The Role of Media-support Organizations and Public Literacy in Strengthening Independent Media Worldwide

A Report to the Center for International Media Assistance

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CIMA Center for International Media Assistance

NED National Endowment for Democracy
Supporting freedom around the world

The Center for International Media Assistance (CIMA), a project of the National Endowment for Democracy, aims to strengthen the support, raise the visibility, and improve the effectiveness of media assistance programs by providing information, building networks, conducting research, and highlighting the indispensable role independent media play in the creation and development of sustainable democracies around the world. An important aspect of CIMA's work is to research ways to attract additional U.S. private sector interest in and support for international media development.

CIMA convenes working groups, discussions, and panels on a variety of topics in the field of media development and assistance. The center also issues reports and recommendations based on working group discussions and other investigations. These reports aim to provide policymakers, as well as donors and practitioners, with ideas for bolstering the effectiveness of media assistance.

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Ann C. Olson has extensive experience in international nonprofit management and democracy development. She is a specialist in journalism, media management, and training of trainers, with more than 30 years' experience in Africa, the former Soviet Union, Southeast Asia, and the United States. As a trainer and nongovernmental organization (NGO) director, she has focused on skills development in community media, press freedoms, and elections. In the United States and abroad, she has concentrated on innovative change and program development as a consultant to a range of businesses and nonprofit organizations. She has been a Knight International Journalism Fellow in Russia and Cambodia, and a McGee Journalism Fellow in southern Africa. A graduate of the University of Missouri School of Journalism, Olson worked as a publisher, editor, and reporter for 24 years in U.S. journalism before starting her international career.

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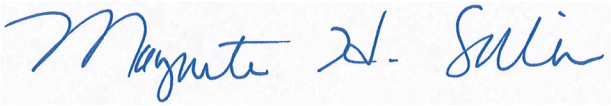
Preface

The Center for International Media Assistance (CIMA) at the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) commissioned this study on two communications issues: media literacy—educating the public about the function and responsibilities of the media and how to discern reliable from unreliable or biased news sources—and supporting organizations for media, including journalists' professional associations. The purpose of the study is to explore the role of these organizations and media literacy in sustaining or strengthening independent media around the world.

CIMA is grateful to Ann C. Olson, a veteran media trainer and development consultant, for her research and insights on this topic.

We hope that this report will become an important reference for international media assistance efforts.



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Executive Summary

Building independent media in developing countries requires more than freedom of speech, skilled journalists, or strong business management skills. Enabling independent media to perform the crucial roles of being a watchdog over government and educating people about the issues that affect their lives also requires supporting organizations such as trade unions and professional associations for journalists, and a public educated about these roles and responsibilities of media and their function in a democratic and open society.

A supporting organization can be a coalition of regional broadcasters or publishers or both, a group of journalists covering similar topics, an association of media owners, a society of newspaper designers, a group of media lawyers, or a club for foreign correspondents. Hundreds of these organizations around the world fight for access to information, institute audience ratings and circulation auditing capacity, set standards for everything from column sizes to advertising prices, defend journalists' and citizens' rights, and scrutinize complaints about the media.[1]

Success for these media-support organizations relies on more than attracting members or collecting dues. The factors that strengthen or weaken them are connected to economics, politics, culture, and ethnicity. In some of the world's poorest countries, low-paid journalists struggle to adhere to a professional association's ethics code, such as prohibitions on bribes offered to run positive stories, and media organizations find it difficult to spend hard-earned profits to support institutions such as journalism associations that don't serve their bottom line. For some journalists, cultural, tribal, or political allegiances are more important than values about truth and community engagement. In some regions, media monitors pressure authorities into honoring constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech, while in others, government controls or repressive laws make efforts to support media untenable if not impossible.

Access to reliable information is so uneven around the world that global development advocates say that the lack of independent, professional media threatens progress toward the Millennium Development Goals that United Nations member states adopted in 2000 to meet the needs of the world's poor by 2015. As then-World Bank President James D. Wolfensohn wrote in 2002, "A free press is not a luxury. It is at the core of equitable development. The media can expose corruption. They can keep a check on public policy by throwing a spotlight on government action. They let people voice diverse opinions on governance and reform, and help build public consensus to bring about change. Such media help markets work better … They can facilitate trade, transmitting ideas and innovation across boundaries . . . But as experience has shown, the independence of the media can be fragile and easily compromised … It is clear that to support development, media need the right environment—in terms of freedoms, capacities, and checks and balances."[2] Wolfensohn's words describe the work of supporting institutions and associations, the backbone of media freedoms.

In addition to the supporting organizations that set standards for and help sustain independent media, an important factor to examine is media literacy among the public—helping the public access, use, and understand the worth of independent media. The prevailing idea among media developers has been that professionalism will draw audiences, and good journalism will generate community support for unfettered media. Consequently U.S. media assistance programs have focused on building sustainable, commercial media, leaving civic education to nonprofit organizations that educate and focus on elections and democracy. Overlooking this crucial element of democracy building has exacted a price.

Freedom House's *Freedom of the Press 2007* survey notes that the last high point of worldwide press freedom occurred five years ago.[3] Yet while organizations like Freedom House, Reporters Without Borders, and the Committee to Protect Journalists document the rollback of media freedoms and lack of protection for journalists around the world, public reaction in many countries to attacks on and killings of journalists and other transgressions against the media is muted or negligible.

The Internet, satellite television, transmissions to cell phones, MP3 players, and email have injected more choices into the information landscape, and awareness is growing about the need for media literacy programs—teaching people how to access media and think critically about information. While more educators are showing students how to access, assess, analyze, and act on information, activists with specific agendas about media influence on politics, consumer issues, and Internet safety for children are also advocating for it. Those involved in media assistance and international development agree that media literacy is a crucial and too often overlooked part of the equation, as media freedoms continue to decline around the world. Promoting it is not easy, but some efforts are promising.

Finally, journalists and media owners who violate the universally accepted norms of journalism—such as fact-based and balanced reporting, disclosing potential conflicts of interest, not accepting money or favors from sources—or work solely for economic or political gain and not to serve the public interest, also undermine efforts to build civic support for independent media. This problem deserves special attention as the media-development community strategizes for the future and more resources are invested in improving journalism and information access for the goals of global development.

In short, the institutions that should help promote, explain, and transfer the universally accepted values and worth of good journalism to developing countries require more attention and long-term investments. What is needed?

- U.S. government aid policies and strategies need to be realigned to promote and support media freedom and capacity in developing countries as a public good crucial to global development.

- International funders and implementers need to work jointly on infrastructure development so that sustainable and noncompeting institutions receive greater support and work according to universal journalism standards.

- Funders should work closely with local journalists and other interested groups to help them develop media-support institutions appropriate for local needs, with membership and action plans that media outlets can afford to and want to support.

- New public and private funding mechanisms are needed to help fledgling media-support organizations develop and succeed. Existing organizations that provide support for them need to be rewarded.

- Donors should continue support of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) that work in the interest of independent media. Country reports in the Media Sustainability Index (MSI) conducted annually by IREX, which administers media-development programs around the world, show repeatedly how NGOs support media even when journalism associations cannot muster a consolidated response to threats against media independence.

- Donors need to continue to support media literacy programs, in light of a continuing fall in media quality around the world, as documented by the MSI and Freedom House's *Freedom of the Press* annual survey.

Scope and Methodology

This report examines the tactics of building supporting institutions for media and encouraging and teaching media literacy in the public sphere. The key resources for this report include:

- Documents, studies, and reports from U.S., international, bilateral, and multilateral agencies, reporting on media development and literacy programs conducted worldwide;
- Reports by public and private media-development funders, university journalism programs, civil society institutes, and implementing organizations on the results of programs conducted in developing countries worldwide;
- Literature examining the conditions under which media operate worldwide, how institutions operate and are developed, and academic studies of the roles of various factors in developing media sustainability.

The report draws in particular on:

- Interviews with more than 25 trainers, funders, university faculty, and NGO managers involved in media and international development in the United States, Europe, Eurasia, Asia, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia;
- Mark Harvey, ed. 2007. *Media Matters: Perspectives on Advancing Governance & Development from the Global Forum for Media Development,* Internews Europe and the Global Forum for Media Development;
- Detailed review of the two most respected yardsticks of media freedom and infrastructure development: the IREX Media Sustainability Index, now conducted yearly in 38 countries, and Freedom House's yearly *Freedom of the Press: A Global Survey of Media Independence*.

Media-support Organizations

In 1998, the former Center for Democracy and Governance of the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) undertook a global study "to better understand how to support media in democracies and in transitional societies," based on experience in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, Latin America, and the Caribbean.[4] Its 1999 report, *The Role of Media in Democracy: A Strategic Approach*, identified the importance of supporting press-sector institutions and civic literacy for the ascendance of independent and free media.

It set out simple goals in an easy-to-read chart that identified the roles of a well-functioning press, the barriers to its work and ways to overcome those limitations. It listed ways to support the media sector with organizations and associations that would help build constituencies for media reform.[5] The authors envisioned these organizations providing a wide array of services to help build an industry infrastructure, promote media as a crucial element of a country's civil society, and engage with citizens who are the media's audience.

These media law and policy organizations, watchdogs, research institutes and think tanks, advocacy organizations, and professional associations would help train or support independent regulatory bodies and help establish self-regulating bodies for local media. They would contribute to the professionalization of media, through efforts to reach out to readers, define ethical standards, and build awards programs for acknowledging excellence. They would network at national, regional, and international levels and would promote civic education to teach

What is a supporting institution?

Any group or organization that works to support the professional, legal and/or business interests of media organizations and the practice of journalism. Examples include:

- *Media monitors*
- *Editors*
- *Niche reporting organizations*
- *Journalism institutes*
- *Advertising associations*
- *Circulation auditors*
- *Press councils*
- *Trade unions for journalists and/or other media workers*
- *Media law/lawyers groups*
- *Publishers/owners groups*
- *Radio, newspaper, television, or online associations*
- *Bloggers*
- *Ombudsmen*
- *Human rights defenders*
- *Producers*
- *Designers*
- *Photographers*
- *Printing press workers*
- *Freedom of information support groups*
- *Camera operators*
- *National, regional, and local journalists' associations*

users how to evaluate and use information, leading to a more interconnected civil society.

The supporting institutions that make interventions like these possible are the sinews of successful and cohesive media industries in developed countries. This substructure upholds media's ability to influence development through communication, information, and education. These organizations set journalistic and commercial standards; they provide a public platform for leading thinkers; they raise societal questions that media should pursue; and they help resolve ethical quagmires.

This array of entities provides an infrastructure that fosters professionalism and permanence, establishes procedures and norms, and develops solutions and innovations. Supporting institutions bring together media practitioners of similar professional interests, experiences, and needs. Organizations that focus on specific types or divisions of media—for example, advertising executives or circulation directors—develop industry-wide work standards, institute shared systems, instill values and ethics, or tackle shared problems.

Each organization serves its members in particular and the media industry at large. In the United States, for example, investigative reporters or photographers, designers or copy editors, Native American, Hispanic or homosexual journalists, can join organizations of people with like situations and interests. They pursue common problems, set goals on journalistic accountability, or seek change within the industry that reflects their needs and perspectives. Managing editors work together to discuss newspaper innovations in light of digital media improvements. Black journalists urge media owners and managers to adopt recruiting and hiring reforms to improve newsroom diversity. Radio and television news directors lobby for reporter shield laws and the right to have cameras in courtrooms. Committees of publishers study how to offset the rising price of newsprint. Circulation directors agree to be governed by universal standards on how to count a newspaper's audience reach. Press councils organize media entities to regulate themselves, investigating errors and ethical lapses.

Building associations and other support organizations helps enable independent, sustainable media in developing countries.

Building associations and other support organizations helps enable independent, sustainable media in developing countries. This organizing and activity help form the connective tissue of a developing media industry, in concert with appropriate legal and regulatory development.[6] In developing countries, when such institutions don't exist, or are weak, media development lags. The result: an industry does not cohere and professionalism falters, creating problems that range from so-called checkbook journalism to self-censorship, from lack of community responsibility to falsifying circulation or viewership numbers.

Encouraging the development of supporting institutions is one of the four legs of U.S. government-funded media assistance.[7] "We can help build media to the point that people realize their vested interests in joining together," says Meg Gaydosik, senior media development advisor for USAID and a

veteran of programs that worked to build such supporting institutions in Russia, Bosnia, Kosovo, and Ukraine. "To make supporting institutions work, they [media practitioners] have to understand their needs and know what they want to preserve—and usually that comes from a business point of view."[8]

The most important step—taken when journalists, editors, or station owners, for example, decide to join together around a common goal—should be a locally made decision, not done at the request or imposition of outside funders or media development professionals. Whether those interests lie in changing a tax system or developing audience research tools, the main purpose of association building is its potential benefits to future members. Unless and until they agree on what benefits to pursue and how to collaborate, supporting institutions are not developed.

Building Organizations that Support Media

USAID doesn't provide funding to launch journalism associations or media-support institutions, but according to Mark Koenig, senior media advisor for USAID's Office of Democracy and Governance, "they appear like mushrooms whenever we put out a request for proposals." Often when an organization seeks a contract or grant for media development, that organization includes a local journalism association in its training program, along with funding for its complementary work or partnership. Organizations that implement USAID-funded training and development programs around the world help foster and support these media-support institutions, which indicate a maturing media market, and include their development in programming that focuses on training and professionalizing media.

When supporting institutions come to life, it is often a signal that a journalism community has advanced beyond pure subsistence and is engaged in developing transparent and ethical professional standards. As professionals agree on the need for common systems, principles, and practices that contribute to the strength of the industry and its individual media outlets, they join to work on these mutual goals. "When people band together, driven by communal interests, associations are much more successful," Koenig says. Many media-sector NGOs also engage in building coalitions and organizations around specific issues; sometimes they're successful, and sometimes they're not, Koenig adds. "Narrow issues are more effective than broad issues and allow groups to have more impact," he says. Often success in such situations "depends on the country

Organizations around the world that work to support and defend media

- The Media Institute of Southern Africa promotes media diversity, pluralism, self-sufficiency and independence in 11 countries.
- Adil Soz monitors violations of freedom of speech and helps provide legal defense for journalists in Kazakhstan.
- The Somali Women Journalists Association promotes and protects the interests of women journalists.
- The Center for Journalism and Public Ethics in Mexico promotes investigative and public-interest journalism with the goal of a more informed society.
- The Ghana Journalists Association, which is more than 50 years old, led an almost 10-year campaign to decriminalize libel.
- The Indian Institute of Journalism & New Media in Bangalore runs one-year diploma programs to improve the quality of journalism.
- The Center for Independent Journalism in Romania trains journalists and fights for media-law reform.
- The Georgian Regional Media Association makes Internet-connected computers available to regional reporters who visit Tbilisi.

and its wealth. Viable media organizations help lead to the development of viable associations."[9]

Troy Etulain, senior civil society expert in USAID's Office of Democracy and Governance, adds, "there are no firm and hard rules about supporting institutions, although there can be chicken-and-egg issues: Do we help them and move them along? Then is the effort locally driven or driven by the donor?"[10]

In the now widely known and quoted 2000 working paper *The Enabling Environment For Free and Independent Media*, Monroe E. Price and Peter Krug wrote that "the establishment of voluntary ethical codes of professional conduct and systems for professional self-governance can be important steps in promoting journalists' public responsibility and thereby advancing the goal of journalistic independence."[11] Adopting an ethics code is a common goal of newly formed associations, and the expanse of such efforts is exemplified by a list of more than 200 ethics codes from organizations around the world available on the International Journalists' Network. This international clearinghouse for information and training opportunities for journalists, online at www.ijnet.org, offers codes from the Philippines to Paraguay, from Ghana to Indonesia. Another IJNet service lists more than 850 media organizations involved in institutional development, from the Afghanistan Independent Journalists' Union in Kabul to the Peruvian Press Council in Lima.

Adopting an ethics code is a common goal of newly formed associations.

IREX has included media-support institutions in its annual MSI since IREX began assessing media sustainability in 2001. This measuring stick, which assesses media development across time and countries to help determine appropriate needs for media systems, judges progress on five objectives—free speech, professional journalism, plurality of news sources, business management, and supporting institutions that "function in the professional interests of independent media." Factors evaluated regarding supporting institutions include the existence of trade and professional associations and NGOs that support free and independent media.

In the fifth year of implementing the MSI across Europe and Eurasia, the executive summary for the 2006-7 report notes continuing progress. In addition to an overall improvement in media business management in the region, "[t]he supporting institutions necessary to a sound media business also matured; local advertisers have moved toward international practices, and international firms themselves have made more investments in advertising."[12]

In 2005, IREX published the first MSI assessment of the nations of the Middle East and North Africa. It "shows a region not yet advanced toward a robust, independent media sector, but it clearly detected the signals of change," the report states. "The roadblocks are painfully evident in, as an example, the rebuilding of the Iraqi media. Although the absolute controls of the previous regime are gone, the MSI panelists said, not only do political leaders not understand the principles of media freedoms but citizens also do not understand the importance of media independence or act to

defend it."[13] The rich countries of the region have developed a robust industry without any matching protection of freedom of speech—a limitation, the report notes, that damages media professionalism: "Particularly evident is the high level of self-censorship that exists even in the more progressive media environments."[14]

MSI results for individual countries document how many existing press institutions can be powerless in the face of strong government pressure, or too weak because of journalists' conflicting political alliances, poverty, or lack of professional skills.

- In Azerbaijan, NGO involvement in press freedoms has declined, and the Press Council, despite its self-described role as a media advocate, "has never really become involved in any of the crimes committed against the members of the working press."[15]

- In Madagascar, low salaries mean the quality of journalism is low, and encourage the practice of writing *felaka*—positive or flattering articles in exchange for payment. In addition, the country's large number of journalism associations has created rivalries and divisions among journalists.[16]

- In Moldova, media-related NGOs try to enhance freedoms and defend journalists' rights, but journalists are more influenced by political affiliations—pro-government or pro-opposition—or by East/West preferences.[17]

- In both Ukraine and Russia, the Soviet holdover organizations called the Union of Journalists do not fulfill the role of protecting journalists' rights, but instead continue to be linked with the government and impose bureaucratic procedures.[18]

- In Djibouti, tribal and ethnic issues divide journalists, and no NGOs or watchdog groups work with media to lobby for freedoms and independence.[19]

- In Georgia, no notable organization exists to protect journalists' rights, though various trade groups such as the Association of Georgian Regional Television Broadcasters and the Georgian Regional Media Association serve their members' interests by seeking to strengthen their industry and independence. Regional NGOs that could help support media are not willing to challenge local administrations.[20]

- In Algeria, while international NGOs provide a watchdog service that helps to lessen repression, the weakest aspect of media is a lack of associations and professional solidarity. The MSI noted: "Panel members unanimously agreed that local correspondents continue to be isolated and are weak due to pressure from the authorities and local interest groups."[21]

Without institutions that develop standards on how journalists approach their craft—on issues as basic as truth telling instead of self-censoring in light of anticipated government restrictions—or how media will conduct itself in its business matters, or how laws protect freedom of speech, media development can slow or even stall. Lacking

expert or societal support contributes to media isolation when pressure escalates—whether from governments, commercial interests, or competing media that operate outside normal ethical bounds. Institutions help keep media on a shared professional track, draw attention to rule- and standard-breakers, and create public awareness of the impact of media on public life and civil society development. Without them, media development is stunted.

The rise of the global information culture and the uneven quality, consistency, and reach of that expansion are issues at the heart of a recent number of evaluations that examine the role of media and its impact on worldwide development.

> *"A diverse, dynamic and free media is vital to development. This can be accomplished by establishing media freedom and a supportive regulatory environment; strengthening media infrastructure, capacity and professionalism; and supporting improvements in the quality and diversity of media content."*
>
> —*Panos London*[24]

A 2007 report commissioned by the U.K. Department for International Development and produced by Panos London, *At the Heart of Change: The Role of Communication in Sustainable Development,* challenges governments and the development community to build more open and transparent information and communications systems, and to treat information and media as public goods.[22] Reaching the Millennium Development Goals by 2015, its authors write, "will require huge investments of political will and financial resources by governments in both the developed and the developing world; but it will also require a belated recognition that communication is central to all aspects of sustainable development."[23] Establishing and developing journalism and media institutions like associations and unions, its authors say, "can help to build the professionalism, standards and strength of the media professions."

The 2007 compendium *Media Matters* is a product of the Global Forum for Media Development (GFMD), a consortium of media implementers from around the world. The publication's many authors, who range from academics to implementers to policymakers, document both the successes and obstacles to establishing free and independent media around the world and the impact on worldwide development.[25] From a call by the International Federation of Journalists for independent journalists unions—"there can be no press freedom if journalists exist in conditions of corruption, poverty or fear"[26]—to examinations of how lack of media professionalism results in public disengagement on crucial development issues, this collaboration points to the growing need to insert media-support strategies into the wider goals of global development. Its authors' calls for sustaining media, building supporting institutions, and pressing for professionalism that honors diverse public voices and public discourse repeatedly stress how much work remains to be done in developing this aspect of the press sector—the crucial role of media organizations and associations.

The John S. and James L. Knight Foundation, one of the United States' largest private journalism donors, is placing more emphasis on building the capacity of supporting institutions through its premiere international assistance program, the Knight International Journalism Fellowships. While Knight Fellows have been responsible for launching industry-supporting media centers in countries like Moldova and Georgia, new fellows are now being asked to undertake specialty journalism programs through which association building can be an integral legacy of their fellowships. The concept is to bring together journalists with specific interests—whether health, business, environment, or some other reporting specialty—to collaborate, pool and share information, and work with international versions of similar associations and institutions.[27]

Specialty associations are tackling topics at the heart of sustainable development around the world: women in media, children in media, health and the HIV/AIDS epidemic, politics, business development, digital media, and the enivornment.

Such specialty associations are tackling topics at the heart of sustainable development around the world: women in media, children in media, health and the HIV/AIDS epidemic, politics, business development, digital media, and the environment. They are defending journalists' rights and freedom of expression through media law associations, tracking how authorities react to journalism and journalists through monitoring organizations, and bringing professionals together under umbrellas for their media specialty, whether radio or print, blogging or advertising. Civil society organizations and NGOs involved in media assistance have traditionally helped form these coalitions by connecting people with like needs and often supporting them with subgrants to do work that meet the goals of media programs under way.

According to Price and Krug, "It may never be known what elements exactly contribute most—or even essentially—to the creation of a culture of democratic values. Perhaps it is the existence of a vibrant nongovernmental sector that is vital: organizations that are sensitive, at any moment, to infringements of journalistic rights. Institutions like the Glasnost Defense Foundation, the Committee to Protect Journalists, and Reporters sans Frontières were, at critical times in transition societies, vigilant in identifying possible backsliding and bringing it to the attention of the international community."[28]

Critical times and backsliding have returned to Russia, and the Glasnost Defense Foundation is again drawing the attention of the international community with daily bulletins from the International Freedom of Expression eXchange (IFEX) filled with the newest developments under President Vladimir Putin's regime. In 1991, it was one of the only nonprofit organizations carrying out media assistance, wrote Manana Aslamazyan in an article in *Media Matters*, "Media Assistance in the Former Soviet Union: A Job Well Done?"[29] Aslamazyan, writing as director of Internews Russia, which had then been recently renamed and re-registered as the Educated Media Foundation,

Passion for the Environment Yields a Journalism Association in Indonesia

Harry Surjadi's T-shirt collection features an exotic silkscreened zoo of indigenous and sometimes endangered flora and fauna. His PowerPoint presentations are filled with pictures of environmental delights and disasters—the better to convince the audience of his message. In Indonesia, where most journalists are generalists, Harry Surjadi is a specialist, and in an unusual field: environmental reporting. While his is not the sole voice reporting on his beat, he is easily Indonesia's leading voice encouraging and teaching journalists how to cover the environment. Surjadi sees the world through an environmental lens, and what he sees in his country tells him more journalists need to use this lens, too.

He is also the founding executive director of the year-old Society of Indonesian Environmental Journalists (SIEJ), and he believes the day has come for both his passion and his organization, for he was chosen to be a Knight International Journalism Fellow. His assignment is to work in his country for a year, teaching in his native language, Bahasa Indonesia, to share his skills with the reporters and editors of a respected newspaper group where he once worked. He left there to work as a freelance environmental journalist, to consult on the environment with organizations ranging from the United Nations to USAID, and to train journalists and development workers about his specialty. "I am trying to touch journalists, touch their hearts," he says. "This is my passion, and the time is so important for my country."[30] The list of environmental journalism seminars he's conducted seems almost as long as the Indonesian archipelago, and the topics of his expertise are as deep and wide as the waters that surround it. The environmental problems of the world's fourth most populous nation are expanding, too, and range from the results of widespread slash-and-burn tactics of illegal loggers, which lead to severe air pollution, landslides, and flooding, to severe water pollution because of the lack of sanitation systems and industrial emissions controls.[31]

That's why strengthening and building his association is one of the goals of his Knight fellowship. Started with the help of Internews' Earth Journalism Network, it now has 45 members who pay about $10 yearly dues, and Surjadi is hoping for a small Knight grant that will expand its ability to reach more journalists. He has applied for money from other donors, without success. Three volunteers help him stay in touch with SIEJ members, and Indonesia's Alliance of Independent Journalists helps him with administrative costs. Why does environmental journalism in Indonesia merit a separate organization? "For most journalists, it is a new topic which they do not understand. Other groups focus on other topics that they think are important. Our environmental problems are approaching an almost irreversible point and so first, we have to inform the journalists so they will know and understand."[32] His ultimate goal is to inform Indonesians that they have a voice, too—that government is not the only power to make decisions about the environmental future.

suggests how media implementers could have worked more effectively in Russia and the larger countries of the former Soviet Union, where central broadcasting is again under sway of the state. She urges that local NGOs be financed and strengthened from the very start to carry out assistance—to create legitimate local organizations that can reach out to local media and overcome potential distrust of international intervention. Now Aslamazyan is overseeing the liquidation of Internews Russia, long recognized for nurturing the growth of hundreds of independent regional TV stations, after it was shut down by a government raid on its Moscow office. Many of Internews' assets, resources, and programs are being passed along to partner organizations and media associations that it helped fund, sustain, and promote—a consolation prize for Internews' development of a strong and locally based media infrastructure. "Supporting institutions are what keep media strong," she said in an interview last fall in Washington, after she fled Russia and moved to Paris. "Our house is broken, but our projects will continue."[33]

Meg Gaydosik of USAID summed it up: "Localize sooner rather than later. You have to think long-term, and pursue anything you can to build public support for media. NGOs help raise understanding, and that contributes to building press freedoms. Everyone aspires to the internationally mandated level of human rights, but what does the public understand and know about it? These institutions deserve our support until society catches up."[34]

USAID's Koenig points out that the success of NGOs, associations, and supporting institutions depends on each country and its wealth and how well-attuned the organizations are to communal interests. Etulain says that competition among supporting institutions—and the resulting rivalry for international grants to support them—also hurts their effectiveness. In her *Media Matters* article, Azlamazyan's first suggestion for media donors is to be better informed of each other's activities and cooperate more effectively—a strategy that might end the duplicate funding of competing media associations and organizations in transitioning countries. Her admonition that greater attention should be paid to economic systems and protections, cultural differences and traditions is echoed in the findings of a longtime media assistance professional and researcher in Eastern Europe.

"We're watching donor money flow into creating these organizations and institutions, but when they lack local legitimacy, we have problems."

While it is generally accepted that legal reform and supporting institutions are critical to the development of an enabling environment for media, economic restraints and political, cultural, and commercial realities may prevent their effectiveness. "We're watching donor money flow into creating these organizations and institutions, but when they lack local legitimacy, we have problems," says Hawley Johnson of New York University, a Ph.D. candidate and researcher for USAID with media development experience in the Balkans. "In this part of the world, the economic environment and the generally weak media systems mean these organizations don't plug the holes they're meant to.

They are rarely imbued with the values they should have."[35]

Craig LaMay, author of multiple works on media assistance and democracy development, says that the dilemma of creating a sustainable environment for media is an economic problem: "For our would-be architect of free and independent media, there is the additional challenge that media, unlike most other democratic institutions, are rooted not in political or civil society, but in economic society. As an industry, democracy promotion has tended (and still tends) to see media primarily as a component of civil society promotion, which is understandable and fine until aid is exhausted or withdrawn. Then it comes time to pay the bills—for salaries, newsprint, ink, transmitters, videotape, delivery trucks, telephones, software, presses, and all the rest. Other institutions of governance also have to pay their costs, of course, but many of those hold the power of taxation."[36]

Johnson underlines this dilemma with an analysis of how the so-called tycoonization of Eastern European media—the pursuit of big money on the media market—is creating ethically and economically poor media. "When you look at the European and U.S. systems, the growth and professionalization of the free press came during times of economic growth and strength. While here we see some of the component parts of independent media, they are not consolidating because of the weak economic environment. When you don't have economic strength, and the market development isn't there, owners and editors go to politics for support."[37]

Monroe Price, in *Media Matters,* also addresses the state of the economy as a challenge to development: "Without a viable advertising economy or a vigorous economy that provides workers with salaries that allow them to become potential subscribers—media may become dependent on government or industry sectors that bias output."[38]

Drew Sullivan, an American journalist and founder of the Center for Investigative Reporting in Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina, adds another reason why media in the region isn't developing toward democratic ideals—it lacks reputable role models, another level of professionalization that journalism associations help establish. "There is no standard setter in the industry. TV standards have changed—in appearance, but not substance. Newspapers and high-end magazines look pretty and glossier, but the news isn't there."[39]

Economic Challenges for Bosnia's Press Council

> ***"When associations are steeped in the old local standards and local customs, they're not agents for change."***
>
> *— Drew Sulivan, a media trainer working in Sarajevo and Algiers*

Hawley Johnson of New York University calls Bosnia's Press Council a challenged organization, set up by the international community with no local credibility and built-in inherent conflicts of interest. What happened? Bosnian publishers could not be convinced to pay the dues to support it and keep it alive. "No one believed in it, but because there was international interest, media implementers kept trying to get publishers involved," Johnson says. They succeeded—briefly—when a national fight over the imposition of a value-added tax galvanized publishers, who were seeking a zero percent rate on printed media. When they failed and the movement ended, so did their support for the Press Council. "You always have the same people doing the same work, moving into new areas, so we see the organizers moving and the same efforts happening in Kosovo, only now we see some learning going on," Johnson says. "A law was drafted to help drive involvement in a Press Council, publishers were involved from the beginning, and it was set up with a different financial structure. But the question remains, is this a locally representative idea?"[40]

When media do not have the economic wherewithal to support journalism associations and institutions, the organizations falter. When organizations are developed by outside implementers lacking political or historical perspectives to understand the underwater currents of media development, says Johnson, the efforts are often doomed. Drew Sullivan, the founder of the Center for Investigative Reporting in Sarajevo, agrees. "Here, political issues are more important than journalism issues—things like the Press Council and trying to institute ethical standards and guidelines. Owners and people who can make changes, or who might be shamed by being held up by the Press Council, see it as a quaint idea while they're dealing with reality."

Hawley believes that as long as associations offer no economic advantages for belonging, media organizations struggling economically will not join or adopt new values or professional approaches. "The payoffs for that kind of independence just aren't there. Unless you have the right political and economic environment, these organizations just don't function," he says. The problems seen in building associations are the same problems with training newspapers to think in new ways instead of perpetuating bad standards, bad practices, and not changing, Sullivan says. "The only reason we fund media is to be a democratic force for change. If media don't believe that things have to change in the media, you can educate all you want, but it's still in the attitude." Sullivan, whose media company also runs a USAID-funded program based in Algiers, says changing attitudes isn't as tough an assignment in former communist countries as it is in the Middle East. "Local beliefs and the local cultural situation trump journalism: The truth is not as important as the community, as the tribe," he says. Fundamental journalism values like telling the truth can't be practiced if people will be harmed. "And journalism associations are completely consistent with those values—so how are they going to be agents of change?" Sullivan asks.[41]

Media Literacy: Connecting People and Media

In *At the Heart of Change*, Panos London calls for improving the quality and diversity of media content worldwide, in part through developing the public's media literacy. "This would enable audiences to distinguish good quality media from bad, objectivity from partisanship, opinion from analysis, and investigative reporting from slander. Governments, international organisations, and the media themselves should support public debate on the norms, standards, and expectations of the media—to build awareness and shared standards on freedom, content, and social responsibility, if any."[43]

Drew Sullivan posits that media literacy is a road that should be paved with expert journalism, the better to illustrate to the audience—the citizenry—what free and independent media can and should accomplish. "If you directly respond to the people's needs, you will get feedback, and that feedback will lead to action by the government."[44] He says his Sarajevo center's experience in pursuing and publishing investigative stories—on themes that range from the police corruption to black market labor to privatization woes—proves Gandhi's axiom: "First they ignore you, then they laugh at you, then they attack you, then you win." The center was recently honored in the 2007 Online Journalism Awards for a series revealing that Bosnian authorities have failed to adequately safeguard citizens from unsafe food. It was one of five stories chosen worldwide in the category of investigative reporting for a small news outlet by the Online News Association, based at the Annenberg School of Journalism at the University of Southern California in Los Angeles, and won the competition in its category.

> *"One important element of the enabling environment for media is continuing attention to public understanding, public perceptions, and public demand that undergirds a society hospitable to free and independent media…There is a special kind of literacy that might be demanded…literacy that encompasses a desire to acquire, interpret, and apply information as part of a civil society."*
>
> *— Monroe Price, director of the Project for Global Communications at the Annenberg School, University of Pennsylvania*[42]

Media Matters also addresses media literacy as a critical missing link in development policy and practice. The task of learning how to start a discussion about media in the public sphere is among the publication's topics. Thomas Jacobson, a Temple University communications professor, warns that democratic procedures cannot be "transplanted as brick and mortar institutions from one culture to another."[45] Media development initiatives should include educational institutions, civic organizations, local NGOs, and others to generate a community debate toward understanding and using media and information.

U.S. Media Literacy Efforts

The need to develop media literacy—educating news consumers about the value of media and how to discern reliable and quality journalism—is a worldwide challenge, including in the United States. In 2006, Stony Brook University in New York designed a course in news literacy with a $1.7 million grant from the John S. and James L. Knight Foundation, which the university expects to teach to 10,000 students over the next four years. Last September, Stony Brook announced it would establish the nation's first Center for News Literacy, to educate existing and future news consumers about how to assess the credibility of news. The Ford Foundation contributed $200,000 to the effort. Another new project funded by the Knight Foundation is Appleseed: The News Literacy Project, which seeks to make middle school and high school students better informed and more frequent consumers of news, says Alan C. Miller, a Pulitzer Prize-winning *Los Angeles Times* investigative reporter who designed the project. Under the guidance of active and retired journalists working in schools, the students will learn about news sources and reliability, among other topics. This type of effort is needed worldwide as an important component of developing an informed citizenry who demands independent and honest reporting.[46]

Persephone Miel, who worked for Internews in Russia, the former Soviet states, and Eastern Europe for more than a decade, says more focus should have been placed on media literacy as part of media assistance projects in the region. "We should have done so much more in terms of media literacy," she says.[47]

In 1998, Internews Russia created and distributed a program called *The Fourth Estate*, a hard-hitting weekly series analyzing the role of media in the former Soviet Union, one of 12 Internews news programs in the region. "We kept talking about public service announcements about free speech, but the (Russian) TV stations weren't interested. We did push through some (PSAs), but we were conscious of being the outsiders. We couldn't be the ones to lead a cause," says Miel, one of a few foreigners then working full-time in the Internews office. "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"[48]—that Internews Russia would be shut down by the authorities, that journalists' access to information would regress to the limitations of the Soviet Union, and that independent national broadcasters would be effectively returned to the control of a regime that claims it has a 70 percent public approval rating.

Like Internews Russia, other regional arms of Internews were supporting and sharing resources with organizations that did address media literacy and monitoring. In Ukraine, Telekritika is now a local NGO that falls under the umbrella of a network of media-assistance organizations and associations called the U-Media Project. Led by Natasha Ligacheva, Telekritika reviews, analyzes, and critiques TV and radio program content and examines national media trends on its Web site. Able to distribute news and information quickly

Revolution, Public Opinion, and Kyrgyz State TV

The drive to establish public broadcasting in Kyrgyzstan began in 2002 with public unrest over President Askar Akayev's arrest of a political opponent that eventually led to a police confrontation and seven dead in Jalalabad. The deaths led to nationwide protests demanding Akayev's resignation, and broad dissatisfaction with the Kyrgyz National Television and Radio Corp. (KTR), which had not broadcast news of the protests. Those opposing Akayev demanded state media be privatized. He responded by appointing an advisory board for KTR, "an umbrella that didn't do anything," according to Elvira Sarieva, the former managing director of Internews in Kyrgyzstan.

> ***"It was the first time all NGOs were interested in a media-related issue. That's because everyone had to watch state TV, the monopoly, and no one could see what they wanted to see."***
>
> *— Elvira Sarieva, former managing director of Internews in Kyrgyzstan*

In March 2005, the "Tulip Revolution" began after Akayev was accused of manipulating parliamentary elections and again tried to silence the media. This time, local TV stations aired protests, but KTR did not show what led to Akayev's flight from the country and the ascendance of a coalition led by the former prime minister, Kurmanbek Bakiyev. The coalition pledged to turn KTR into a public broadcaster and to privatize state media, but Bakiyev did not move on either promise.

That's when Sarieva and Internews went to work with the Media Ombudsman Institute, a local partner NGO, and imported a hired hand. Taras Shevchenko, head of Ukraine's Media Law Institute and the successful architect of various media laws in his own country, helped draft a public broadcasting law. Shevchenko "gave us hints and they worked"—and that began Internews' media literacy campaign for public broadcasting. "We stole a presentation that he

and efficiently, the Web site was a primary source of information on both the 2004 presidential election and the parliamentary election of 2006.[49] It hosts Web-based discussions and forums with government, media, global experts, and the general public and regularly conducts opinion polls on various topics of importance to the media. Ligacheva bemoans the state of regional broadcast media, and says the situation is worsening.[50] Her new goal is lobbying for measures that would make media ownership transparent—"so we can see who is paying, where the business interests actually are." Because journalists "just don't understand the goals of journalism," Telekritika's monitoring keeps repeating the same criticisms: stories that rely on only one source, lack of expert or independent sources, and reporting on issues that promote the interests of media outlets. "Despite all the training we've seen, it is very difficult to bring up the level of journalism."

Though it is difficult to link with certainty the work of Telekritika and the other eight

...continued from page 22

brought and turned it into our own," Sarieva says. In October 2005, the law they drafted went to Parliament for consideration, and Internews started a public campaign about "what is public TV and why state TV should be public. We had no funding, but we had good connections, so we worked with all the other NGOs. We would call and ask, 'Do you have a roundtable this month?' And we would ask for an hour to go and make a presentation and answer people's questions. Surprisingly, it worked."[51]

Internews staffers were meeting stakeholders, seizing opportunities when—unexpectedly—Parliament announced that it would take up the law, the very next day. "All of a sudden, we have eight hours," Sarieva recalls. "I'm meeting with these smart young people from the Union of Students and the young people's movement and I say, frustrated, 'What we can do in eight hours?' Everyone was sick of protests. We had to figure out something else to attract attention."[52]

A puppet show, they suggested, in front of the Parliament as everyone was arriving the next morning. Sarieva borrowed a puppet from Imam, her three-year-old daughter. "At the office, they took a box and made a stage and compiled a half-page handout. And called the media: 'Come to the Parliament.' We mobilized a response." The next morning, in front of Parliament, in the heart of Bishkek, a clown puppet from Prague played the role of Bakiyev "fiddling with a television set." Ten students and four Internews staffers distributed handouts. "The Speaker loved it; even some of the parliamentarians loved it. They didn't approve the law that day—which gave us more time for advocacy and to bring it to public attention."[53] In June 2006, the law was enacted. In September, Bakiyev vetoed it.

Again, protests marked public unhappiness with an opposition president who had taken power in what people called a revolution but was perceived to have changed very little. NGOs were making a list of demands, and Internews had a suggestion. "We didn't want to become part of the opposition, but we told them we thought public TV could be part of the demands. And they added it to their list of 10." Bakiyev floated an advisory board idea; the opposition refused. The continuing deadlock eventually led to planned protests for April, trying to force the president to act. On April 2, 2007, "he said yes to some demands, no to others. And he said yes to public TV."[54]

Getting Bakiyev's approval was "a great accomplishment," Sarieva said. She had just returned home from the first meeting of the new board named to develop and govern public broadcasting in Kyrgyzstan. Sarieva, one of its 15 members, and one of five representing civil society, already knew that the media-literacy campaign had started again. That day, a roundtable on public TV had been held, and "it was like stepping back five years ago. Because public TV is owned by the state, people think the state board should implement editorial policy and tell journalists what to do. People are mixing things up … so now we need media literacy for the board." Sarieva reflected, "How will we do it? We already have all the tools and information that we need."[55]

members of the U-Media consortium to the level of the country's media literacy, nationwide focus groups conducted yearly to monitor its efficacy show a citizenry with high expectations for the media it consumes. In 2007, for the second consecutive year, participants of 12 focus groups conducted in six large cities across Ukraine ranked reliability as the top quality for media value—a quality they equate with "objectivity, integrity and compliance with reality."[56] The second and third most desirable traits were prompt response, or timeliness, and informative value, which focus-group participants defined as wide, comprehensive, detailed, and complete coverage. In Ukraine, where national television is still in the hands of the state, the citizens are employing media-literate standards: reliability, honesty, and lack of bias.

How the Internet Drives the Case for Media Literacy

Internet safety for children is one of the driving issues behind establishing media literacy programs around the world. How to protect South Africa's young is a question engaging the country's Parliament, media practitioners, Internet users, and others, who are discussing a draft law leaning toward prior censorship of media like electronic games, movies, and Internet sites. Guy Berger, head of the School of Journalism & Media Studies at Rhodes University in Grahamstown, has been engaged in urging the Parliament to sponsor media literacy initiatives in place of the censorious draft.[56] In his working paper entitled "From thinking Protection to emphasizing Preparation," Berger explains the limitations of censorship and the values of protecting youth by educating them: "Children should be capacitated so that they are prepared to live in a world of images, sounds and words…they need to be educated to become critical and informed users of the media. Thus, media education (often referred to as media literacy) is vital in empowering them to live in open societies. The central purpose ... needs to be to develop critical understanding and critical autonomy, rather than rely on a protectionist form of censorship." He calls for including media education in all school curricula a pressing need, but also places responsibility for media literacy among the duties of public broadcasters.

Civics projects in schools and in university media and communications studies remain the key routes to building media literacy. One of the United States' foremost researchers in the field, Dr. Susan Moeller of the University of Maryland, is working with students and faculty from 12 universities on five continents to develop a global media literacy curriculum, based on a three-week project in the summer of 2007 at the Salzburg Academy Program on Media and Global Change in Austria, where she is co-director and lead faculty member.[57] The result: nine online media literacy learning units, with downloadable PDF and PowerPoint files, on issues that stretch from media theory to citizen journalism to politics, media, and spin. "What came out is that we have agreement on the questions about what media does and says, but no agreement on what the answers are," says Moeller. "Everyone sees the issues—terrorism, access to information, politics, and immigration—in entirely different ways. …The group was a fascinating mixture of kids who were terribly smart and terribly engaged. A lot of the way they learn about events is by text message. They may have access to TV, but text message is the way that information flows."[59]

Civics projects in schools and in university media and communications studies remain the key routes to building media literacy.

Moeller stressed that the interests of such young students are often underestimated and that those who came to Salzburg discussed politics and power as the fulcrum of the world. One of the most important factors in the project's success, she said, was inviting

three to five students and a faculty member from each of the participating universities, the better to seek buy-in on possible curriculum change.

What's next? Moeller, who is also director of the International Center for Media and the Public Agenda (ICMPA), an academic bridge between the University of Maryland's journalism college and the public policy school in College Park, hopes to expand the curriculum. She envisions perhaps conducting an even larger project and potentially trying to franchise the concept through work with universities or media-assistance projects.

How to translate such high-tech media literacy experiments into projects that might work in developing countries? Paul Mihailidis, Moeller's associate and director of Media Education Initiatives at ICMPA in College Park, Maryland, suggests that the key is to expose people to ideas about evaluating media and information in ways that are engaging, by examining issues on which they are already engaged. "Without the foundations of education, you need to find the pulse of the community—start in the home, connect with parents or some other crucial group. You must see the fabric of the society you're working in and start with a) teaching about access, b) assessing the information and c) helping them act on what they've learned. When you do that in the framework of something that piques their interest, you shift away from the polemic into neutrality," says Mihailidis, a board member of the Alliance for a Media Literate America.[60] Media literacy, he adds, is at heart about everyday people and their voices.

Using the Internet to Teach Media Literacy

The Salzburg Academy's Program on Media and Global Change, a media-literacy project developed by University of Maryland Professor Susan Moeller, created an online library of nine curricula on issues ranging from politics to video games to diversity. http://www.icmpa.umd.edu/salzburg/globalmedia/index.php/archives/category/about

Teaching Media the Importance of Civic Literacy

When media ignore ordinary people and their voices, or media neglect their social responsibilities, the credibility of journalists and the role of journalism around the world is undermined.

In *Media Matters*, Jaime Abello Banfi, executive director of the Fundación Nuevo Periodismo Iberoamericano (New Journalism Foundation) of Colombia, writes about the compromised media of Latin America, where a highly concentrated group of media owners has neglected diversity, excluded voices from citizens and civil society, and pursued news agendas that suit their own economic interests. Banfi points out that Latin American media have influenced the declining standing of democracy with representations that "contributed to the trivialization of politics, to the loss of prestige of parties, mass noninvolvement in politics … But media have also paid the price, as can be seen in the erosion of the credibility formerly enjoyed by television networks."[61] Banfi calls for training to improve the quality of journalism and a deeper understanding and acceptance of media's role: "Many experts point out that owners and executives lack an adequate understanding of the responsibility between communication media and society. Debate around transparency and social responsibility of the media is opening little by little."[62]

He cites a 2004 United Nations Development Programme report, *Democracy in Latin America: Towards a Democracy of Citizens*, which revealed that a transnational group of opinion leaders, when asked who exerts power in their countries, identified the media as the second de facto power—at 65.2 percent recognition—behind private economic power, at 79.7 percent. Noting that public institutions did not reach a 50 percent recognition level, Banfi says media is frequently perceived as an uncontrolled power that shapes politics, public opinion, and the direction of governance.

Media are not so powerful in other transitioning countries, says Heinrich Finn Volkhart, a democracy researcher and former assistant secretary general of CIVICUS, the World Alliance for Citizen Participation. He developed the CIVICUS Civil Society Index (CSI), a locally administered needs assessment and planning tool for building knowledge and momentum for strengthening civil-society initiatives.[63] Part of the CSI assessment measures the roles of a country's different social actors, or forces—whether government or religion, judges or corporations, NGOs or political parties—a measure CIVICUS took in 24 countries. In Argentina's 2005 analysis, the country's then-president, the media, the Catholic Church, and large corporations were seen as the main actors in civil society, with the most important arms of government and political parties close behind.

In Mongolia, on the other hand, the most significant social actors in 2005 were the central government, the president, the Parliament, and political parties, followed by large financial institutions, foreign donors, big business, and finally—state-run or state-owned media. Independent media ranked even lower, after civil society organizations were the inheritors of old-style Soviet

unions, local government and the police. In Vietnam, on the other hand, where media are not only controlled by but also managed by the ruling regime, media take first place in influence.

"When you analyze what influences the development of civil society, it's the state, foreign donors, and business development. Media is too politicized and not engaged in the development of civil society," Volkhart says. "In the social forces analysis, the media appeared in different countries in different places—and were much more important than I would have thought. The media circle appeared everywhere, and often quite prominently. I realized that in many developing countries, private TV really reaches the public and influences public opinion … so we need a two-way street—teaching media about civic literacy."[64]

> *"If you map what is being portrayed in the media, then you can present them with information about how civil society is being portrayed—basing the discussion on information rather than on accusations."*
>
> — democracy researcher Heinrich Finn Volkhart

"That's a tough sell for civil society. What we did when we started looking at civil society, we said, 'Let's look at how media represents civil society,'" Volkhart adds. Researchers analyzed media content, looking for information of any stripe about civil society. "And what came up, what this showed, is that civil society needs to educate media people in terms of civic literacy. The media is so politically divided it's hard to find a neutral source of information—they all support a political stance. In Eastern Europe, NGOs are seen as the Western spies, and media helps convey that picture. It creates suspicion from both sides: NGOs think media are only interested in politics, and media think NGOs are only do-gooders, with nothing to sell," he adds.

Volkhart, a German citizen who lives in Johannesburg, agrees that enmity or ambivalence are not the only models for relations between media and civil society, pointing to South Africa, where the struggle against apartheid made strong allies of media and civil society, and where an organization called Media Monitoring plays an important role in developing media literacy. Organizations like it—the Glasnost Defense Fund in Russia, Adil Soz in Kazakhstan, Telekritika in Ukraine, and hundreds of others around the world—are making the link between human rights and the right to information and expression, building the structure for both civic and media literacy, a future for journalism and media that is both profitable and socially responsible.

Recommendations

- U.S. donors and policymakers need to change their media support strategies to reflect, promote, and support the importance of media and global communication to democracy building, international development, and global freedoms.

- U.S. and international donors should cooperate to increase efficiency and efficacy in developing local institutions. Donors must coordinate their efforts to maximize their impact and strengths, and settle philosophical differences that create competition, duplication, and waste in building media capacity.

- Donors should eliminate restrictions that limit support for small and fledging local efforts to develop special-interest associations. They should develop mechanisms that encourage special interests with different causes and agendas to collaborate together to earn financial support.

- Donors should reward local and regional solidarity among effective institutions and associations, and encourage programs that support growth by sharing money and resources and leveraging social impact.

- Donors and implementers should expand the community of people involved in media-assistance programs, identifying and partnering with local implementers to assess journalism and information systems in light of locally defined needs. They should also enlist and include the citizenry—from common people to political leaders, activists to ministers, youth to business people—to develop projects devoted to improving the media they consume. This will influence media's civic literacy and responsiveness.

- Donors and implementers should develop new media-assistance programs focused on the economic, regulatory, and tax aspects of media development. To date, this has not been properly funded, remains a major weakness, and has contributed to the rise of commercial media that ignores its social role and responsibilities.

- Donors and implementers should create and invest in programs that build the media literacy of youth, who are experiencing an information explosion without education that could help them make sense of what they read, hear, and see.

- Donors and implementers should develop community-based programs that address media literacy at local, national, and regional levels, from reading age to old age. Programs should focus on local needs, start small, test for impact, and keep building.

- The U.S. government should increase, intensify, and expand international exchange programs, to demonstrate to media practitioners in developing countries the value of supporting institutions, and recruit the best hosts to administer the most creative programs so that together they embody the media and democracy values funders and policymakers seek to exchange.

Endnotes

[1] An exhaustive survey of the world's landscape of supporting institutions is not possible under the limits of this project.

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[3] Freedom House, *Freedom of the Press 2007: A Global Survey of Media Independence* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2008), 2.

[4] USAID Global Center for Democracy and Governance, "Media Law Reform in New Democracies," *Democracy Dialogue*, July 1998, http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/usaid/ddmedia_final.pdf.

[5] U.S. Agency for International Development, *The Role of Media in Democracy: A Strategic Approach* (Washington: USAID Center for Democracy and Governance, Bureau for Global Programs, Field Support, and Research, June 1999).

[6] Government and private funders from the United States and other Western countries commonly consider supporting institutions to include a country's legal and judiciary infrastructure, in particular organizations that monitor legal developments and espouse media law reform. Organizations with a legal focus are not included in the scope of this report.

[7] The other three are professional training, business-skill development, and improvements in the legal environment.

[8] Meg Gaydosik (senior media development advisor, U.S. Agency for International Development), in telephone interview with the author, December 11, 2007.

[9] Mark Koenig, (senior media advisor, U.S. Agency for International Development), in interview with the author, August 13, 2007.

[10] Troy Etulain (senior civil society expert, U.S. Agency for International Development), in interview with the author, August 13, 2007.

[11] Monroe E. Price and Peter Krug, *The Enabling Environment For Free and Independent Media* (Washington: USAID Center for Democracy and Governance, December 1, 2000).

[12] International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX), *Media Sustainability Index 2006/2007: Development of Sustainable Independent Media in Europe and Eurasia* (Washington: 2007), xi.

[13] International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX), *Media Sustainability Index 2005: Development of Sustainable Independent Media in the Middle East and North Africa* (Washington: 2006), xi.

[14] Ibid., x.

[15] IREX, *Media Sustainability Index 2006/2007*, 118.

[16] International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX), *Media Sustainability Index Africa*, (Washington: 2007), http://www.irex.org/programs/MSI_Africa/madagascar.asp.

[17] IREX, *Media Sustainability Index 2006/2007*, 160.

[18] Ibid., 170.

[19] IREX, *Media Sustainability Index Africa*, http://www.irex.org/programs/MSI_Africa/Djibouti.asp.

[20] IREX, *Media Sustainability Index 2006/2007*, 132.

[21] IREX, *Media Sustainability Index 2005*, 13.

[22] Mark Wilson and Kitty Warnock, *At the Heart of Change: The Role of Communication in Sustainable Development* (London: Panos London, 2007), www.panos.org.uk/heartofchange.

[23] Wilson and Warnock, *At the Heart of Change*, 51.

[24] Kitty Warnock, Emrys Schoemaker, and Mark Wilson, *The Case for Communication in Sustainable Development* (London: Panos London 2007), http://panos.org.uk/PDF/reports/case_for_communication_web.pdf, 5.

[25] Mark Harvey, ed., *Media Matters: Perspectives on Advancing Governance & Development from the Global Forum for Media Development*, (Internews Europe, 2007).

[26] Mark Harvey, ed., *Media Matters*, 170.

[27] Elisa Tinsley (director of Knight International Journalism Fellowships, International Center for Journalists), in interview with the author, August 16, 2007.

[28] Price and Krug, *The Enabling Environment For Free and Independent Media*.

[29] Manana Alsamazyan, "Media Assistance in the Former Soviet Union: A Job Well Done?" in *Media Matters*, Mark Harvey, ed. (Internews Europe, 2007), 133-37.

[30] Harry Surjadi (executive director of the Society of Indonesian Environmental Journalists), in interview with the author in Dili, Timor-Leste, August 25, 2007.

[31] The U.S. Energy Information Administration, http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/cabs/indoe.html; The Nature Conservancy Indonesia Web site: http://www.nature.org/wherewework/asiapacific/indonesia.

[32] Harry Surjadi, in interview with the author.

[33] Manana Aslamazyan (former director of Internews Russia), in interview with the author, October 4, 2007.

[34] Meg Gaydosik (senior media development advisor, U.S. Agency for International Development), in telephone interview with the author, July 13, 2007.

[35] Hawley Johnson (Ph.D. candidate at New York University and researcher for U.S. Agency for International Development), in telephone interview with the author, October 8, 2007.

[36] Craig LaMay, "Democratization and the Dilemmas of Media Independence," *The International Journal of Not-for-Profit Law*, International Center for Not-for-Profit Law, Volume 8, Issue 4 (August 2006), http://www.icnl.org/knowledge/ijnl/vol8iss4/special_5.htm.

[37] Hawley Johnson, in interview with the author.

[38] Monroe Price, "The Enabling Environment for Free and Independent Media," in *Media Matters*, Mark Harvey, ed., (Internews Europe, 2007), 99.

[39] Drew Sullivan (founder, Center for Investigative Reporting in Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina), in telephone interview with the author, July 29, 2007.

[40] Hawley Johnson, in interview with the author.

[41] Drew Sullivan, in interview with the author.

[42] Price, *Media Matters*.

[43] Wilson and Warnock, *At the Heart of Change*, 31.

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