potential funders.
- Make media a greater priority in democracy and development projects.
- Expand the use of media loans and other innovative approaches.
- Improve donor coordination through meetings and networking.
- Index U.S. government media projects so they are easily searchable.

"The number one problem is not waste, it's scarcity," says Eric Newton, whose Knight Foundation spends some $7 million annually on international media development. "Without a dramatic increase in media development aid, the growth of solutions will never outstrip the growth in problems."[70] Leaders in the independent media community agree: the single biggest challenge to making a broader and sustained impact is the lack of funding today. They concur that much more should be done to make their case to potential donors—whether they are family-run foundations, multinational corporations, or the U.S. Congress.

A technician at Radio Isanganiro in Burundi, funded by Search for Common Ground, monitors a live radio program. *Photo: Search for Common Ground*

In the battle for federal funding, that may mean drawing sharper distinctions on the advantages of independent media development over Cold War-era approaches, such as government-run broadcasting services. Explaining the cutting-edge role of independent media will be equally important to the private sector. "There needs to be a great deal more education of the philanthropic community about the benefits of media development," says Internews' Hoffman, "particularly among the new private philanthropists. There is a scarcity of private donors."[71] ICFJ's Barnathan adds that fundraising should increasingly focus on corporate America. "In an increasingly global world," she says, "it's very much in their interest to understand that a free press gives them balanced coverage."[72]

The Need for Coordination

Given the large task at hand and relatively modest levels of funding, the media development community is faced with the challenge of marshalling its resources as effectively as possible. Key to this effort, say leaders in the field, is better coordination—among donors as well as implementing groups, and in the field as well as in Washington. "Until we get the substantial increases we need, we must better coordinate what money and projects currently exist, rigorously evaluating what we are doing and sharing the results openly," observes Newton. Donors, both public and private, for example, are often unaware of the various programs being supported—particularly by funders in other countries—and can be overprotective of their favored projects. Implementing organizations typically rely on limited sources of funding and can be overly competitive with each other. Some nonprofit groups, for example, have refused to share lists of journalists trained.

In areas that are "hot" for media assistance, such as the former Soviet Union and Balkans in the 1990s and the Middle East today, the need to avoid duplication is obvious. Multiple projects on similar issues can waste scarce resources and leave local participants frustrated and cynical. Journalists in the Balkans, for example,

complain of "training fatigue" after years of workshops by foreign NGOs. In Armenia, competing journalism graduate programs were set up by Dutch, Swiss, and American media development groups at three different universities between 2002 and 2006—more than enough for the capital city of a country with just three million people.[73] Such concerns were reinforced by a 2005 report by the U.S. Government Accountability Office (GAO) on media development. GAO looked at federally funded media projects in nine countries and found four of them, as the report put it, "challenged by coordination issues." It cited "an unclear chain of command and limited communication, which resulted in confusion over the responsibilities of donors and providers of media development, duplication of efforts, or periods of program inactivity."[74]

Without a dramatic increase in media development aid, the growth of solutions will never outstrip the growth in problems.

Fueling the problem is a lack of information about who is doing what, even within the same government agency. At USAID, there are only five officials assigned to monitor and advise on media assistance—in an agency with $50 million of media projects. As noted earlier, USAID's database system has been so unwieldy that staffers have had difficulty searching which media projects the agency is funding at any given time, although they expect a searchable database to be online by the end of 2008. Nor do agencies always coordinate with each other. In one notable case, the State Department and USAID each funded different NGOs to rebuild the same radio stations destroyed in the 2004 Indonesian tsunami.[75] Officials are attempting to centralize administration of foreign aid programs by integrating USAID more closely into the State Department, which may make it easier to identify projects supporting independent media. But this move—dubbed the "F Process"—has stirred concern among some officials; they worry that the decentralized nature of the funding

IRAQ AND AFGHANISTAN: TWO CONFLICTS, TWO STORIES

In the four years since the 9/11 attacks, U.S. government funding of democracy programs abroad effectively doubled, increasing by some $600 million. Most of this increase went to Iraq and Afghanistan, yet the approach toward media assistance in the two countries and outcomes differed significantly. In Iraq, funds allocated for media assistance were primarily used to rebuild the existing state-run media, while in Afghanistan, a comparatively small sum was used to foster independent media. In all, Washington spent some $215 million on changing the press in the two countries.

David Rohde, former *New York Times* South Asia bureau chief, took a hard look at the subject in a 2005 working paper for the Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government. According to Rohde, in Iraq, where the Department of Defense (DOD) was tasked with building up the country's independent media, the efforts were largely regarded as a failure, whereas in Afghanistan, where the work was supported by USAID, the work has proved more successful.[78]

There were similarities. Both were war-torn countries with populations of some 28 million; both were Muslim; and both saw attempts by the U.S. government to set up entirely new media systems. But then the stories diverge. The vast majority of the money—$200 million—went to Iraq through the Pentagon in what Rohde calls "the largest attempt ever by the United States, or any country, to help create independent media in another nation." Afghanistan received a relatively small $15 million (roughly equal to what Washington spent on media in Serbia before the fall of Milosevic).[79]

In Iraq, DOD awarded an initial $15 million no-bid contract to Science Applications International Corporation (SAIC) to build an independent national news media, a task the longtime defense contractor had never before tackled. Media development officials questioned the feasibility of the project's

will be replaced by a headquarters-heavy process so centralized that it is far removed from knowledgeable officers in the field.

Coordination is not always such a challenge. To varying extents in the Balkans, Russia, and Ukraine, U.S. officials and private donors attempted to coordinate the influx of aid for media development, through embassy working groups, donors' councils, and informal networking. OSI's Network Media Program, in particular, is credited with developing many of its programs in Eastern Europe and former Soviet states in close coordination with other donors. Some in the media development community are also skeptical of claims about widespread duplication of effort. They point out that resources in general are so scarce—and the demand so great—that such instances are in fact relatively rare. "It's not my experience that we're tripping over each other," observes ICFJ's Barnathan. "I just see a huge need out there."[76]

Still, the need for greater coordination and communication seems obvious in a field that, ironically, is dedicated to promoting the free flow of information. "I don't know of any global activity where they give away money, but don't meet every year and talk to each other," says the Knight Foundation's Newton. "The silos have not yet broken down."[77] In recent years, however, as recognition of media development's importance has grown, a number of efforts have been launched to improve coordination.

A journalist with Croatia's CCN TV reports from The Hague on proceedings of the International Criminal Court for the former Yugoslavia, under an IREX project supported by the Mott Foundation and USAID. *Photo: IREX*

goals: to take Iraq's dilapidated state broadcasting system and, within a year, transform it into a BBC-style network with two nationwide television channels, two nationwide radio channels, and a national newspaper. The Iraqi Media Network (IMN)—on which SAIC spent $82 million—was eventually dismissed by its critics and the public as a propaganda machine for the Coalition Provisional Authority. The entire initiative, concluded Rohde, "was a near total failure in its first year, with Iraqi journalists, American trainers, and U.S. government officials assailing it as wasteful, amateurish, and counter-productive."[80]

In Afghanistan, by contrast, USAID's Office of Transition Initiatives (OTI) found greater success by taking on smaller projects, providing grants to local groups, and keeping it a civilian initiative run by media development professionals. By 2005, OTI had disbursed 132 grants, sparking the development of an independent national news agency and Afghanistan's first privately owned radio and TV stations. Starting with a $4 million OTI grant, Internews also built up a national radio center and a nationwide network of 28 community radio stations. In all, OTI has spent some $20 million on Afghan media development. Two of the radio stations were burned down, but today all but one remain on the air.[81] Despite repeated attacks on the media, says a USAID official, "Afghanistan has the most independent media in Central Asia today."

After Rohde published his paper, media assistance in Iraq continued to founder and a scandal erupted in late 2005 over payments by a Pentagon contractor to Iraqi reporters for favorable coverage.[82] In 2005, USAID's Iraq Civil Society and Media Support Program began working with IREX on Iraqi media projects, which included launching the National Iraqi News Agency (NINA), Iraq's first independent news agency, televising debates and programs on Iraq's elections and constitutional referendum, and providing support for media training and associations. More recently, the State Department's Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor has taken the lead on U.S. initiatives to assist Iraq's media sector, with continued funding for NINA, and support for groups providing legal defense for journalists, as well as development of draft media laws.

Among the initiatives:

- In 2005, the Global Forum for Media Development was founded to act as a global advocate for the media development community. GFMD, now with a secretariat in Brussels, has grown to some 400 media assistance organizations worldwide, and is holding a series of regional conferences to chart strategy.
- In 2006, at the behest of the U.S. Congress and with support from the State Department, NED created CIMA. One of CIMA's core missions is to improve coordination and cooperation among media assistance groups and funders, particularly those based in the U.S. CIMA's research reports, working groups, public forums, and this report are, in part, a response to these concerns.
- In 2008, ICFJ was charged with organizing the first-ever large meeting of independent journalism training centers. The effort is backed by the Knight Foundation, which commissioned ICFJ to identify and start building a network of the top 50 journalism training organizations worldwide.
- The International Journalists' Network (IJNet), an online service run by ICFJ, is now published in Arabic, English, Farsi, Spanish, and Portuguese. Supported by NED, OSI, and the Eurasia and Knight foundations, IJNet has grown into a vital resource for information on media assistance projects. Its backers hope to expand the service into other languages.
- The Salzburg Global Seminar, with support from the Knight Foundation and in coordination with GFMD, has launched a multiyear effort, the Strengthening Independent Media Initiative, to improve strategy and funding of media development worldwide.
- Internews, backed by a three-year Knight Foundation grant, is building an online network of media professionals drawn from the more than 9,000 alumni of its programs worldwide. The site will connect visitors to resources like the Poynter Institute's News University, ICFJ, and the Knight Center for Journalism in the Americas.

A More Holistic Approach

Better coordination could help address one of the most common complaints among media development activists: the lack of long-term focus and strategy. The examples are numerous. One NGO active in the Balkans, for instance, closed its program and laid-off half a dozen local staff members when U.S. government funding for the program reached its scheduled end date. Yet, five months later, when a new diplomatic team arrived, the NGO was asked to reactivate the program, reopen an office, and rehire the local staff.[83] As a BBC World Trust report observed, "Too often, donor programs appear to be short-term, *ad hoc* or lacking a strategic focus, without sufficient thought being given to longer-term outcomes."[84] Karin Deutsch Karlekar, who oversees Freedom House's *Freedom of the Press* survey, agrees. "Lots of donors jump around and change their priorities every year or so," she says. "It's frustrating for implementers to set up a project and run it for a year or so and then stop."[85]

A more holistic approach to media development would help, say implementers. "Donors should see media development as a field in itself, one that is consistently funded and is not subject to a post-conflict or crisis mentality, where suddenly media become important," argues IREX's Whitehouse. "If it were viewed that way, like judicial reform or elections are, it will support all these fields—democratic governance, economic development, poverty reduction, public health—because you'll have the base there."[86]

An integrated, longer-term focus, combined with better networking among donors, could indeed improve the impact of programs around the world. But ultimately the push to spread independent media worldwide will depend on enough funding. Drusilla Menaker, senior media advisor at IREX, stresses that the case is a powerful one to make. "The amount of money on developing the media sector is so microscopic compared to the impact," she says. "People in places where we are working are dying, literally, to have a media half as imperfect as that in the United States."[87] □

THE BALKANS: LESSONS IN MEDIA ASSISTANCE

The years of conflict plaguing the Balkans have attracted billions of dollars in international aid from Western donors, including major support for independent media. From 1996 to 2006, more than $400 million was spent on the media by private foundations, government agencies, and NGOs in the region, according to a 2007 report, *Ten Years of Media Support to the Balkans: An Assessment.*[88] Commissioned by the Stability Pact for South East Europe, the report—which examines media-support projects in Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Kosovo—credits the assistance with real successes, but also points to nagging problems with issues of sustainability, lack of professional standards, and politicization of aid.

The goals of supporting media in the Balkans were manifold. They included nurturing alternatives to authoritarian rule, bolstering peace agreements, easing ethnic tension, protecting minorities, fighting crime and corruption, and promoting integration with Europe. Half of the assistance, some $220 million, went to direct support to media organizations; another $118 million was spent on reforming the legal and regulatory environment; and $64 million more went to training and education. Of the seven countries and territories targeted, Bosnia and Herzegovina received the most funding, followed by Kosovo and Serbia; Albania received the least.

The success stories are numerous, according to the report. Support to independent media played a key role in helping sweep away authoritarian regimes in several Balkan nations. Monopolies over control of information and opinion were broken, allowing alternative political voices to be heard. Among the individual success stories was B92, a gutsy Serbian radio station credited with helping oust Serbian strongman Slobodan Milosevic. Backed heavily by international donors, the station was rebroadcast on BBC satellites and eventually distributed into Serbia through 30 transmitters installed in adjacent countries. In Croatia, CCN television network won plaudits for breaking the monopoly of state broadcaster HRT. In Bosnia, the Center for Investigative Journalism, launched with a three-year USAID grant, has helped set a standard for tough, accurate reporting on organized crime and corruption.[89]

At the same time, however, the massive assistance has fallen short in key respects. In some countries, media legislative reforms remain incomplete, "due mainly to a lack of political will," notes the report. Kosovo's 2003 law on access to official documents, for example, is little publicized and underutilized. Support for media institutions has produced mixed results, with many centers overly dependent on donors and unions ineffective in protecting journalists' rights. Some training programs were poorly designed and too theoretical; worse, even when training was well executed, reporters often found they could not practice quality journalism because of attitudes by owners and editors. Finally, the political nature of the aid took its toll. "A residue of cynicism surrounds the reputation of media assistance," the report concluded, "largely because of overtly political support and resentment about choices."[90]

After examining the results of 37 evaluations of media assistance in the Balkans, the report makes four pages of recommendations. First among them: keeping media aid nonpartisan. To avoid accusations of "fostering regime change," the political aim of media support "should be framed in terms of efforts to realize human rights in accordance with international standards." Training is also singled out. To achieve greater success, says the report, training should be practical, fee-based, non-intrusive, and engage both editors and owners. Also on the list of recommendations: building donor coordination into media support at an early stage, finding dependable local partners, integrating greater flexibility and planning into project design, putting more emphasis on sustainability, and committing to better follow-through on legal and regulatory reforms.

PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT: RAISING STANDARDS WORLDWIDE

KEY PROBLEMS

- Professional journalism skills are lacking.
- Standards are low or nonexistent.
- Corruption is widespread.
- Investigative reporting skills are weak.
- Equipment and technology are wanting.

KEY SOLUTIONS

- Provide long-term support for training, professional associations, and media centers.
- Focus on international standards.
- Put greater emphasis on ethics and investigative training.
- Keep training practical, and reach managers and owners.
- Develop innovative, flexible approaches and partnering.

In an otherwise unremarkable note in early 2008, the International Journalists' Network (IJNet) ran a short announcement that a new "internship job-placement handbook" was available from the Liberia Media Center. The posting brought a rapid response from an anonymous, but clearly frustrated "Liberian reader":

> Most journalists in Liberia are hardly high school graduates and maintain very dubious practices from blackmailing those they write ugly stories about, to never checking facts, to writing about pure gossip...

Reporters conduct an interview during an Internews training in Afghanistan.
Photo: David Trilling/Internews

> Editors are not trained themselves and can hardly edit the work and most stories or articles are difficult to read and one cannot find the lead of the story...These are the truths that never come out, while the journalists cry they are being mistreated. Train the so-called journalists first![91]

Such attitudes are not hard to find overseas. The sad truth is that the professional level of journalists in much of the newly democratized and developing world is low. The most basic skills—clear writing, multiple sourcing, fairness, accuracy, ethical and legal behavior—often are never learned in the newsroom, the classroom, or anywhere else. University programs are frequently ill-equipped to meet these needs, both financially and professionally. Without access to basic skills, more advanced training in investigative, computer-assisted, international, and crisis reporting becomes an even greater challenge. As a result, many journalists are ill-prepared to cover news stories both large and small.

Veteran trainers stress the need to insist upon international standards in media development programs. Establishing high standards is critical not only to professionalizing the media, but also to having a positive impact on the public. "Unless you meet some minimum standards, you're not going to have an effect—on clarity, on accuracy, on fairness, on reader-friendliness, on newsworthiness," argues Drew Sullivan of the Bosnian Center for Investigative Reporting.[92] Indeed, the widespread lack of standards contributes to an "anything-goes" environment in many countries' news media, with extensive self-censorship, lack of community responsibility, and falsification of circulation or viewership numbers.[93] Corruption is also a major problem, particularly where journalists are paid little or sporadically. Envelopes of cash passed from sources to reporters are all too common. In worse cases, some reporters practice a thinly disguised form of extortion, digging up dirt on companies or individuals and threatening to write about them unless they are paid off. Still others use their reporting skills for political hit jobs, working in the service of local bosses or organized crime.[94]

Editors, news directors, and owners pose another

challenge. Since the fall of the Soviet Union, tens of thousands of reporters have been trained worldwide, but media development experts widely agree that far too few of their bosses have been reached. "You can train a reporter all you want, but if the editor isn't on board, good luck," observes Brant Houston, Knight Professor of Investigative Reporting at the University of Illinois.[95]

Specialized training in investigative reporting can sharpen the media's role as public watchdog, helping developing nations battle stubborn problems of crime and corruption.

Even in countries where institutional support exists, news outlets may be poorly equipped with outdated technology. Old computers, antiquated broadcast equipment, and decaying facilities are just some of the obstacles they may face. In a globalized economy that depends on high-tech communications, fewer than five out of every 100 Africans use the Internet (compared to, on average, half of those in the G8 countries).[96] And where computers are available, slow dial-up connections can hamper access to an Internet now built for high-speed broadband.

Fostering a Professional News Media

These formidable challenges have prompted sustained attention from donors and implementers, who have made professional development the cornerstone of media assistance. Indeed, more media funding dollars go to training and other efforts to improve the level of professionalism than any other area of media development, according to a 2007 CIMA survey. The three major U.S.-based media assistance groups—ICFJ, IREX, and Internews—spent more than half of their combined budgets, or some $23 million, on training in 2006. The reasoning is straightforward: better-trained journalists offer a direct path to transforming the overall media landscape. When professional expectations are raised, media professionals are more likely to strive to achieve better results. Strong professional associations can similarly help raise standards, while pushing for progressive media laws, such as decriminalized libel and freedom of information statutes. Quality reporting, editing, and design can boost circulation and help develop a marketplace better able to support independent media. Specialized training in investigative reporting can sharpen the media's role as public watchdog, helping developing nations battle stubborn problems of crime and corruption.

The impact of professional development programs can be dramatic, from improvements in circulation to exposés that prompt government reforms. In Uganda, for example, Knight Fellow Rosemary Armao—one of hundreds of Knight International fellows since 1993—encouraged her journalism students to report on a garbage problem plaguing the capital city of Kampala. The students, many of whom had never conducted more than a cursory interview, revealed the physical toll the garbage problem was taking on poor residents, including children covered in scabies and sickened by cholera or typhoid. The students' work sparked interest from the local paper, whose story in turn prompted the city to clean up the trash. In Ukraine, IREX's Media Partnership Program pairs Ukrainian media organizations with media outlets in the United States. The program, funded initially by the State Department's Public Diplomacy Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs and now by the Public Affairs Section of the U.S. Embassy in Kyiv, has helped Ukrainian journalists gain experience and skills in reporting, business management, advertising, marketing, and use of new technologies, such as streaming media. TV UNION of Donetsk, for example, partnered with Channel 13 WMAZ of Macon, Georgia, to launch a local investigative reporting program called "Zone of Special Attention." Working with *The Herald-Times* in Bloomington, Indiana, staffers at the newspaper *Kafa* in Feodosiya, Crimea, completely redesigned their publication and improved its Web site.

Funding of these professional development programs is diverse. USAID, the top U.S. donor in media assistance, spends millions of dollars annually on training journalists and other media professionals. The State Department, through its headquarters and diplomatic posts worldwide, funds a number of

initiatives, including various fellowships and international visitor programs. Private foundations are also major contributors, particularly OSI and Knight. The programs themselves take on many forms:

Long-term Training. Ranging from weeks-long courses to embedding U.S. editors into foreign newsrooms, long-term training is widely lauded for helping raise journalism standards overseas.

Short-term Training. Sometimes criticized for being too limited in scope, intensive classes—from afternoon sessions to one-week workshops—have long been a mainstay of journalism training.

Fellowships and Exchanges. More than 30 international fellowships are available for study, training, and research. Among the better-known programs are the Fulbright awards and Harvard's Nieman fellowships. Some, such as the International Journalism Exchange, offer foreign journalists the chance to work at U.S. media outlets.

Specialized Training. Targeted trainings may focus on advanced techniques (investigative and computer-assisted reporting), new technology (Web publishing, blogging), or specific subjects (the environment, HIV/AIDS, human trafficking, business reporting).

"Training the Trainers." Building local skills can foster more sustainable professional standards. Many groups work to equip local trainers with the ability to teach and prepare journalists in their native countries, thus maintaining a higher level of professional development after the program ends.

Infrastructure. Especially in poorer countries, donors have purchased, installed, and helped maintain capital-intensive equipment, such as transmission towers, studio gear, and printing presses.

Media Centers. With journalism education poorly developed in many countries, these nonprofit groups are often the only means for supporting and training mid-career professional journalists. A 2007 survey by ICFJ found 81 journalism training centers worldwide.[97]

A trainer works with journalists on photography techniques in Bangladesh. *Photo: UNESCO*

Professional Associations. Developing media associations is widely recognized as key to professional development. Among the groups: journalist unions, media monitors, circulation auditors, press councils, and advertising associations.

Guidebooks and Training Materials. Developing and translating journalism guides, textbooks, and other training materials have helped spread professional practices overseas.

Distance Learning. The Florida-based Poynter Institute, the Knight Center for Journalism in the Americas at the University of Texas-Austin, and ICFJ are among those offering distance training, using online courses to reach journalists overseas.

Major U.S. Training Organizations

Most professional development work in U.S. overseas media assistance is implemented by a relatively small number of organizations. The lion's share is handled by the big three nonprofit groups in media development: ICFJ, IREX, and Internews.

ICFJ, based in Washington, D.C., has worked with more than 40,000 journalists in 176 countries. Founded in 1984, ICFJ spends approximately $7 million annually on programs ranging from fellowships that

Two Pakistani journalists participate in a training session for print journalists on election reporting. *Photo: Internews.*

send journalists overseas as trainers to workshops on topics as varied as ethics, investigative reporting, and business journalism. It also operates several university education programs abroad.

IREX, also based in Washington, D.C., focuses on strengthening education, civil society, and independent media in the 50 countries in which it works. Founded in 1968, IREX spends approximately $14 million annually on programs that span virtually every aspect of media development. Its annual *Media Sustainability Index* is a key barometer of independent media conditions in Africa, Europe, Eurasia, and the Middle East.

Internews, based in Washington, D.C., and Arcata, California, focuses solely on fostering independent media and access to information around the world. Founded in 1982, the organization has worked in 70 countries and maintains 23 offices worldwide. Each year, Internews spends some $27 million to train thousands of media professionals in journalism, production, and management. Its focus areas include training, infrastructure development, media law and policy, and production.

Investigative Reporters and Editors (IRE), based at the University of Missouri, is the world's oldest and largest association of investigative journalists, with members in some 30 countries. IRE trained 6,000 journalists worldwide in 2006, has helped start or inspire investigative reporting centers in half a dozen countries, and has organized conferences and workshops in more than a dozen countries. It accepts no government funding.[98]

The Poynter Institute trains journalists online and on site at its St. Petersburg, Florida campus. Some 20 faculty members offer classes in reporting, editing, visual journalism, management, and multimedia journalism. Poynter's "NewsU," a Knight Foundation-funded "e-learning" program, has 11,586 registered members outside the United States.

The four institutes affiliated with the National Endowment for Democracy—the **National Democratic Institute for International Affairs** (NDI), the **International Republican Institute** (IRI), the **American Center for International Labor Solidarity**, and the **Center for International Private Enterprise** (CIPE)—each conduct media development programs, typically focused on their areas of expertise ranging from political party and election work to labor and business.

More than a dozen other U.S.-based groups do significant amounts of training. The **International Women's Media Foundation** has built a global network of women journalists and has run leadership and training seminars in 22 countries. **Developing Radio Partners** concentrates on community radio stations in the developing world. The **Media Development Loan Fund** integrates training with its financial support of media outlets. The **Journalism Development Group** runs projects in North Africa, Europe, and Eurasia, with its flagship project, the Center for Investigative Reporting, in Bosnia and Herzegovina. **Search for Common Ground** does media training tied to its focus on conflict resolution. The **Committee to Protect Journalists** in New York City and the University of Washington-based **Dart Center for Journalists & Trauma** have done workshops in journalist safety. The Washington, D.C.-based **Freedom House** also does training.

In addition, a number of U.S. journalism schools have international programs or faculty who consult overseas, including **Columbia**, **Missouri**, **Northwestern**, **Western Kentucky**, and **Florida International** universities, the **University of Texas at Austin**, and the

SPREADING THE NEWS: COMMUNITY RADIO

Despite the advent of broadband, text messaging, and other recent technologies, it is old-fashioned radio that remains the dominant communication medium in much of the world. It is available at no cost to anyone with access to a radio and can inform people at all levels of society, including the illiterate—who make up one in five adults worldwide (and as many as three of four adults in countries such as Afghanistan and Chad).[99] Because of its pervasiveness, radio can be uniquely effective in reaching and giving voice to marginalized groups.

Of particular importance to media development specialists are community radio stations, which tend to be low-budget, local enterprises that rely heavily on volunteers and are deeply rooted in the regions they serve. A station is generally governed by a board that reflects the diversity of the community, defines its mission, sets policies, and oversees finances.[100] Community radio stations are often owned by NGOs, as well as universities, students, religious organizations, and trade unions.[101]

The field has attracted increased funding in recent years, but its potential has only begun to be tapped, according to advocates, such as Bill Siemering, president of the nonprofit Developing Radio Partners, which helps develop independent radio stations overseas. "Radio is being used more for development, but the sector remains vulnerable, underfunded, and undervalued," says Siemering, who led development of National Public Radio's *All Things Considered.*[102]

Examples of radio's ability to empower developing communities are numerous. Among them:

In Nepal, after the king seized power in 2005 and ordered stations to broadcast only music, community radio broadcasters responded by singing the news and Nepal's constitution to inform listeners about the political crisis and their constitutional rights. Broadcasters also urged peaceful protest.[103]

With funding from USAID, the State Department, and the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, Internews set up a string of community radio stations in remote eastern Chad. The stations have provided Sudanese refugees from Darfur and local Chadians with updates on security issues and food and health services.[104]

In Pakistan, Internews helped to train Pakistan's first generation of female radio journalists and establish the country's first nongovernmental radio stations. The initiative also produced the first independent radio program on gender issues, *Meri Awaz Suno* (Hear My Voice), which explored groundbreaking topics such as HIV/AIDS, "honor" killings, and women's political participation.[105]

And in Jordan, when Palestinian journalist Daoud Kuttab tried to start an independent radio station in 2000, he was thwarted by a government stranglehold on the airwaves. Kuttab took his radio idea online, founding AmmanNet, an Internet-based station in a region he says is "probably the poorest for community radio and independent media in the world." Now an FM station, AmmanNet is credited with improving local journalism by introducing new practices in Jordan—airing "actualities" (sound bites from interviews), covering Parliament, and focusing on local news. AmmanNet received initial funding from UNESCO and OSI, and today relies on a variety of donors, including NED, as well as income from training its staff conducts for other media.[106]

While radio has sometimes been used to spread hate—most infamously to spark genocide in Rwanda in 1994—it can also serve as a force to calm tensions and help avoid conflict. In Kenya, where more than 1,000 people were killed and 500,000 displaced in ethnic clashes after a disputed presidential election in December 2007, Pamoja FM, based in Kibera, Nairobi's largest slum, broadcast messages to its listeners to remain calm and nonviolent. Funded with donations and run by volunteers, the station's mission is to bring local news to Kibera's 1.2 million residents.[107]

The major challenges for community radio are financial and institutional sustainability. In some countries, for example, no radio frequencies are allocated specifically for community or independent radio, because media is government-controlled or dominated by commercial radio. Also, since they are not commercial, these stations often do not have sufficient sources of funding and can become dependent on donors. Some humanitarian relief projects will build up community radio, only to cut off funding or shut them down when the assistance ends. To increase revenue, stations have turned to various means: bartering ads for food and services, selling on-air announcements, and operating cafés and Internet portals as side businesses.

University of Pennsylvania. The **Asia Foundation** and **Eurasia Foundation**, which receive USAID funding, also fund media training projects in their respective regions. Finally, several large government contractors in the Washington, D.C. area sometimes handle USAID contracts with media development components, among them the **Academy for Educational Development**, **Chemonics**, and **Creative Associates International.**

The Way Forward

Scholars and other researchers have performed more than a dozen studies and assessments of media assistance over the past decade. Many are in broad agreement about how to best ensure the success of professional development initiatives. Among their observations:

- Long-term investment in professional development programs is necessary to produce lasting results. Establishing a presence and cultivating a culture of independent journalism takes time. Donors and implementers should be willing to remain in country to see programs through to results.
- Training should be practical and geared toward appropriate candidates. Sessions on environmental or health reporting, for example, should be tailored to reporters who cover those beats. Such courses should also incorporate practical exercises and takeaway materials. In addition, participants should be

INVESTIGATIVE JOURNALISM GOES GLOBAL

Fueled by globalization, international aid, and the efforts of journalism groups, the worldwide practice of investigative reporting has grown dramatically over the past 20 years. Enterprising newspapers and magazines in Brazil, China, and India now field investigative teams. Since 2000, four global conferences on investigative journalism have attracted some 2,000 journalists from more than 50 countries.[108] A 2007 CIMA survey found that the number of nonprofit investigative reporting groups jumped from only three in the late 1980s to 40 today, with vibrant centers in such diverse places as Romania, the Philippines, Jordan, and South Africa.[109]

Investigative journalism trainers define the craft broadly: systematic, in-depth, and original research and reporting, often involving the unearthing of secrets, heavy use of public records, and computer-assisted reporting, with a focus on social justice and accountability.[110] The field's emphasis on accountability and targeting of crime and corruption has attracted millions of dollars in media development funding from international donors, who see it as an important force in promoting rule of law and democratization. But support of investigative journalism has also been identified as a major gap in international media assistance, marked by funding that is episodic and a small fraction of that spent on overall media development. CIMA's survey revealed that the combined 2006 budgets of 16 investigative centers in developing and democratizing countries—including many of the field's most prominent and successful groups—was a mere $2.6 million.[111] Compare that figure to the estimated $142 million spent annually by U.S. donors on international media assistance, and to the tens of millions of dollars more thought to be spent by other funders overseas.[112]

Clearly, additional funding goes to investigative reporting projects outside the centers—to other NGOs, universities, and fellowship programs—but trainers broadly agree that support for investigative work has been limited and is seldom seen as an integral aspect of media development. A 2007 report by the United Kingdom's Department for International Development identified investigative reporting as one of seven key gaps in media development funding. "Donors could do more to support investigative journalism," concluded the report, "particularly by in-country journalists."[113]

Advocates of greater funding for investigative journalism point to an impressive record, often achieved with scant resources. In Georgia, the Philippines, Thailand, and elsewhere, investigative journalists helped drive corrupt and autocratic rulers from power. In Brazil, computer-assisted reporting revealed conflicts of interest among the nation's legislators. In the Balkans, the Sarajevo-based Center for Investigative

asked to evaluate instructors and course structures to determine best practices.

- An ethics component should be routinely incorporated into training, to emphasize the importance of honesty and integrity, as well as to address the problems of corruption.
- Well-run media centers and professional associations are deserving of donor support. Regionally based, nonprofit media centers may be best equipped for focusing local training efforts and reaching journalists at various stages of their careers.
- Training in investigative reporting techniques should be increased. Relatively little is spent on developing skills so that journalists can better act as independent watchdogs and focus on the accountability of those in power.
- In many developing countries, up-to-date equipment and improved Internet access are needed to train journalists in today's new media environment. While technology is no silver bullet, such tools can dramatically empower journalists in their reporting.
- In societies where the government will not accept independent reporting on sensitive subjects, such as politics and governance, funders should examine the feasibility of developing niche-reporting skills on topics such as business, health care, or women's issues.
- International standards should be insisted upon, with training that stresses multiple sourcing, fair and accurate reporting, and corrections of errors. ❑

Reporting has run stories sparking the prosecution of public officials, changes in the selection process of judges, and tougher regulation of food safety, public works, and private universities. And in Manila, the Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism (PCIJ) has produced hundreds of stories, eight documentaries, and two dozen books documenting official corruption and corporate abuse, while helping train a generation of investigative journalists across Southeast Asia.[114]

The development of investigative journalism overseas owes much to a growing network of nonprofit centers like the PCIJ, according to veteran trainers and reporters active in the field. The centers are a diverse group that includes reporting organizations, training institutes, small grant-making bodies, and regional networks that link journalists in person and online. The real growth has occurred in the last eight years, with over half the centers appearing since 2000. In 2007 alone, new centers were formed in Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Chile, and Colombia, and journalists were considering similar projects in India, Indonesia, and Turkey.

A 2005 survey by VVOJ, the Dutch-Flemish association of investigative journalists, examined investigative journalism in 20 countries, including Russia, Turkey, and Ukraine. Despite wide disparities in training, press freedom, libel laws, and access to information, the study identified vibrant examples of investigative reporting in nearly every country, and found little relationship between financial health and an investigative tradition. "Some small and poor media are very active; some big and rich media are not," the report concluded." The key ingredients for investigative work cited were good management, creative newsrooms, and an ability to accept risk.[115]

Better networking among the various investigative centers could substantially increase their impact, CIMA's 2007 report concluded. The underfunded Global Investigative Journalists Network, now based at the University of Illinois' College of Media, has the potential to become an international secretariat and nerve center for the profession. The report also found that better coordination and communication are needed between U.S. government-funded programs and the investigative journalism community. The University of Missouri-based Investigative Reporters and Editors, for example, is the world's largest and oldest association of investigative journalists, with some 5,000 members in 30 countries. In 2007 alone, IRE ran workshops in Budapest, Cartagena, Istanbul, Johannesburg, Lagos, London, Sarajevo, and Toronto. Because IRE accepts no federal funding, several U.S. media development officials interviewed by CIMA knew little or nothing about the organization.[116]

EDUCATION: BUILDING A NEW PARADIGM

KEY PROBLEMS

- Coursework is often theory-based rather than practical.
- Access to new media technologies is lacking.
- Entrenched faculty and practices resist modernization.
- Quality, innovative training materials are absent.
- Student-run media are too rare.

KEY SOLUTIONS

- Place greater emphasis on practical education and real-world experience.
- Obtain modern equipment and broadband access for campuses.
- Emphasize basic research, writing skills, and interdisciplinary instruction.
- Integrate new media as a basic requirement of journalism studies.
- Encourage student-run publications, radio, and television.

Journalism education at the university level is a critical component of creating a free and independent news culture. University programs offer an opportunity to instill in aspiring media professionals not only needed skills and a basic understanding of the news business, but also the values of accuracy, fairness, and ethical behavior. Journalism overseas, however, is often taught using a more theoretical rather than practical framework.

Students at the Caucasus School of Journalism and Media Management in Tblisi, Georgia, learn television techniques in a program sponsored by ICFJ. *Photo: ICFJ*

Rote learning may be favored over real-world experience. Faculty often have little or no practical experience in journalism. Student-run publications or broadcast stations may be few, and internship opportunities are often lacking. Schools may focus more on communications, not journalism, with an emphasis on public relations and advertising. Consequently, say journalism educators, many media organizations are reluctant to hire graduates with little practical training.[117]

In the United States and much of Western Europe, journalism education began appearing in universities more than a hundred years ago. The University of Missouri's School of Journalism opened its doors in 1908 and issued its first-ever bachelor's degree in 1909, followed by a graduate degree in 1921.

In terms of sheer numbers, the global presence of journalism and communications programs is impressive. A team at the University of Oklahoma, backed by the Knight Foundation, is undertaking a global survey of journalism programs, and the project so far has found 2,850.[118] "One of the overarching goals of the whole project," says Charles Self, one of the study's directors, is "to improve cooperation among journalism educators and journalists worldwide so that we have a better sense of community for everybody who's interested in high-quality journalism."

The census' preliminary data have found that the largest number of programs—22 percent of the total—are in the Asia and Pacific region, followed by North America with 19 percent. Latin America and Western Europe each host 17 percent, the Middle East and North Africa have 10 percent, and Sub-Saharan Africa has 7 percent. Despite the large number of programs, university-level journalism education outside the West has only recently begun to gain traction.[119] To help modernize curricula and improve teaching, the first World Journalism Education Congress was held in Singapore in 2007. Attended by 400 educators from 45 countries, the group issued a declaration of principles of journalism education. Among the values and principles they pledged to uphold:

An Afghan man listens to his radio in a market in Kabul, Afghanistan.
Photo: Wakil Kohsar/Moby Media Group

- Journalism education must be a balance of conceptual, philosophical, and skills-based content.
- Journalism educators have a responsibility to promote media literacy among the public and their students.
- Experiential learning is an important complement to classroom instruction.
- Educators and their students must master computer-based tools.[120]

While professional training has received relatively large amounts of media assistance, journalism education at universities and colleges appears to get comparatively little funding. Because university programs may sometimes be included in aggregate totals spent on training, it is difficult to discern precisely how much funding is provided in this area. In some cases, USAID funding is routed through U.S. universities, not NGOs. Still, estimated figures provided by the three major U.S. nonprofit media assistance organizations—ICFJ, IREX, and Internews—indicate that all three spend less than 5 percent of their combined total aid on university-related programs.

Advocates of university-based education argue that school-based programs have distinct advantages over independent journalism training centers and workshops. In a 2007 study for CIMA, Ellen Hume, now research director for Massachusetts Institute of Technology's Center for Future Civic Media, made the case for more media assistance to higher education. She concluded:

- Journalism faculties are the main source for educating new professional journalists. Mid-career, in-house journalism training is important, but many emerging journalists come out of universities.
- Universities are established local entities, a fact that addresses the need for training to have a strong local component.
- Long-term training in a university journalism

program provides exposure to both theory and practice. Additionally, once established, programs often have the capacity to remain relevant for decades.
- Universities may have better political status and infrastructure to handle training contracts and grants than NGOs.
- Universities may have institutional authority or influence with the government to help shape media policies. Journalism schools are often underutilized as sources of policy research and activism.
- Journalism faculty can influence the rest of the university, and thus society, to value open media, good journalism, and public expression.[121]

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Even with these potential advantages, however, NGOs and media outlets, rather than universities, seem likely to provide the bulk of training for many journalists in developing and democratizing countries. "Universities have proven a very difficult nut to crack," says IREX's Whitehouse. "It is very difficult to reform curricula at universities."[122] Under authoritarian regimes, in particular, the very concept of independent media can be a sensitive topic on campus. In some countries, such as former Soviet bloc states, communist mentalities may still dominate the university system. Politicized partnerships—when authoritarian governments, for example, wield power over accrediting public university programs—and entrenched faculty can make it difficult to introduce innovative and modern curricula. Bureaucracy can be stifling and career bureaucrats hostile to innovative programs.

The teaching, moreover, is typically steeped in arcane theory, with little in the way of practical training and experience. In Indonesia, for example, journalism programs are so focused on theory that media organizations tend to not hire journalism graduates, favoring instead those with politics, philosophy, or law backgrounds. Most journalism students end up in advertising agencies, according to Awang Ruswandi, director of the Broadcast Center Department of Communication at the University of Indonesia. The result, says Ruswandi: "Rich media organizations do their own training."[123]

Universities, furthermore, often lack resources and materials about best journalism practices that are crucial to providing a hands-on curriculum. A CIMA global survey of nonprofit investigative training centers found that of 15 groups that share some affiliation with local universities, only two drew their training materials from the schools. For the rest, their materials were developed in-house or came from professional organizations.[124]

Nonetheless, the situation is changing rapidly, say educators, and university-level journalism programs are finally starting to get the attention they need. The World Journalism Education Congress sparked wide interest among journalism educators, UNESCO has begun an ambitious program to modernize journalism curricula, and NGOs and U.S.-based universities appear increasingly active in the field.

The University of Oklahoma's Charles Self says that journalism programs in many countries are seeking accreditation, frequently working to establish standards through the Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communications (ACEJMC) in the United States. For example, the Inter American Press Association launched its own accrediting council and has accredited more than half a dozen university programs. "There is growing interest in accreditation around the world," said Susanne Shaw, executive director of ACEJMC.

America's Journalism Schools

For decades, America's journalism schools have reached out to students and programs overseas. These efforts can have a lasting impact. The University of Missouri and Columbia University founded journalism programs in China in the 1920s, and some of that influence remains today despite periods of upheaval and censorship.[125] In the United States, entire

generations of foreign students have been educated in state-of-the-art journalism. In the 2006-07 academic year, 9,127 international students in the United States came to study journalism, communication, and related fields, according to the Institute for International Education (although that figure may include many students pursuing public relations as a career).[126]

In the United States, entire generations of foreign students have been educated in state-of-the-art journalism.

Many American universities and media organizations also provide fellowships for students and professionals to spend from several weeks to a year in the United States, typically at a college campus. A cursory survey of major U.S. journalism schools and organizations found at least 30 fellowships available to journalism professionals or students around the globe. U.S. journalism faculty have also ventured overseas, often backed by their schools. Among the more prominent programs:

- The University of Pennsylvania's Annenberg School for Communication hosts the Center for Global Communication Studies. It maintains active programs in Britain, China, Hungary, Jordan, Mexico, and Sudan. Annenberg is working in partnership with IREX in Jordan on a media policy and development program.
- The Missouri School of Journalism faculty regularly works on media development projects overseas. During 2007, one-third of its professors conducted training or other activities in foreign countries, including work with Mongolia State University and the Press Institute of Mongolia.
- Florida International University's International Media Center has trained thousands of mid-career Latin American journalists since 1988. Its programs include trainings for dissident journalists in Cuba.
- The Knight Center for Journalism in the Americas at the University of Texas-Austin is working with independent journalism organizations in Latin America and the Caribbean to provide training and support. The work includes distance learning in online and investigative journalism, taught in English, Spanish, and Portuguese.
- The Medill School of Journalism at Northwestern University is opening a program in Qatar and is developing a new program in India.
- Western Kentucky University, in partnership with Internews, operates the International Journalism and Media Management Training Program. It has run programs in Jordan and hosts journalists from abroad for training at the university's School of Journalism and Broadcasting.
- Other programs include the University of Washington's Dart Center for Journalism, with offices in London and Melbourne, and New York University and Ithaca College's work with Rostov State University in Russia.

NGOs and Foundations

Although focused heavily on professional training, media assistance organizations play a growing role in establishing and aiding journalism education programs overseas. ICFJ is particularly active in higher education, working with universities in Armenia, Azerbaijan, Botswana, China, and Georgia. Through its McGhee Journalism Fellowship, ICFJ helped launch the first student newspaper at the University of Botswana. In what could serve as a model elsewhere, ICFJ tapped into corporate funding to launch a graduate program in business journalism at China's prestigious Tsinghua University in 2007. Backed by Merrill Lynch, Bloomberg News, Deloitte Touche Tohmatsu, and the Knight Foundation, the program offers a two-year master's degree—in English—and training for working journalists.

IREX has also worked with universities abroad, particularly in the Middle East, partnering schools in Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Iraq, and Yemen with journalism programs at Emory University, Kent State University, and the University of Tennessee. Begun in 2005 and backed by the State Department's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, the program brings educators from the Middle East to U.S. campuses and

U.S. faculty to the region.

Internews has collaborated with several universities in Pakistan. At Peshawar University in 2003, it established the Peshawar University Broadcast Academy. Internews also built a radio station and a Women's Communication Centre at the Fatimah Jinnah Women's University in Rawalpindi and helped set up a radio station on campus at Gomal University. In Bahrain, Internews worked with students at the University of Bahrain to redesign the school newspaper, which is now entirely student-run and nationally distributed.

The Knight Foundation, a major funder of media training both in the United States and abroad, devotes significant attention to educational programs. The John S. Knight Fellowship at Stanford and the Knight-Wallace fellowship at the University of Michigan include foreign journalists. Knight also funds journalism chairs and centers at universities across the United States, several of which offer study and training programs for foreign journalists.

U.S. Government Programs

As noted earlier, tracking U.S. government funding for media assistance is difficult at best, and there are no dependable figures for support to journalism education. A number of programs, however, are worth noting:

- USAID, the largest U.S. funder of media assistance, backs several education initiatives, including work by IREX and ICFJ on journalism curriculum reform in Armenia, and work by Internews with Pakistan's Peshawar University to establish the Peshawar Broadcast Academy. A number of initiatives are also funded through USAID's democracy and governance programs.[127]
- Fulbright scholarships provide foreign undergraduate and graduate students the opportunity to study at American universities. Funded through the State Department, Fulbright awards are also available to scholars and professionals. In the 2007-2008 academic year, 13 Fulbrights were awarded to early and mid-career professionals in the fields of communications and journalism.[128]
- In 2007, the State Department's Edward R. Murrow Program for Journalists brought 200 emerging leaders in journalism from around the world to the United States. Seminars in Washington, D.C. were

A journalist interviews a vendor at a market in Rawalpindi, Pakistan.
Photo: USAID

supplemented by trips to various American cities to learn about media coverage at the local and state level. The State Department's partners included the Aspen Institute and 12 U.S. journalism schools.

New Strategies

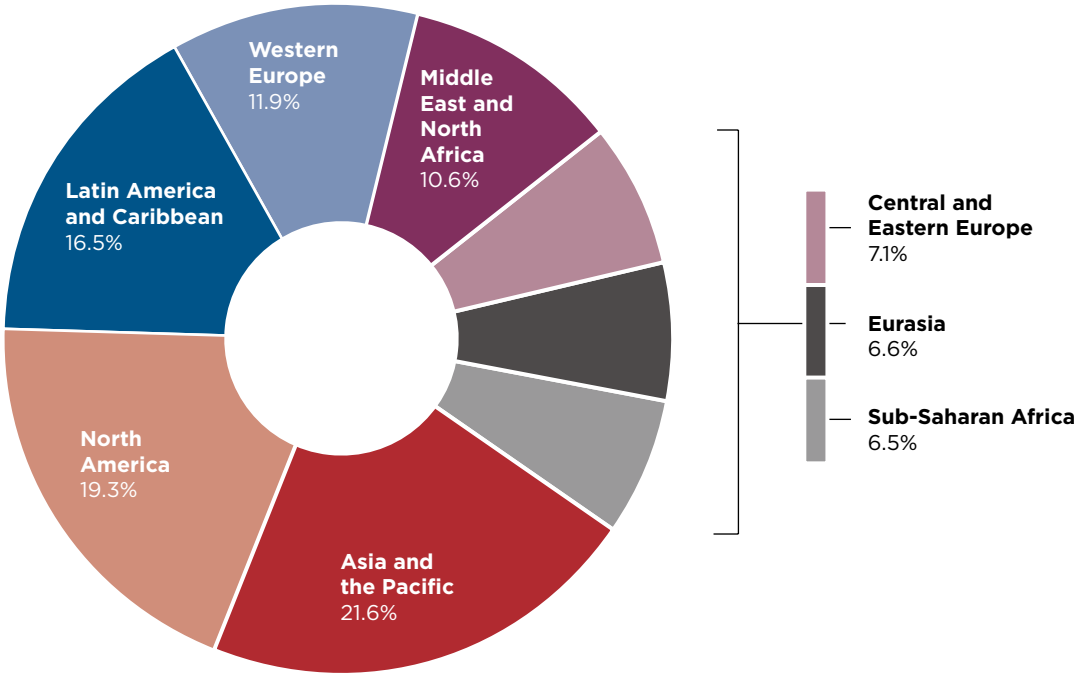
UNESCO has launched a major initiative to reform journalism schools in developing countries. Drawing on educators from 30 countries, the international organization has published model curricula and begun pilot projects to modernize journalism education across Africa and Asia. Some 30 journalism programs in developing countries have committed to adopting the curricula by the end of 2009, according to UNESCO officials. Additionally, 20 journalism programs in Africa have been chosen as pilot programs to implement the program. With a focus on practical experience, beat development, and a grounding in local laws and government, the initiative promises to be a major step forward in global journalism education. Plans are under way to translate the curricula into French, Spanish, Arabic, Russian, and other languages. As part of the initiative, the UNESCO team identified seven indicators they consider critical for successful journalism education programs:[129]

- Breadth of media covered in school.
- Interaction within the profession.
- Entry-level and continuing/professional training.
- Participation in journalism and/or training networks.
- Momentum of expansions or improvements made in past three years.
- Commitment to maintaining management of school and developing national and international partnerships for sustainability.
- Availability of staff development systems.

Although considerable work lies ahead, a consensus appears to be emerging on the way forward. Drawn from the UNESCO initiative, the World Journalism Education Congress, and CIMA's own research, the following priorities offer a set of guidelines for future aid:

DISTRIBUTION OF JOURNALISM EDUCATION PROGRAMS WORLDWIDE

Programs surveyed are those at higher-education institutions and technical colleges. Source: Global Census on Journalism Education, Charles Self, University of Oklahoma, as of May 2008.



Basic Writing and Reporting Skills. Above all, basic writing and reporting skills should remain the top priority for university journalism programs. Students without a basic foundation in the core skills of journalism will go into the field unprepared.

Practical Learning. More practical learning, complemented by a theoretical basis, is necessary for a well-rounded curriculum. Theory should not be allowed to dominate journalism training. In this vein, universities should sponsor more student-run media organizations, such as newspapers and, where resources permit, radio and television stations. Similarly, internships at local professional media organizations should be incorporated into curriculum.

Interdisciplinary Instruction. To expand knowledge about possible news subjects, interdisciplinary instruction should be incorporated into journalism programs. Courses in business, law, and the sciences can provide grounded knowledge in topics of interest to many news consumers.

New Technology. With new media playing such a significant role in the future of journalism, universities need access to up-to-date equipment, as well as high-speed Internet connections. Without these basic tools of the global information society, students face a serious threat of falling behind the rest of the world. Educational institutions must also be able to update and maintain equipment they receive.[130]

New Journalism. Educators need to consider the impact of citizen journalism on the media landscape. With mobile phones becoming ubiquitous in the developing world, citizens can send and receive news stories at the touch of a button. "We have to be careful that we're not trying to replicate a dying industry," cautions Kathleen Reen, who directs Internews' New Media projects. "There is a new explosion of voices that don't relate to journalism traditions."[131]

The payoff from creating successful university-based journalism education could be enormous. New generations of well-trained, Web-savvy student journalists have the ability to dramatically alter the media environment overseas. At the same time, their schools can provide a reform-minded institutional base whose potential has only begun to be tapped. "Much of the assistance we've done has been useful, but we haven't developed institutions except in a few places," says the State Department's Krishna Kumar. "Only educational institutions can provide the kind of long-term training that is needed."[132] ☐

THE LAW: PROTECTING INDEPENDENT MEDIA

KEY PROBLEMS

- Violence against journalists is prevalent.
- Open media laws are often weak or poorly implemented.
- Governments control, over-regulate, or censor the media.
- Access to official information is lacking.
- Media law resources are often unavailable, and there are too few media lawyers.

KEY SOLUTIONS

- Work to end impunity for crimes against journalists.
- Support the decriminalization of libel and insult laws.
- Increase financial and political support to media law issues.
- Advocate for freedom of information laws and fair broadcast licensing.
- Expand media law resources and the pool of *pro bono* media lawyers.

With the bulk of media assistance being spent on training and direct support of independent media, insufficient attention may be going to some of the most basic needs of journalists overseas: legal protection and sound media law. If journalists are being killed with impunity, arrested and held without charge, or prosecuted for what they report, and media outlets are being closed at the whims of autocratic governments, no efforts to improve standards or sustainability will be enough to guarantee a free press.

An Azeri reporter is arrested while investigating corruption at Sumgait State University in Sumgait, Azerbaijan, in 2007. *Photo: Turaninfo*

Even where good laws are in place, lack of enforcement can hinder the media's ability to fulfill their role as watchdogs and sources of diverse opinion.

Media development and legal experts talk about the need to create a "legal-enabling environment" for independent media. Efforts to improve legal conditions have ranged from introducing new laws designed to strengthen and diversify the media to investigations of journalist killings aimed at ending the impunity that exists in many countries. In CIMA's survey of international media assistance, these efforts accounted for less than 10 percent of funded program work in 2006 by the big three U.S. nonprofits—ICFJ, IREX and Internews—totaling some $4 million. Other significant contributions come from the Knight Foundation, OSI, and NED, as well as *pro bono* work by U.S. lawyers.

Law and the Media: A Host of Challenges

A major challenge is improving the legal environment that helps protect the physical safety of reporters and others in the news media. At least 679 journalists worldwide have been killed in direct connection to their work during the past 16 years, according to the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ).[133] The number who lost their lives because of their work in 2007—at least 65 journalists and 20 media workers—is the highest since 1994.[134] In addition, 1,511 journalists were physically attacked or threatened, 887 arrested, and 67 kidnapped in 2007, according to Reporters Without Borders.[135] Worse, it is not only violence that plagues much of the world's new media, but also an overall climate of intimidation and harassment. Journalists in many countries must contend with arbitrary arrests, trumped-up charges, and lack of due process. As of December 1, 2007, 127 journalists were imprisoned worldwide, according to CPJ, which found that one in six of them were held without any publicly disclosed charge, many for months or years at a time and some in secret locations. A notable trend is the arrest of Internet journalists—bloggers, Web-based reporters,

and online editors. They now account for more than one-third of the journalists jailed around the globe.[136]

Journalists also stand at risk of being prosecuted under criminal libel or defamation laws. In much of the world, defamation is both a civil and a criminal offense, although in most democracies, criminal libel statutes are rarely applied. Unlike civil statutes, criminal defamation laws can lead to prison sentences or suspension of journalists' right to practice their profession.[137] More than 90 percent of African countries have laws on criminal defamation, insult, or libel, and they are "employed on a regular basis," according to the International PEN Center, a freedom of expression advocacy organization. Between July 2006 and November 2007, PEN recorded 67 cases of criminal defamation in Africa involving 90 writers, in 27 countries, including a number of countries that have promised to abolish such legislation. "All of these cases, without exception, involved journalists who criticized state or other powerful figures, and/or investigated or exposed corruption, or other malpractice by officials," PEN reported.[138]

A peculiar category of defamation consists of so-called "insult" laws, in which writers can face prison for allegedly harming the image of political leaders or other powerful figures. Journalists can be prosecuted for such crimes as insulting the king (Thailand) or president (Egypt), defaming the "prestige of the state" (Vietnam), and insulting "Turkishness" (Turkey). In one of many examples, authorities in the Democratic Republic of Congo detained editor Patrice Booto for nine months during 2005-06 for offending the head of state and insulting the government. Booto's real offense: questioning a large donation made by the president to a neighboring country.[139]

A variety of other laws are also used to limit or control the media, among them statutes that deal with advertising, taxes, and licensing. Government regulation of who can own and operate media—for example, laws regulating spectrum allocation or mandating extensive licensing procedures—is particularly problematic. Broadcast regulations often create opportunities for governments to restrict the media based on political decisions. Global Integrity, a Washington, D.C.-based nonprofit organization that tracks corruption and governance worldwide, noted in its *Global Integrity Report: 2007* that governments in "politically charged environments" tend to more severely restrict broadcast media, which are more accessible and affordable than print outlets, and that the restrictions "have a decidedly negative impact on the overall governance climate and can be abused as tools for political manipulation." In a general assessment of media assistance in 2004, a USAID evaluation noted the depth of the problem: "Despite public commitment, many governments were reluctant to introduce major legal reforms that would undermine their direct or indirect control over the media...many firms that owned broadcasting licenses did not favor an open system, as that would challenge their dominant position."[140] Government control of Internet content is also a serious challenge to freedom of information. In at least 40 countries, governments filter Internet content.[141]

Improving the Legal-Enabling Environment

Despite the direct impact of legal protections on journalism, there exists no strategic campaign by the media or legal communities to address these issues. The Impunity Project, supported by the Knight Foundation, has shown dramatic success in bringing to justice murderers of journalists, but its work is limited so far to Latin America. "Two thousand dollars for a prosecutor in the Philippines can be the difference between the truth coming out or not on the execution of a journalist," observes the Knight Foundation's Newton. "It's not a lot of money."[142] Another way forward is a global legal defense fund being planned by OSI, among others, but the amount of work ahead is formidable, say media law specialists.

Of particular concern are criminal defamation laws. American University law professor Keith Henderson, an expert on rule-of-law issues, argues that corruption in developing countries will never be tamed until these laws are tackled head on. "There is no way to address these issues unless the public and the media have the right to criticize government officials without fear of going to jail," he says.[143] William Orme of the United Nations Development Programme shares the concern. "You can't do investigative reporting in a country that has enforced criminal libel statutes on the books," he says.[144]

Another problem is the long-term commitment

needed to tackle reform of laws and regulations. "The time frame of most funding is not conducive to enabling real legal reform," observes IREX's Whitehouse. "If you go from how a bill becomes law, in many of these countries we've seen it take up to seven years. It's not a quick process. It's not so much money as it is attention—sustained attention." A related issue is support from the U.S. government. "Legal reform means engagement with governments, and very often you're competing with other U.S. foreign policy priorities," says Whitehouse. "Media is usually pretty far down the list."[145]

There are also limits to what lawyers and legal aid can do, particularly under autocratic and repressive governments. In Kazakhstan, for example, the American Bar Association-backed Media Law Center helped block passage of a highly restrictive media law in 2004, only to see similar legislation enacted just two years later.[146] Similarly, freedom of information (FOI) laws, despite having spread to nearly 70 countries, exist in many places "only on paper." In 2006, OSI surveyed information access in 14 countries and found that even in those seven nations with FOI laws, 38 percent of all requests for information from public institutions went unanswered.[147] "Too often it can be viewed as if you pass a law then you've succeeded," says Whitehouse. "But that's where the real work can begin. On freedom of information, you can get something passed, but then you need to set up a couple years to create a whole legal culture that allows the law to be implemented properly. You have to do test cases and may have to go to the courts."

"The record of reform has been uneven," says attorney Richard Winfield, chair of the World Press Freedom Committee and a member of the Board of Directors of the International Senior Lawyers Project. In Russia, he notes, "the press is far less free than it was 10 years ago, but then in Turkey, which had a poor record on media freedom, they're making real progress with efforts to repeal anti-press laws."[148] Indeed, despite all the challenges, progress has been made, both in changing media ownership laws and providing legal protection to journalists. This assistance has been funded or implemented largely by USAID, the Soros foundations, various NGOs, and the legal community. Among the recent efforts:

USAID. As in most areas of American media assistance, USAID appears to be the largest funder of efforts to improve the legal environment. Recent programs have focused on Jordan, Indonesia, and Bulgaria. In Jordan, USAID in 2007 began funding a three-year Media Strengthening Program, which the agency describes as "a key element" of its democratization strategy.[149] Run by IREX with the University of Pennsylvania's Annenberg School for Communication, the program is holding a series of Arabic-language training sessions aimed at university law and journalism students, young professionals, and specialists in media law. In Indonesia, USAID projects helped spark creation of the Indonesian Media Law and Policy Center and strengthened the ability of the independent Indonesia Broadcasting Commission to ward off interference from government censors.[150] In Bulgaria, the agency has worked with the Journalism Legal Support Center to protect investigative journalists from prosecution and harassment.[151]

Open Society Institute. OSI and the London-based Sigrid Rausing Trust are launching an ambitious global legal defense fund for media in 2008. By pooling resources from various foundations, the fund will develop and support networks of media defense lawyers, and provide training and litigation support to media worldwide. OSI's Justice Initiative has also done extensive work advocating for freedom of information laws.[152] Among its efforts are fighting for free speech and information access in Africa and Latin America, including precedent-setting legal decisions in Chile and Thailand.[153]

Knight Foundation. The Inter American Press Association's Impunity Project, funded by the John S. and James L. Knight Foundation, seeks to end impunity for murders of journalists in the Americas by investigating their deaths. When the project began in 1995, there were almost no convictions or investigations of murdered journalists under way in the Americas. Since then, 64 investigations have been completed and 82 individuals are in jail or have served sentences for murdering journalists, according to the Knight Foundation. Impunity for killing journalists has been reduced in the region from virtually 100 percent to 57

percent. The project has also provided safety training for more than 1,000 journalists in the Americas and Caribbean. The Knight Foundation has contributed $7.7 million to the project.[154]

National Endowment for Democracy. Media law-related projects have been a special focus of NED. In 2006, NED spent $1.2 million to fund 23 different media law-related projects worldwide, focusing on freedom of expression and citizens' right to information. Projects have included an institute to monitor violations of media rights in Venezuela, legal assistance to journalists in Tajikistan, and media law reform in Yemen.

The Center for Global Communication Studies. Located at the University of Pennsylvania's Annenberg School for Communication, CGCS is testing a pilot called the Media Law Assistance Web site, which would provide information, foster dialogue, and build networks among media law practitioners worldwide. The project is an outgrowth of a CIMA legal working group discussion.

Internews. Internews has worked in 21 countries on the adoption and implementation of fair media laws. In Ukraine, with funding from USAID, the group supports the Kyiv Media Law Institute, which promotes development of media law, free speech, and information access. In 2005, the institute inaugurated the first Internet media law course for journalists in Ukraine, and helped stop a provision of a new election law that would have restricted journalists covering elections.[155] In Pakistan, working under an $848,000 USAID project, Internews worked with regulators and private broadcasters to improve media law and facilitated the establishment in 2005 of the Friends of Media Parliamentarians Group to promote media-friendly policies.[156]

IREX. The State Department's Middle East Partnership Initiative includes a media component that focuses, in part, on development of media law and regulations in the Middle East and North Africa. The program, run by IREX, backs efforts of local associations, attorneys, and reformers in the field. IREX has also worked with Internews in Ukraine, helping train 30 regional lawyers to defend journalists' rights during the 2006 election.[157] In other countries, IREX helped establish sound media law under USAID's Global Civil Society Strengthening Partnership.[158]

ICFJ. With funding from the McCormick Tribune Foundation, ICFJ has run a wide-ranging project on press freedom in Latin America, Medios y Libertad en las Américas, which includes a Spanish-language Web site. The project held 22 seminars and workshops in the region between 2003 and 2005 on freedom of expression.[159]

Legal Community Contributions

International Senior Lawyers Project. The International Senior Lawyers Project (ISLP) was launched as a nonprofit organization in New York in 2000 to utilize the skills and knowledge of volunteer American lawyers to advance democracy and protect human rights worldwide.[160] ISLP's *pro bono* work on media law has expanded with its volunteers putting in a total of 2,000 hours in 2007—the equivalent of a lawyer working full time that year.[161] Its lawyers have worked in West Africa, Macedonia, Russia, and Thailand, among other places, assessing draft media laws, and filing lawsuits on behalf of detained journalists and friend of the court briefs in defamation trials.[162]

Covington & Burling LLP. This international law firm has dedicated many hours of *pro bono* legal assistance in the area of media law, particularly in the Balkans under a four-year USAID program in Eastern and Central Europe during the late 1990s.[163] The estimated value of the firm's *pro bono* assistance under this program totaled more than $1 million, and resulted in the passage of significant laws affecting journalists in the region.[164] More recently, the firm has advised the government of Rwanda, successfully heading off onerous statutes on licensing of journalists and criminalizing libel, and worked with USAID in conducting a comprehensive assessment of Jordan's media laws.[165]

American Bar Association. Starting in 2003, the American Bar Association's Rule of Law Initiative used a two-year $350,000 grant from the State Department to open a Media Support Center in Almaty,

Kazakhstan. The center, later backed by another $200,000 from USAID and the British and Dutch embassies, provided legal workshops for journalists, support for media involved in litigation, and training for media law attorneys. Due to lack of funding, however, the Media Support Center closed in late 2007.[165]

Strategies for Support

U.S. media assistance funders increasingly focus on how to improve the legal-enabling environment for journalists, but much work remains to be done. Moreover, in some countries where important efforts were made, such as Pakistan and Russia, conditions have deteriorated.

In May 2007, CIMA hosted a working group on media law assistance, with some two dozen participants from leading NGOs, donors, government agencies, universities, and legal groups.[167] Those in attendance agreed on a number of recommendations, including:

- Develop a consensus on a framework for legal-enabling environments that could be used to help governments design successful media law programs.
- Develop strategies on media law reform that are appropriate to a particular region.
- Put more emphasis on press-freedom protections and advocacy in programs that deal with drafting a constitution, reforming a penal code, or training judges, prosecutors, and legislators.
- Include anti-corruption elements in media assistance programs targeting the judiciary.
- Create a globally accessible Web site of comprehensive information and analysis of media laws around the world with models that can be used to promote positive legal reforms.
- Push for a global legal defense fund for threatened journalists and media outlets.
- Fund broader networks of media defense lawyers who provide *pro bono* assistance to journalists facing legal jeopardy overseas.[168]

On-the-ground work geared to a country's specific situation is crucial, said participants. As media law expert Enrique Armijo of Covington & Burling put it, "There's no substitute for sitting down with members of parliament and hashing out these issues."

Those working to expand legal protections for the media will find ready supporters overseas, say media assistance veterans. Indeed, in some countries, taking on onerous laws or lack of enforcement will be viewed as a chance to improve the media environment and enhance democracy. Consider the case of Angelo Izama of Uganda's independent *Daily Monitor* newspaper, who faces criminal prosecution for defamation of the government's inspector general. Izama sees the case as an opportunity to strike down the country's criminal defamation statute. "If we successfully challenge the law in the constitutional court," says Izama, "we can put all this behind us."[169] ☐

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION LAWS

Freedom of information laws have existed ever since Sweden enacted the world's first in 1766, but it is not until recently that a number of countries have passed laws to put them in place. According to the London-based Privacy International by 2006 nearly 70 countries had passed comprehensive freedom of information laws, more than half of those in the previous 10 years.[170] According to Toby Mendel, law program director of Article 19, Global Campaign for Free Expression, this represents a "massive global trend" toward recognizing the importance of the right to freedom of information.[171] In his view, transition to democracy and growth in information technologies have contributed to the trend. The best statutes, say advocates, presume that all government records should be public, with only a handful of exemptions such as those for protecting privacy, national security, or trade secrets. If agencies unfairly withhold documents, citizens can take the government to court and have a judge decide.

For more information see:
Freedominfo.org: www.freedominfo.org
Missouri School of Journalism:
www.nfoic.org/foi-center/international-foi-laws.html

SUSTAINABILITY: MAKING MEDIA LAST

KEY PROBLEMS

- Media enterprises are too often unsustainable.
- Business skills are not always stressed.
- Local media markets can be distorted by aid.
- Capital is often unavailable for projects.
- Advertising revenue can be very low.

KEY SOLUTIONS

- Integrate sustainability into projects.
- Increase training in management, advertising, and market research.
- Find entrepreneurial local partners.
- Make available low-interest loans.
- Develop the advertising market.

As foreign funds for independent media poured into former Soviet bloc countries after the Cold War, development experts confronted an extraordinary array of challenges. Governments still dominated markets with state-controlled media and advertising, organized crime thugs threatened tough reporting on crime and corruption, and legal thickets of regulations and laws stifled entrepreneurship. But one challenge in many ways loomed above others: local owners and managers simply lacked the most basic knowledge of how to run a modern news operation.[172]

A vendor sells newspapers at a market in Iraq. *Photo: IREX*

Some media had no sales or business staff, and their managers held only the vaguest ideas of how to support a news organization through advertising. Many did virtually no market research and had little knowledge about their audience or readership. Others lacked capital or infrastructure, or both. From the start, say USAID officials, training in business skills was given a high priority. And it is no less important today. Integrating sound business practices into media assistance is widely recognized as essential to making projects sustainable. "When you get such limited resources to work with, you have to make sure your project is not a 'one-off,'" says ICFJ's Barnathan. "If you don't have a healthy bottom line, it doesn't mean much."[173] Indeed, financially secure enterprises are not only more likely to survive, but they may also be better able to resist outside pressures and corrupt practices.

Despite the attention to business skills, the record is mixed, as GAO found in its 2005 report on media development abroad. In a number of cases under review, GAO reported, "local media outlets had difficulty ensuring their financial sustainability as their U.S. funding decreased...primarily due to a poor economic environment or lack of sufficient business management training."[174]

The challenges are both numerous and varied. In many sub-Saharan countries, for example, undeveloped markets make it difficult to find advertising revenue, and what private businesses exist may be wary of supporting media critical of the government.[175] In the former Communist countries of Europe and the Soviet Union, major problems have stemmed from the lack of tradition and experience of running media as a business. In war-torn or post-conflict regions, such as Afghanistan and Rwanda, all these conditions may exist, compounded by shortages of capital, equipment, and infrastructure.[176]

Strategies for Sustainability

While media developers generally see sustainability as essential, they also recognize that media assistance is

no exception to a long-held axiom in development: there is no effective one-size-fits-all approach. If the private market shows signs of accommodating media as businesses, then fostering a business/market model driven by advertising and sales profits makes sense; but if local circumstances suggest that community radio that depends heavily on volunteerism is the best approach to deliver news, as in many rural areas in Africa, alternative solutions may be needed.

There are a variety of approaches available for promoting media sustainability. A 2006 fact sheet from the State Department cites many of them: "management training, advertising sector development, the development of audience research and/or circulation audit capacities, market research, outreach methods to potential advertising clients, business planning, facilitation of capital infusions and loans, network development and promotion of information exchanges, exploring innovative sponsorships/partnerships."[177] The challenge is being taken seriously by both donors and implementers:

Training in Business Practices. Training in basic business practices is widely seen as essential for major programs. In Jordan and Egypt, USAID is funding IREX, among others, to organize a series of business workshops for media managers that covers advertising, newspaper circulation, financial management, and new media platforms.[178] Similarly, ICFJ, under a United Nations Development Programme initiative, is working to build successful business models for community radio stations in East Timor. Training topics covered include financial management, audience research, community-based marketing, and recruiting and managing volunteers.[179]

Effective Partnerships. One key to success is obvious: partnering with the right people. Officials at USAID's OTI point to their experience in Afghanistan with Moby Media Group, a private business group founded in 2002 by the expatriate Mohseni family.[180] Four Mohseni family members left behind lives in Australia and returned to Afghanistan "to 'do their bit' toward the nation's redevelopment," as their Web site states. Using a matching grant from OTI, Moby established two major independent media outlets—Arman FM and Tolo TV. Starting in a region with virtually no advertising market, the stations are now financially successful and reach 80 percent of the national audience.[181] Another success story is B92, owner of Serbia's

STRATEGIC FINANCING: MEDIA DEVELOPMENT LOAN FUND

After Slobodan Milosevic nearly shut down B92 radio in Serbia during the early 1990s, the station's chief editor Sasa Vucinic vowed not to make it easy for repressive regimes to hinder independent media. Vucinic joined forces with Stuart Auerbach, a veteran *Washington Post* reporter, to launch a new kind of vehicle for media assistance, the Media Development Loan Fund (MDLF). Founded in 1995 with starting capital of half a million dollars from philanthropist George Soros, MDLF has gained a reputation as one of the most innovative—and effective—media assistance groups in the world. Based in New York and Prague, the fund offers media groups low-interest loans, along with targeted training and advice aimed at improving business and management skills. The goal is to treat emerging media as businesses that must repay their loans, increase their sales and expand their reach—among readers, listeners, or viewers—and become viable as commercial enterprises.[186]

Since 1996, MDLF has provided more than $70 million in low-interest loans to 161 projects in 21 countries, from former Soviet bloc states to developing countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. "We want to be in places like Peru after Fujimori or Georgia after Shevardnadze, in the crucial months when free expression can become institutionalized before the government gets annoyed," Vucinic explained to the *International Herald Tribune*. "That is when capital is crucial and when the country is most in need of an independent media."[187]

fastest-growing national TV station, most popular commercial radio station, and top Internet portal.[182] Starting as a small, youth community radio station in 1989, B92 championed human rights and was repeatedly shut down by the government. B92's courageous broadcasters attracted long-term support, including funding and business training, from a variety of international donors, and their entrepreneurial spirit helped turn the upstart station into a large, successful, and independent media trust.[183]

Low-interest Loans. Beginning in 1995, MDLF has pioneered the offering of low-interest financing to independent media overseas. Backed by government agencies, foundations and private companies, MDLF has provided capital to 64 media outlets in 21 countries. Its projects have ranged from establishing printing houses and purchasing newsprint to building new transmitters. (See sidebar.) MDLF's success has inspired a similar project, the Southern Africa Media Development Fund, which has supported 25 projects across southern Africa. Notably, both groups also integrate training in business skills into their projects, which they credit as vital contributor to their success.

Dependency and Market Distortion

Although initial aid to media start-ups can be vital, donor engagement, especially long-term, may have the unintended effect of fostering "a culture of dependency," as the State Department's Krishna Kumar puts it. "Outlets often become accustomed to outside help," he warns, "and resist taking painful but necessary measures, such as cutting costs, reducing staff, and seeking additional advertising revenues."[184] Such cases were not uncommon in the Balkans with the onrush of international aid during the 1990s. One case noted by critics is that of the Open Broadcast Network (OBN) in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Launched in 1996 by international donors, the commercial TV network was expected to bring impartial and comprehensive coverage to an ethnically divided society. While OBN continues to operate today as a private channel, the network failed to live up to its promise and became something of a political football among donors. International support of the network lasted only until 2000—after running up costs of some $20 million, at least $6 million of it from the State Department.[185] OBN's difficulties stemmed in large part from poor planning, say critics, with no realistic blueprint for financial independence and a misplaced

Among MDLF's varied projects: establishing printing houses, purchasing newsprint, and building transmitters and studios for independent media. Potential "clients" of the fund must first develop a detailed business plan under the guidance of MDLF staff; the final decision is then subject to approval by MDLF's board of directors.

The results have been impressive: cumulative sales of MDLF's 27 clients rose from $104 million in 2005 to $124 million in 2006. The longer a client's relationship with MDLF, the better is its performance. Outlets that had been MDLF clients for five years, on average, increased their reach by 18 percent and sales by 361 percent.[188]

Along with OSI, MDLF has counted among its funders the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, development agencies in the Netherlands, Sweden, and Switzerland, the UN Development Programme, and the State Department's DRL. The fund has also teamed up with the Calvert Foundation in the United States and Swiss bank Vontobel Group to sell bond-like instruments to socially conscious investors, who can support MDLF's work while still earning a modest rate of return.[189] As of January 1, 2008, MDLF reports that it has become financially self-sustainable, covering its operating costs through its equity investments.

assumption that the network could raise enough ad revenue in Bosnia's anemic market. The project was also criticized for distorting the local market. "Unnecessary equipment often was imported at huge cost," observed Kumar. "OBN employees were paid salaries that were two or three times higher than the prevailing rates."[190] Others in the field disagree, saying that resistance to local advice and a lack of international donor coordination led to the project's breakdown.

Similar cases are cited in Kosovo. A 2004 USAID assessment of media aid there concluded that "the sustained nature and size of this assistance contributed to a sense of entitlement." Worse, said the report, in some cases the availability of grants and paid programming "served as a disincentive for recipients to improve their commercial viability" and "significantly distorted" the local advertising market.[191] Funders and implementers, however, may have learned from these experiences. IREX reports that its emphasis on improved financial management and ad sales at two Kosovo independent broadcasters has helped make both stations profitable today.[192]

Workable Business Models

Business models that work well in one setting may prove less effective elsewhere, and experts advise that researching local conditions is crucial. The troubles of OBN, the commercial broadcasting network in Bosnia, "represents a warning against unrealistic expectations," Kumar wrote in *Promoting Independent Media: Strategies for Democracy Assistance*, particularly in post-conflict regions with weak economies.[193] The experience also highlights a debate over whether to subsidize commercial media (favored by Washington) or public broadcasting (favored by some European funders). In OBN's case, European governments gradually withdrew their funding of the commercial station and directed it toward reforming the country's public broadcasting sector.[194] After the OBN experience, USAID funded IREX in backing a new commercial TV network, Mreza Plus, emphasizing training for network managers on financial management, programming and promotion, and advertising and sales. The network is now reportedly second in ratings only to Bosnia's public broadcasting system.[195]

Business models that work well in one setting may prove less effective elsewhere, and experts advise that researching local conditions is crucial.

Sustainability vs. Other Goals

While sustainability is a primary goal for most projects, in certain cases continued support from the international community may be needed. Political goals, such as stability in conflict-ridden countries, may override moves toward commercialization. Support of nonprofit media centers and publications that act in the public interest may also be worthy of continued support, much as they are in the West. In less-developed regions, long-term subsidies may be needed for fledgling community media in poorly developed regions. Even in such cases, however, strategies can be developed to maximize self-sufficiency, diversify sources of income, and avoid "donor fatigue." In Afghanistan, for example, Internews runs an ambitious program that so far has launched 28 community radio stations. All still receive technical support, training, advertising, and programming from Internews, but at least 12 now generate more than half of their income from other sources.[196]

Ongoing support of overseas media centers poses similar challenges. Nonprofit centers for training, reporting, and advocacy of independent media have proliferated widely since the fall of the Berlin Wall. A 2007 survey by ICFJ identified 81 training centers worldwide. A CIMA survey that same year located 40 nonprofit centers that specialize in investigative reporting and training. Most of these groups are in a constant struggle for funds.

A 2007 report by the Washington-based Jefferson Institute, commissioned by the Knight Foundation, looked at the experience of training centers in four countries in Central and Eastern Europe and came away critical.[197] The report recommended against endowments or "permanent" funding, calling instead for

greater emphasis on market-driven, fee-based training that combined elements of local, international, and niche reporting. Robert Orttung, a senior fellow at the Jefferson Institute, told a CIMA workshop that the field needed newer, more flexible training models than the traditional centers, and that endowments would breed complacency instead of creativity.[198]

The report drew skeptical responses from some in the media development community, who note that even the most entrepreneurial media centers, including those in the West, remain heavily dependent on fundraising, and that the contribution to professional development by these groups remains vital. Moreover, endowments and secure, long-term funding, they say, have proven to be fundamental to the success of several groups, among them the widely acclaimed Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism, the recipient of a Ford Foundation endowment.

Nonetheless, there seems broad agreement that training centers should become more entrepreneurial and develop diverse sources of funding. Some consolidation also may be inevitable. "In some cases we're supporting too many institutions and they can't all remain viable," says IREX's Whitehouse. "This has to be done much more efficiently." At the same time, withdrawing support may spell the end of a number of centers for independent media. "These countries are not yet in a position where programs can be paid for entirely by participants," cautions Nancy Ward, managing director of the Independent Journalism Foundation, founder of four training centers. "If centers don't have funding," she warned, "then they aren't going to exist in the future."[199] ❐

THE IMPORTANCE OF NONPROFIT JOURNALISM

The global spread of media centers is part of an important, larger trend toward nonprofit journalism, according to Charles Lewis, founder of the Washington-D.C.-based Center for Public Integrity. In an influential 2007 paper for the Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy, Lewis argues that growing market pressures on the traditional news media are highlighting the need for an expanding nonprofit media sector that will act more directly in the public interest.[200] Lewis points out that nonprofit media are already more prevalent than widely thought. The Associated Press, for example, is a nonprofit corporation with 4,000 employees in 97 countries. Similarly, National Public Radio boasts 36 bureaus and 30 million weekly listeners at a time when many other U.S. news outlets are shrinking newsrooms and losing audience. Other nonprofit media include the *Christian Science Monitor*, *St. Petersburg Times*, *Congressional Quarterly*, *National Geographic*, and *Consumer Reports*.[201]

The nonprofit model is gaining attention, particularly as U.S. news media appear to be moving away from serious and in-depth reporting. Buffeted by losses in ad revenue and shorter deadlines in the Internet era, reporting staffs are being cut back, investigative teams disbanded, and foreign bureaus closed. In October 2007, in recognition that the commercial media are not fulfilling their watchdog role, Herbert and Marion Sandler, a wealthy California couple, pledged an unprecedented $10 million annually to fund a new investigative nonprofit called ProPublica. Headed by former *Wall Street Journal* Managing Editor Paul Steiger, the group will offer its reporting projects free of charge to leading news organizations.[202]

Under U.S. law, nonprofit corporations receive several advantages, including tax-deductible contributions from donors and exemption from taxes on income received by the organization (although employee salaries are taxed). A strong tradition of philanthropy also helps support the growing nonprofit sector in the United States. Such conditions vary overseas and may influence the viability of nonprofit journalism enterprises there. In Latin America, for example, wealthy media corporations and donors have come forward to fund public interest journalism projects. Such efforts would likely prove fraught with difficulty in Russia or China, but where opportunities arise, a nonprofit model could enhance the viability of independent media in many countries.

MEDIA LITERACY: EDUCATING THE PUBLIC

KEY PROBLEMS

- The role of independent media is not well understood by the public.
- The public's ability to critically assess information can be limited.
- Authorities often do not understand the need to cooperate with journalists.
- Programs to boost media literacy are rare.
- Media literacy is not well-integrated into media development programs.

KEY SOLUTIONS

- Increase citizens' understanding of the role of the media.
- Develop media literacy programs for the public starting in primary school.
- Educate newsmakers and spokespersons on the role of media in a democracy.
- Educate top-level government officials on the need to work with journalists.
- Integrate media literacy programs into media development.

In Salzburg, Austria, students and faculty from a dozen universities gathered in August 2007 to start what their hosts called "a worldwide revolution in media education." As the first class of the Salzburg Academy Program on Media and Global Change, the group laid the foundation for an online curriculum on "Global Media Literacy." Its goal was to arm students worldwide with the skills to be "both critical of media's manipulative influence and empowered to use media to effect positive change."[203]

A newspaper vendor in Baku, Azerbaijan, reads the news. *Photo: IREX*

About the same time, outside New York City, Stony Brook University was launching the Center for News Literacy. Backed by grants from the Ford and Knight foundations, the new center is part of a four-year effort to educate 10,000 students on how to assess the credibility of news. University officials characterized the center as part of "a national movement" that will "create more informed citizens and sustain quality journalism at the same time."[204]

Behind these two projects is a growing recognition of the importance of media literacy to a democracy, particularly in an age when consumers are hit by a daily avalanche of news stories, advertisements, blogs, videos, and other media. Citizens are faced with the challenge of differentiating between reliable, quality, unbiased information sources and those that are biased, corrupted, or unprofessional. The need for media literacy also extends to those who hold critical information, particularly government officials. In a world that increasingly depends on the free flow of information, official gatekeepers are too often unwilling or lack training on how to cooperate effectively with the news media.

In countries transitioning from repressive governments and with a history of controlling and manipulating news, the role of media literacy education can be particularly important. Citizens may have difficulty distinguishing balanced news from propaganda. Support for independent media may be eroded by a sensational, irresponsible press that boosts circulation by appealing to uncritical consumers. Government officials may stonewall, ignore, or simply be unaware of how to deal with media's role as public watchdog.

As early as 1999, USAID recognized the importance of media literacy, calling for civic education projects to help consumers "evaluate the news sources for credibility, use information to lobby the government, encourage informed action and decisions, and engage media outlets."[205] But while scholars and media critics pay increasing attention to the need for media literacy, its role appears largely lost on the media development community. Many believe that increased

professionalism will naturally draw audiences, and that good journalism will generate support for unfettered media. This has left civic education to nonprofit organizations that focus on other issues, such as elections.[206] "Media, media institutions within countries, and international support organizations should all play a role in developing the public's media literacy," states a Panos London report, *At the Heart of Change: the Role of Communication in Sustainable Development.* "This would enable audiences to distinguish good quality media from bad, objectivity from partisanship, opinion from analysis, and investigative reporting from slander."[207]

A Literate Citizenry

Advocates of media literacy programs stress that free and independent media cannot survive without the support of a consumer base that is media literate. "It is difficult to sustain excellent free and independent media without a public that has a continuous appreciation of the need for its output," wrote Monroe Price of the Annenberg School for Communication at the University of Pennsylvania and Peter Krug of the University of Oklahoma's College of Law. "Indeed, media independence may depend on the capacity of the audience to treat information wisely and critically and draw inferences from it."[208]

This capacity, however, is notably lacking in much of the world. While organizations such as Freedom House and IREX document the rollback of media freedoms around the globe, public reaction in many countries to killings of journalists and other attacks on the media is often muted or negligible.[209] "People here do not need my truth," a frustrated Anastasia Chukovskaya told the *Christian Science Monitor* after quitting her job as a political reporter in Moscow. "Why should I risk my life when they don't care?"[210]

Persephone Miel, who worked for Internews in the former Soviet states for more than a decade, says more focus should have been placed on educating the public about the importance of a free press. "We should have done so much more in terms of media literacy," she says. "We never felt engaged in the need to defend ourselves. By the time we really thought to do it, it didn't seem like we had any big worries. We never expected that now would come"—that Internews Russia would be shut down by the authorities, journalists' access to information sharply curtailed, and independent national broadcasters effectively returned to control of a one-party regime.[211]

Greater investment in media literacy programs could make a real difference in bolstering the survivability of independent media.

Greater investment in media literacy programs could make a real difference in bolstering the survivability of independent media. A few development organizations have launched such initiatives, but usually as part of larger projects. In Egypt, for example, USAID funds Internews and the Center for Civic Education to train teachers and students to use the power of mass media in a democracy.[212] In Armenia, USAID funds also backed Internews Armenia to produce public service announcements to raise awareness of the media's role and of journalists' rights and responsibilities.[213]

Open Communication in Government

The importance of government officials embracing a culture of open information is also widely overlooked in the media development community, say advocates. Bureaucrats and elected officials should understand the important role that the news media play in society, and why it is their responsibility, as public servants, to be open and transparent to citizens and the press. In emerging democracies, however, this transparency often does not exist. Government officials tend to withhold information and stonewall journalists. Many simply expect reporters to report verbatim what they say and refuse to answer questions they view as troublesome or irrelevant. Even worse, they may view themselves as censors, rather than sources, of information.

In some countries, this is not necessarily due to antipathy toward the media, but because of a lack of training and orientation. Many government ministries

do not have an official spokesperson or information office, and where one exists, the spokesperson often has little authority, numerous other duties, or is not integrated into the ministry's executive staff. When there is a press office, its staff often lacks the skills and training to do the job properly. Government information officers in transition countries "have typically received little formal education in practices and standards important in a modern, market-oriented democracy," writes Bart W. Edes, who has advised public officials in Eastern Europe on strengthening government communications.[214] Most importantly, many developing democracies—as well as some developed ones—do not have freedom of information laws, and where they do exist, they are poorly implemented.

This lack of training and understanding of transparency persists worldwide. In Nepal, for example, a press officer for a government ministry conceded that he actively avoids journalists, as they only "stir things up and cause trouble." In Ukraine, a local official complained that "reporters won't talk about issues we want to talk about." In Sudan, authorities are unwilling to talk to journalists because, admitted one official, "if everything went out, it would lead to chaos."[215] In Yemen, the lack of responsiveness is so extreme that journalists "would not even dare to approach the Ministries of Finances, Interior, and Defence to request information or statistics," according to an Article 19 report.[216]

The United States has supported several government public information campaigns and provided training to government officials on media literacy issues. Experts caution that programs are most effective when designed not to tell officials what to say, but rather to help them understand how and why to work with media. But even with good programs, the road is not an easy one. Although a U.S. program in Afghanistan helped improve the government's communication with international media, officials there continue to view local media as a threat and have, in fact, rolled back press freedoms in the country.[217]

In Afghanistan, Radio Qarabagh's mailbox allows listeners to respond to radio programs by putting their comments into the box to be read on-air.
Photo: Noah Miller, Internews

Nonetheless, targeted training could have a dramatic impact. As an official with a multinational organization that trains government press officers put it: "If a couple is to dance the tango, you don't teach just one of them. You teach both. If only one knows, they can't dance." In other words, both journalists and government officials need training. Both must "tango." □

NEW MEDIA: INTEGRATING TECHNOLOGY

KEY PROBLEMS

- New media are poorly integrated into international development.
- New technologies are not incorporated into business models.
- Citizen journalists lack professional standards.
- New technologies enable new methods of censorship and surveillance.
- The potential of new media is not fully understood.

KEY SOLUTIONS

- Incorporate new technology into all appropriate media projects.
- Encourage innovative and flexible approaches.
- Stress ethics, accuracy, and basic journalism skills in new media.
- Tailor programs utilizing new media to local conditions.
- Support grassroots efforts to use new technology.

Across the world, journalists and traditional news media organizations have come to realize that new media—blogs, social networking sites, cell phone messaging, and other relatively new technology applications—are having a profound impact on their work. In a recent survey of U.S. journalists, the majority of respondents said that new media have made a significant impact on the speed, tone, and editorial direction of their reporting.[218]

Kyrgyz and Uzbek journalists participate in a conference on new media in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan. *Photo: NED*

The advent of these new technologies has stirred excitement within the media development community. "An amazing opportunity exists now to leap over centuries of inequity to use digital technologies—specifically, the cell phone—to bridge the information divide," says the Knight Foundation's Newton.[219] ICFJ's Barnathan is equally enthusiastic. "We're doing a lot of rethinking about programs now," she says. "Every proposal should have digital thinking in it."[220]

Despite the enthusiasm, the field of independent media development has moved cautiously to embrace the potential of Information Communication technology (ICT). Although new technologies have fundamentally altered the traditional media landscape, many media development donors, practitioners and scholars have only recently begun serious and systematic consideration of ICT as part of their models of media development. Those that do utilize ICT tend to do so in the background, rather than making new technologies a major feature of programming.

Complicating matters, new technologies are not simply being incorporated into the rules of the media game—they are also changing them. During the 2008 U.S. presidential primaries, viewers were able to submit questions via video networking sites, such as YouTube, and discuss candidates' debate performances on social networking sites, such as Facebook. This trend is not limited to developed countries; in developing countries from the Philippines to Kenya, new information technologies are transforming the modern news media. Examples of this include:

The emergence of citizen journalism. Web sites, cell phones with cameras, text messaging, and e-mail all are helping to transform ordinary citizens into news gatherers and writers. The public-at-large is increasingly contributing to local and international news coverage, with broadcast news outlets often relying on photos and video submitted by event eyewitnesses. Citizen journalists are also filing their own stories, such as on OhmyNews, a highly popular Web site in South Korea.

Blogging as news media. Blogs have become much more than just personal observations. News-oriented bloggers are creating their own news brands, hiring their own staff, breaking stories, and pushing their own point of view. Social networking sites can also be used as disseminators of information and mobilizing tools. With some 113 million blogs worldwide (and only 36 percent in English), their potential is enormous.[221]

Bypassing the traditional gatekeeper. Citizens and groups are able to communicate directly with each other, bypassing the traditional gatekeepers of the "official" media. At the same time, blog aggregators and other ways of filtering online information have begun to fulfill the role of gatekeeper in the online community.

New methods of censorship. New technologies also enable new censorship and surveillance mechanisms. Online and cell phone news services allow providers and governments to better understand—and track—user patterns, as well as to selectively block information or subtly shape information consumption patterns.

Convergence. Convergence means that the media—radio, television, print, telephones, the Internet—are merging and expanding together in ways that are still being explored. As more people consume information through cell phones and other mobile devices, media companies and other information providers will be forced to consider the implications of merging telecommunications, cable, broadcast, and other media-related regulation, which can lead to opportunities as well as conflicts.

New business models. Business models for traditional media outlets have changed, with print publications in particular facing increased pressure on profit margins and competition from online sources. This has forced them to cut back on foreign reporting and longer, more cost-intensive pieces, while simultaneously exploring new side ventures in television, newsletters, and related businesses.[222]

Donors and implementers are grappling with how to utilize these changes in media development. What is needed is more than simply "taking the old models and 'digitizing' them," says Ivan Sigal, a senior fellow at the U.S. Institute of Peace.[223] Before rushing new technology into media assistance projects, local infrastructure and capabilities must be considered. In many developing countries, where the bulk of media development programs take place, access to Internet, satellite, and cell phones is limited. "Are we teaching yesterday's methods to people in Africa and the Middle East?" asks IREX's Whitehouse. "It's a difficult challenge where their infrastructure may not yet support new media, yet it's shifting that way in the world. How do you balance that?"[224] Internews' Hoffman agrees. "It's a new field and it's very important," he says. "But there's a sense among even those of us who are enthralled by it that, until we can change the regulatory environment and increase usage, we could exaggerate that message."[225]

Before rushing new technology into media assistance projects, local infrastructure and capabilities must be considered. In many developing countries, where the bulk of media development programs take place, access to Internet, satellite, and cell phones is limited.

In Timor-Leste, for instance, several journalists interviewed during a USAID assessment in 2006 still relied on handwriting or typing dispatches from the field and then sending them back to headquarters via a local minibus. Some media development programs sought to utilize ICT to rectify these logistical roadblocks, but their overall cost and the quality of the country's infrastructure did not permit widespread adoption.[226] Similarly, in Central Asia, an Internews program called "Open Asia" initially sought to distribute programs among member stations digitally, but infrastructural constraints forced them to use couriers at start-up.[227]

While implementers are often eager to experiment

with new ICT activities, they can be limited by the boundaries set by their donors. Many government donors, who answer to public constituencies on funding use, are cautious to embrace new technology. Private foundations, however, have more leeway to encourage creativity and innovation in their programs, resulting in some of the most innovative thinking in the field. Organizations such as the John S. and James L. Knight Foundation have placed particular emphasis on ICT and media development. The foundation's Knight News Challenge is awarding up to $5 million annually for cutting-edge digital ideas that can transform community news. Among the projects funded are online neighborhood news ventures, as well as sites aimed at helping ordinary citizens and journalists understand how to responsibly run community news and information sites. [228] MDLF has also established a specialized center in Prague to devise new-media solutions for independent media in developing countries.[229]

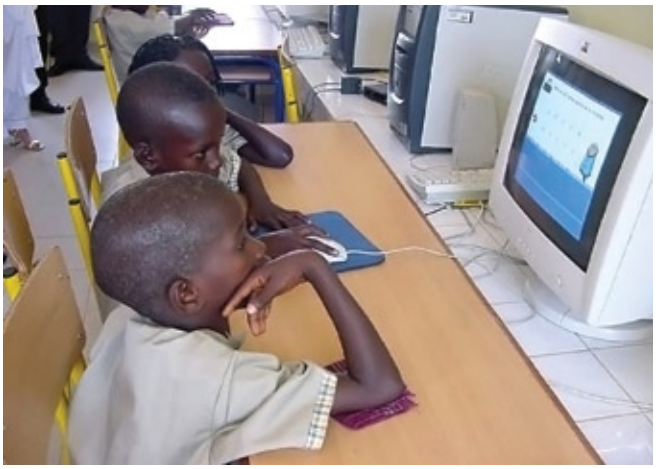
The most prominent use of ICT has been to improve how media outlets function and produce news. One program supported by USAID in Indonesia in the early 2000s provided radio journalists with digital recorders, computers, and editing software to improve their work.[230] An Internews program in Russia focused on creating a specially designed piece of newsroom software—News Factory—to enable smoother production and increased connectivity. The software allows stations to share information, scripts, and programming by saving text to a master database. Created in 1999, News Factory was subsequently spun off and now functions as a nonprofit organization. Internews estimates the program is used by roughly 350 stations across Russia.[231]

Media development programs are also utilizing ICT for distance learning, which allows journalists to benefit from professional training without the cost of travel and time away from their employers. Some programs use the Internet to link journalists and other media-sector professionals with a worldwide network of senior professionals who can review their stories and provide mentoring. In Egypt, for example, ICFJ established a virtual newsroom in which trainee journalists were able to seek advice from top Arabic reporters around the globe. Prior to filing stories, each trainee journalist was able to interact with his or her mentor, usually based in a different country, for editing and general help.[232]

Successful distance learning, however, is rarely as simple as setting up a Web site and hoping people will connect. "We thought we would take off-line knowledge and put it online—but it wasn't that engaging," notes Internews' Johnson. The program ended up costing around ten times what was originally envisaged, because of the complexities of producing distance-learning programs, which can require specialized software and tailored teaching techniques.[233]

With the advent of new ICT also comes the need for training journalists to use them, ranging from how to discern fact from fiction online to learning advanced techniques, such as computer-assisted reporting. Some media development organizations have focused on institutionalizing training of online journalists. The Knight Center for Journalism in the Americas is offering online classes in "digital literacy," math for journalists, and investigative reporting, taught in English, Spanish, and Portuguese. ICFJ is supporting the development of a digital journalism center at Mexico's University of Guadalajara, which promises to be a strong resource for training in online journalism. One issue highlighted by such programs is the lack of qualified trainers in online journalism. Because it is a new field, there are a limited number of trainers

Satellite dishes in Pristina, Kosovo, provide citizens with greater access to information and news. *Photo: IREX*



Children in Mbissao, Senegal, receive computer training. *Photo: UNESCO*

who have the requisite knowledge of both journalism and technology. As the field develops, however, this is expected to change.[234]

Some media development programs have focused on helping traditional media outlets establish an online presence or on creating online portals linked to training programs. These online news sites can be a way to circulate stories more broadly or to spread reporting that typically would not be found in a country's mainstream media. In some countries, for example, the mainstream media are less free to publish investigative stories than alternative online news sites, which can produce stories that will then be picked up by the mainstream outlets. The Institute for War and Peace Reporting (IWPR) is built on this model. IWPR originated as an online program to disseminate frontline reporting by Balkan journalists to counter hate speech and misunderstandings, but it has since grown into an international media development organization with a focus on online reporting.[235]

Others have also tried a hybrid model. In 2000, Arab journalist Daoud Kuttab launched AmmanNet from Amman, Jordan, making it the Arab world's first Internet-based radio station. The AmmanNet model has been explored by others around the world, particularly media outlets that operate under oppressive domestic conditions. Kuttab feels that the station had a profound impact on the media landscape in Jordan and the rest of the Arab world. "Our experience shows that new media can and does contribute to the break-up of monopolies," he says. Four years after AmmanNet began on the Internet, the station received an official FM license.[236]

Creating media outlets online frequently requires different skills. To address this need, media development groups have worked to train online journalists in the design and management of Web content, including interactive features, such as reader polls and surveys. Mindful of the "anything goes" nature of the Internet, training courses for online journalists also stress commonalities with professional mainstream news journalism, including ethics, accuracy, and basic journalism skills.[237] Regardless of the approach, integrating new technology into media development requires a solid, professional grounding in journalism on the part of participants. "Leapfrogging" over journalism fundamentals may result in projects becoming purveyors of the worst of the Internet—unsupported opinion, false information, and hate speech. "Any new media has to involve good journalism," stresses ICFJ's Barnathan. "You have to have the skills."[238]

In a 2008 CIMA report on the role of ICT in media development, consultant Shanthi Kalathil made a series of recommendations for donors and practitioners.[239] The co-author of *Open Networks, Closed Regimes: The Impact of the Internet on Authoritarian Rule*, Kalathil suggested that both donors and practitioners be ambitious, but realistic. Among her key points:

Understand convergence and its implications. The field of media development is inexorably changing, which means that old models, while functional for now, are likely to shift in the future as more of the world's population gains access to new technology. In some cases, this shift will include blending media development with efforts for poverty reduction and economic growth.

Focus on a broader definition of the "enabling environment." Instead of focusing solely on issues such as media law and regulation, media development organizations and donors should think about how to utilize a broader framework, while still keeping sight of the original goal. This does not necessarily mean impinging on the work of other organizations whose specialty is facilitating telecommunications access, but it might mean more conversations and partnerships

with them about regulatory and infrastructural issues.

Be ambitious but realistic about expectations. Donors and practitioners should ensure they have a grounded understanding of the realities of ICT access (e.g., Internet penetration, cell phone usage, computer literacy, cost structures, and local patterns of usage) before incorporating elements into specific programs. An ambitious, forward-looking program that aims to use cell phones for news dissemination, for instance, may not be effective if people do not trust information coming from unfamiliar sources on their phones.

Support organic initiatives rather than top-down projects. Heavy-handed, top-down donor ICT initiatives generally fail to get off the ground. Successful ICT projects tend to harness the creativity and entrepreneurship of grassroots individuals and communities, who use donor funding to augment their own vision. This recommendation is more relevant for large bilateral donors than for foundations, which may more actively seek to identify promising grassroots-driven projects.

Think creatively about ways ICT can be folded into existing activities. Not every ICT-related project has to break new ground. Some traditional media development activities may benefit simply from a more thoughtful approach to incorporating ICT. For instance, when implementing journalism training programs, consider systematic elements that get journalists up to speed on how to use the Internet for research, reporting, and interacting with sources and readers. When considering the enabling environment, think about how broadcast regulation relates to cable and telecommunications regulation, and the implications it may have on converging media technologies. When discussing business models and promoting financial sustainability, be sure to understand how new ICT trends may affect the particular project being advised.

New technologies—and the models they spawn—may require new modes of thinking about what constitutes a successful project.

Adjust monitoring and evaluation techniques to allow room for innovation. The field of media development thrives on a mix of planning for long-term goals and savvy entrepreneurship. With the advent of digital technologies, the ability to foster innovation and be flexible becomes paramount. Unfortunately, the traditional donor model of measuring success by widget-like outputs ("journalists trained" and other such measures) does not encourage flexible thinking and innovation. New technologies—and the models they spawn—may require new modes of thinking about what constitutes a successful project.

Although the information and communications revolutions are dramatically remaking the media in the developed world, the development community is still debating how to embrace their potential. That potential, however, is undeniable. "For the first time in human history, everyone on earth can know the basics about how their local communities fit into the global community," says the Knight Foundation's Newton.[240] Used smartly, ICT offers a dynamic and innovative toolkit to tackle long-standing problems inhibiting development and democracy. ❐

MONITORING AND EVALUATION: ASSESSING IMPACT

KEY PROBLEMS

- A widely accepted barometer to measure progress does not exist.
- Country assessments are erroneously used to evaluate individual projects.
- Money for evaluations often is not included in project funding.
- Current monitoring projects are limited in scope.
- Social and cultural changes are difficult to measure.

KEY SOLUTIONS

- Develop a consensus of the best methods to monitor projects.
- End misuse of country assessments for program evaluation.
- Include funds for evaluation in project financing.
- Expand the Media Sustainability Index worldwide.
- Develop new and innovative measures of success.

One of the most vexing aspects of efforts to foster independent media has been how to measure progress and assess the effectiveness of assistance programs. Unlike more traditional efforts in global assistance, such as building roads or planting crops, but like other kinds of democracy-building projects, determining whether money has been well spent on training journalists or providing broadcast equipment to media start-ups can be a challenging task.

A vendor sells newspapers at a market in Minsk, Belarus. *Photo: IREX*

Many have pointed to the difficulty in assessing the link between the quality of training and the quality of the resulting journalism. As one USAID official put it, "We can't even always agree on the goals, let alone how to get there."[241]

There are also limits to how well media's overall impact can be measured. Evaluating large-scale change in a given society is notoriously difficult, as U.S. intelligence agencies have learned in trying to gauge shifts in countries around the world. "It's extraordinarily complex, because we don't live in a closed system," observes Krishna Kumar, who spent 25 years doing evaluations for the World Bank and then USAID. "There are so many actors—we cannot separate media from other changes taking place."[242]

The need for evaluation, moreover, exists on two levels: project-level assessments and evaluations of the overall media environment. A handful of indices have been developed at the national level, but critics say they often have been used inappropriately to measure the effectiveness of specific projects. At the program level, the concerns are numerous: What factors should be taken into consideration by the monitors and evaluators? What methodology should be used and what questions asked? Who provides the expertise for evaluations? Is the process open and transparent? Some trainers worry that over-reliance on strict numeric evaluation could straitjacket innovative programs. Another issue is who pays for evaluations, which can be time-intensive and costly. If funding comes out of an organization's program budget, there may not be much incentive to do a comprehensive job. Many experts point out that well-defined goals for media development projects, along with baseline assessments before they begin, are needed in order to track progress on specific issues.

The program evaluators can also vary widely. They may be independent, professional project evaluators, government officials, journalists and scholars on sabbatical, or even staffers from the organization whose project is being evaluated. Their techniques are equally wide-ranging. Evaluations may take place through informal roundtable discussions in the field,

discussions at a donor's headquarters, or official on-site inspections and interviews. They may rely on anecdotes and arbitrary decisions, or on checklists and raw data. Monitors for World Bank media projects, for example, have specific criteria that they examine: whether a program is still relevant to the problem it was set up to address, if it works in a timely and cost-effective manner, what direct results have been produced (such as more journalists trained to operate professionally, business models in place for growth, more community outlets for fair and balanced news), whether the program is becoming self-sustaining, and if there are lessons to be learned for other communities.[243] Other measures used by evaluators include collection of quantitative data, such as increased circulation or audience share, profit/loss statements, number of journalists trained, and qualitative assessments of the improved quality of news reports or broadcasts.

The Current Tool Kit

To measure change at the national and international level, a handful of analytical tools have been developed that look at media sustainability, freedom of the press, and attacks on journalists. None is comprehensive, but all are valuable and widely used as yardsticks by donors and government agencies.

***The Media Sustainability Index* (MSI)** has been published annually since 2001 by IREX. Originally focused on monitoring media independence in former Soviet bloc countries, MSI has expanded to the Middle East and Africa. IREX draws on outside experts in each country, who arrive at national scores from 0 to 4 on such areas as free speech and professional journalism. MSI has received funding from USAID, UNESCO, and the World Bank. Developed in cooperation with USAID, MSI remains the most broadly used tool for evaluating media assistance by U.S. agencies.[244]

Freedom of the Press is published annually by Freedom House, a New York- and Washington, D.C.-based NGO. Begun in 1980, the widely cited report gives a country-by-country assessment of press freedom for 195 nations and territories, based on legal, economic, and political conditions. Freedom House accepts no government funding for the report, which uses in-house staff and outside experts to evaluate its 23-question surveys. Based on scores from 0 (best) to 100 (worst), countries are then assigned categories of Free, Partly Free, or Not Free.[245]

The Worldwide Press Freedom Index of Reporters Without Borders (Reporters sans frontières or RSF), a Paris-based NGO, monitors press conditions in 98 countries, highlighting where press freedom has declined because of restrictive laws, attacks on journalists, or government interference. Its annual assessment is based on a 53-point questionnaire filled out by at least three sources in each country. RSF looks not only at government abuses, but also those by armed militias, clandestine organizations, and pressure groups.[246]

Attacks on the Press is published annually by the New York-based Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ). Its analysis relies on trips to various countries, as well as information gleaned from local reports and government data, and includes statistics on killings, disappearances, and imprisonment. CPJ accepts no government funding. Several other groups, including RSF, also monitor attacks on journalists, although their figures generally disagree due to different definitions of who is a journalist and the difficulty of verifying individual incidents.[247]

Other Metrics

Country Reports on Human Rights Practices are published online annually by the State Department's Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, and submitted to Congress. The reports assess the status in 196 countries of individual, civil, political, and worker rights—including freedom of speech and press—as defined by the internationally-recognized Universal Declaration of Human Rights. First published in 1977, the reports are used as a resource in shaping policy, diplomacy, and funding decisions.

International Program for Development Evaluation Training is a World Bank program to help those who evaluate and audit development programs. Its approach—based largely on technical

> One of the most vexing aspects of efforts to foster independent media has been how to measure progress and assess the effectiveness of assistance programs.

evaluation skills, data collection methods, sampling, and data analysis—is designed more for checking on financial institutions. The bank's checklist of steps, however, could prove useful to evaluators of any development program.[248]

Corruption Indices. In democracy-promotion and rule-of-law programs, in which media development often plays a key role, several useful tools exist to gauge levels of corruption and accountability in a given country. Transparency International produces a *Global Corruption Barometer*, a *Bribe Payers Index*, and the well-known *Corruption Perceptions Index*, which ranks 180 countries by their perceived levels of corruption, as determined by surveys of experts and business leaders.[249] *The Global Integrity Index* and *Report* are produced by Washington, D.C.-based Global Integrity, which has gained recognition for its comprehensive approach to gauging corruption and government accountability. The 2007 version, compiled by 250 journalists and researchers, gathered data from 55 countries.[250]

The Limitations of Current Tools

These varied metrics have proved invaluable. MSI and *Freedom of the Press*, in particular, are used widely by the media development community to gauge changes by country and region. While useful, all of the current tools have shortcomings, according to Susan Abbott, associate director of the Center for Global Communication Studies at the University of Pennsylvania's Annenberg School for Communication. Many indicators on press freedom, for example, do not consider the Internet or mobile phones.[251] Others may rate media as "independent" only when it is privately or commercially owned, whereas Europeans argue that independence may more likely come from state-owned or state-regulated public broadcasting models, such as the BBC. Similarly, MSI and *Freedom of the Press* disagree on whether some Arab countries and the Palestinian territories are "free" and have "sustainable" media. Another criticism is that some NGOs act as both "player and referee," in that they run media assistance programs while also evaluating the state of that assistance.

In addition, these evaluation measures—which are broad, national indices—are often misused by donors and others to assess individual programs, according to media development specialists. "MSI is not a program evaluation tool," stresses IREX's Drusilla Menaker. "It is meant as a comparative tool and meant to help policymakers and donors and media development people focus on important areas to address."[252] In some cases, notes Karin Deutsch Karlekar, managing editor of *Freedom of the Press*, a successful media project may prompt not more open government, but a crackdown by local authorities. "We've found that in some countries that have the most vibrant and aggressive journalism, the most reprisals and attacks against journalists are taking place," she says. "So a program could be good at doing its job, for example to train journalists on investigative reporting, but the overall impact on its score in an index could be negative."[253] Karlekar cites one case in which a foreign-language broadcast program was to be de-funded based on its Freedom House scoring. "I said, 'You can't just take that number and make it the basis for deciding to cut funding.'"

Those views were echoed in a 2005 GAO report. With USAID and the State Department spending tens of millions of dollars annually on media development, GAO found a troubling lack of agreed-upon performance indicators and noted that, in general, the U.S. government has relied on MSI and *Freedom of the Press*. While "useful for measuring the state of the media in countries," GAO concluded, "they are of limited utility in measuring the specific contributions of U.S.-sponsored projects toward developing independent media."[254]

A key reason these broad indices are misused on individual programs is the lack of a precise way to measure progress in the field. Questionnaires, surveys, on-site visits, anecdotal case studies, and statistical data, such as numbers trained and audience gained,

can all be helpful. But too often, say trainers, they do not reflect the sometimes subtle and long-term progress that occurs in media development programs. Donors are often making long-term investments in changing entrenched ways of thinking within the media by building mentors, role models, and centers of excellence. "The results can be hard to see in the short term," says ICFJ's Butler, "because we're changing entire cultures." Important media programs, such as investigative journalism training, may produce relatively few stories and take years to pay off. Performing content analysis and counting numbers of stories would have been of little help in evaluating the landmark work of the Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism, whose eight months of reporting brought down President Joseph Estrada for corruption, but consisted of only three stories. Such breakthroughs, say journalists, cannot be easily measured by a checklist.[255]

New Tools, New Metrics

A number of initiatives are under way to improve monitoring and evaluation of media development. IREX is expanding its MSI to all of Africa and, depending on funding, would like to take it worldwide. In the spring of 2008, UNESCO's International Programme for the Development of Communication published a framework to assess media development, offering a detailed series of indicators, from assessing censorship to Internet access.[256] The "toolkit" has been praised as being comprehensive if used in its entirety and criticized as being subjective if used piecemeal. The toolkit is designed primarily for individual country assessment and not for regional comparison.

Another idea getting attention is the use of a "wiki" (a Web site that allows contributions from multiple users) to monitor and evaluate media assistance. Proposed at a 2007 workshop sponsored by the Catholic Media Council in Bad Honnef, Germany, the goal is to encourage cooperation and share know-how by having implementers and donors post their techniques. The

Covers of the IREX *Media Sustainability Index* and the Freedom House *Freedom of the Press* publications.

best ideas could be then turned into practical tool kits for NGOs and others. Tentatively called "Monitoring and Evaluation for Media and Development Communication," the effort is being discussed by European-based foundations and implementers.[257]

Another intriguing proposal came out of a 2007 workshop on "Measuring Press Freedom and Democracy" at the University of Pennsylvania's Annenberg School for Communication. The participants suggested that representatives from implementers, donors, governments, and NGOs join forces to evaluate media programs thoroughly in one specific country. The idea is to avoid scattershot evaluation and concentrate on one country to see what works best—and what does not.

The varied efforts are welcome, agree experts, who say that the field needs crucial attention. Until there are agreed-upon methodologies to measure its projects, media development may never receive adequate funding. Donors, understandably, will insist upon tools that can effectively measure how well the projects they support have met their goals. ❐

ONE PROGRAM'S CRITERIA

Now in its fifteenth year, the Knight International Journalism Fellowship has become one of the workhorses of international media assistance. Each year, a half-dozen experienced journalists spend months working with local media overseas. Since the program's founding in 1993, more than 200 American journalists have ventured abroad to train some 30,000 reporters, media managers, and students in 80 countries. Managed by ICFJ, the fellowships are now also open to foreign journalists, who have trained radio reporters in East Timor and Guinea, environmental reporters in Indonesia, and television reporters in Jordan and Lebanon.

How does ICFJ decide where to send its fellows each year? The criteria used by the group offers an interesting snapshot at how program decisions are made. "Resources are limited, and the needs everywhere are great," says ICFJ's Butler. "We have to consider whether the potential impact in the country justifies the investment." To help ensure that impact, proposals are evaluated by advisory committees in five regions.

They weigh the following criteria:

- **Opportunity.** Does the country present an opportunity for change? Has something happened recently—a newly elected leader, abolishment of restrictive media laws, or an end to conflict, for example—that provides an opening for moving the country's media forward?

- **Transformational Project.** Is there a high-impact project with strong local support? Can the fellow provide a leadership role in that project? What will be different in the country if the project is successful? What are the obstacles to success and how can they be overcome?

- **Unmet Needs.** Has the country moved beyond the point where outside assistance is required to help the media advance? Are others already providing what is needed?

- **Regional Impact.** Is the country a regional leader? Can change in this country have a ripple effect on others? How many people will benefit from the project by getting improved information to make better decisions about their lives?

- **Building on Success.** How much has ICFJ already achieved in the country and can it make use of its knowledge, experience, and contacts there? Are there top-quality media professionals and materials that can be deployed there quickly?

- **Local Partners.** Does the country have a strong local partner with the potential to help carry out a high-impact project? Are there additional resources that can be leveraged to maximize the investment? Are there people and organizations that could carry on the work when the program ends?

- **Security and Ability to Work.** Can a fellow work safely and effectively? Would training endanger the people the program is trying to reach?[258]

Looking Forward

For those who work in media development, the stakes are all too real. Indeed, we see them in the news every day. Monks in Rangoon and Lhasa tell the world what they have seen through hidden cell phones. Journalists brave death threats in Moscow and Mexico City. Bloggers have been imprisoned in Alexandria, Bangkok, Beijing, and Jeddah, among others. Whistle-blowers in Lagos and Sarajevo try to stop runaway corruption.

The evidence is clear: a free, professional, and independent news media is essential in creating sustainable development and democracy in the 21st century. In a world increasingly wired by networks of communications satellites and fiber optic cable, the open and accurate flow of news is the price of admission into the global economy. But with so much of the world still, in effect, communications backwaters—indeed, with some countries now regressing—the need for independent media development has never been greater.

There is broad consensus about how to move forward. Those within the media development community agree that much more should be done to expand the pool of funders. It is perhaps the field's most pressing challenge: to make the case more effectively—to governments, foundations, corporations, and individuals—that sustained and serious support of independent media can make a dramatic difference in the world. Key to this effort is elevating independent media into its own sector. Nurturing the free and unimpeded flow of information should be treated not simply as an adjunct to programs on health care or elections, but as its own, essential building block of democracy and development.

Consensus exists on other aspects, as well—the need to take a long-term approach, bolster the legal-enabling environment, encourage ground-up initiatives, and make far better use of the opportunities afforded by new media. Similarly, few dispute the need to train more media managers and investigative reporters, engage owners, reform universities, find the best tools for evaluation, and increase understanding by the public and governments of the media's role in a democracy. There is also an overriding need to approach all of this in a holistic way. Think of a free and independent media as a platform supported by multiple legs: professionalization, economic sustainability, media literacy, the legal-enabling environment, and more. Remove or leave out one of the legs and the platform becomes unstable.

Better coordination is another top priority for those CIMA interviewed. As the Knight Foundation's Newton told us, "Until we get the substantial increases we need, we must better coordinate what money and projects currently exist, rigorously evaluating what we are doing and sharing the results openly." While this report has focused on American efforts in media development, the field is a global one. To achieve goals of fostering a free and independent media worldwide, U.S. donors and implementers in the field cannot and do not conduct this work alone. Particularly important are the European and multilateral donors and players. There are a host of positive signs. The Global Forum for Media Development, International Journalists' Network, and Salzburg Global Seminar are making needed efforts to coordinate and expand what has become a vibrant, global movement. Other efforts are aimed at coordinating activities by donors, training centers, and journalism groups. Recent initiatives by the World Bank and the Knight Foundation, as well as CIMA's own activities, promise to strengthen these coordination efforts. Other organizations are at work on networking tools to link together and maximize resources on legal defense, investigative journalism, and media literacy.

While the challenges are formidable, across the board CIMA found committed and creative professionals who are up to the task. It is important to remember that the field is a young one, barely 20 years of age. Growing pains are to be expected. And while there is competitiveness and disagreement, as in any human endeavor, the urgency and passion that mark the debates is a sign not of weakness, but of hope and vitality. Independent media development has already made a great contribution—by empowering people, catalyzing economies, and bringing accountability—yet its potential has only begun to be tapped. ☐

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The following reports, which helped inform this inaugural report, are available on CIMA's Web site:

Bibliographic database of media assistance resources
http://www.ned.org/dbtw-wpd/textbase/searchMediaBib.html

Community Radio: Its Impact and Challenges to Its Development
http://www.ned.org/cima/CIMA-Community_Radio-Working_Group_Report.pdf

Global Investigative Journalism: Strategies for Support
http://www.ned.org/cima/CIMA-Investigative_Journalism_Report.pdf

Independent Media's Vital Role in Development
http://www.ned.org/cima/CIMA-Media's_Vital_Role_in_Development-Report.pdf

Media Assistance: Challenges and Opportunities for the Professional Development of Journalists
http://www.ned.org/cima/CIMA-Professional_Development-Working_Group_Report.pdf

Media Law Assistance: Establishing an Enabling Environment for Free and Independent Media to Flourish
http://www.ned.org/cima/CIMA-Legal_Enabling_Environment-Working_Group_Report.pdf

Scaling a Changing Curve: Traditional Media Development and the New Media
http://www.ned.org/cima/CIMA-New_Media-Report.pdf

The Role of Media-support Organizations and Public Literacy in Strengthening Independent Media Worldwide
http://www.ned.org/cima/CIMA-Media_Support_Organizations_and_Media_Literacy-Report.pdf

Toward Economic Sustainability of the Media in Developing Countries
http://www.ned.org/cima/CIMA-Economic_Sustainability-Working_Group_Report.pdf

University Journalism Education: A Global Challenge
http://www.ned.org/cima/CIMA-University_Journalism_Education-Report.pdf

U.S. Public and Private Funding of Independent Media Development Abroad
http://www.ned.org/cima/CIMA-US_Public_and_Private_Funding_of_Media_Development.pdf

For more information on the Center for International Media Assistance, including access to all our reports and event videos, please visit our Web site at: http://www.ned.org/cima/cima.html

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