

U.S. Public and Private Funding of Independent Media Development Abroad

A Report to the Center for International Media Assistance

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**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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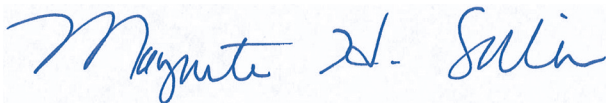
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Preface

The Center for International Media Assistance (CIMA) at the National Endowment for Democracy commissioned this study on U.S. public and private funding of the independent media sector abroad to learn who are the major donors, on what part of the sector they focus (direct assistance to media outlets, journalism training, public information campaigns, improving the legal environment for media, and media management), and what opportunities exist to educate potential donors about the importance of developing independent media as an essential component of democratic societies.

CIMA is grateful to Peter Graves, an international development consultant with extensive experience in independent media development, for designing and managing the survey, research, and writing, and for his insights on this topic.

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



Marguerite Sullivan
Senior Director
Center for International Media Assistance

Executive Summary

U.S. efforts to develop an independent media sector abroad are a relatively recent phenomenon. Both public and private funders have supported journalism training since World War II, but some of the most significant opportunities to develop the independent media sector came after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. Since most media in Eastern European countries and the former Soviet republics were controlled by the state during the Cold War, the fall of communism spurred American interest in developing free and independent media in these countries as a building block toward transparent and democratic societies.

Today, U.S. official development assistance and private sector philanthropy are at their highest levels ever, and represent an opportunity to increase funding for the independent media sector worldwide through outreach and advocacy to donors about the importance of building and strengthening independent media around the world.¹

Independent media sector development includes direct assistance to media outlets, journalism training, creating a legal enabling environment for independent media, media/business management training to ensure financial sustainability, and developing nongovernmental professional associations supportive of independent media.

Another aspect of the development of the media is “communications for development”—projects that use media to

produce and disseminate messages aimed at improving quality of life through education, social mobilization, and changing behavior associated with health or environmental risks. While “communications for development” is important for overall international development efforts, programs specifically targeting the development of independent media are also essential. A society cannot be truly democratic without independent media, and the independent media sector can only endure if it becomes self-sustaining. Therefore, assistance aimed specifically at developing and strengthening independent media should be a primary component of overall development efforts rather than a secondary consideration.

This report is based on results of a survey conducted by CIMA of public and private media sector funders and implementers, interviews, and a review of literature.

Major 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**.

Funding Survey

Since 2000, annual U.S. official development assistance has more than doubled, from \$10 billion to \$22.7 billion in 2006, according to an estimate by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. In 2005, the U.S. government spent \$27.6 billion on official development assistance, the largest expenditure ever by a donor country.²

Private U.S. giving to developing countries is also growing, and surpasses government assistance. The Hudson Institute's Center for Global Prosperity found that U.S. private giving to developing countries grew from \$62.1 billion in 2003 to \$95.2 billion in 2005.³

CIMA conducted a survey in May 2007 to learn how much of this overall U.S. public and private giving went to develop independent media around the world. The

survey, targeting 140 government and private sector funders and implementers, was not exhaustive, but rather aimed to provide a snapshot of the sector. The survey did not include all private organizations involved in “communications for development,” nor did it include government public diplomacy funding or Department of Defense funding for media-related projects. It focused primarily on funders of projects whose goal is to strengthen independent media abroad.

CIMA's survey found that U.S. spending on the independent media sector abroad exceeded \$142 million in 2006, with government spending accounting for nearly \$69 million, private funding over \$60 million, and government-supported nonprofit organizations (the National Endowment for Democracy and the U.S. Institute of Peace) \$13 million.

Media Development Funders

Government Funders

	<u>Total Spending (2006)</u>
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

	<u>Total Spending (2006)</u>
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

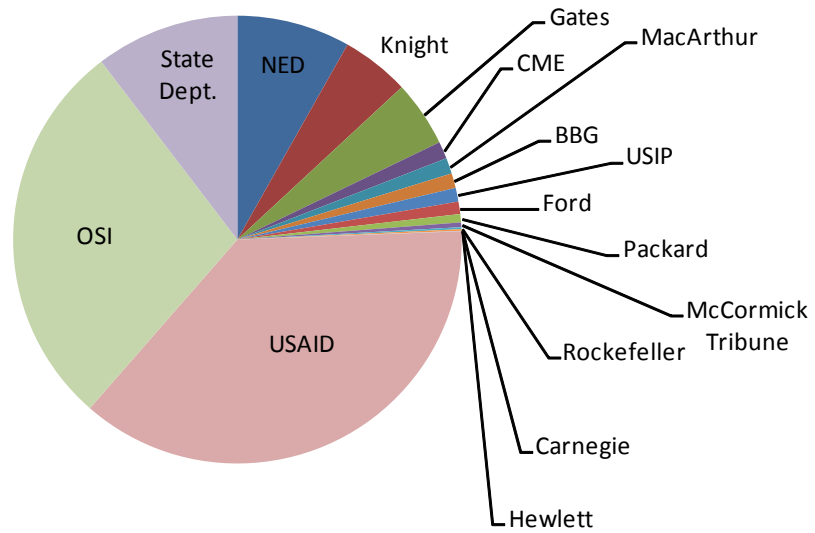
	<u>Total Spending (2006)</u>
National Endowment for Democracy	\$ 11,658,242
U.S. Institute of Peace	\$ 1,413,019
Total Government-Supported Nonprofit Funding	\$ 13,071,261

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

U.S. Funding of Media Development (based on survey responses, interviews, and online searches)



Public Sector Funding

Funds provided by the U.S. government for international development support the government's overall foreign policy mission, as outlined by the U.S. Department of State, to "advance freedom for the benefit of the American people and the international community by helping to build and sustain a more democratic, secure, and prosperous world composed of well-governed states that respond to the needs of their people, reduce widespread poverty, and act responsibly within the international system."⁴

According to the State Department-U.S. Agency for International Development's *Strategic Plan Fiscal Years 2007-2012*, 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 (e.g., reporting and investigative techniques), processes, and products, including Web-based services."⁵

In 2006, the government provided nearly \$69 million, or nearly 49 percent, of the funding for independent media abroad identified by this survey.

U.S. AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) is 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.

USAID is divided into four geographic bureaus (Sub-Saharan Africa; Asia and the Near East; Europe and Eurasia; and Latin America and the Caribbean) and three functional bureaus (Global Health; Democracy, Conflict, and Humanitarian Assistance; and Economic Growth, Agriculture and Trade). Only the Europe and Eurasia Bureau and the Democracy, Conflict, and Humanitarian Assistance Bureau have staff positions dedicated to international media development. In the other bureaus, officers in charge of overall democracy efforts include media as part of their funding considerations.

Geographic Bureaus

Media development programs funded by USAID's geographic bureaus or missions are included in each area's multi-year strategy, with USAID mission technical and program personnel providing justification as to why media development activities should be funded. These program justifications require in-depth analysis of the media sector in each country, including the results of on-the-ground assessments, research on existing programs supported by U.S. allies and privately funded groups, and an initial results framework that shows what progress can be expected if a program is implemented. Most USAID media development programs have funding windows of three years, but programs can be extended, subject to the availability of funds.

As a result of efforts in post-Soviet states to transform state-controlled media into independent media, Europe and

Building Independent Media in Afghanistan

USAID/OTI awarded Internews Network a \$1.4 million grant in 2003 to implement a twelve-month project, “Building Independent Media in Afghanistan.” The project completion date was later extended to mid-2006, and OTI increased its obligations to the project over time to reach \$7.8 million.

Afghanistan had no tradition of independent media. Internews provided primary support to 31 new, independent radio stations around the country and major technical support to more than a half dozen other new stations, provided journalism and other training opportunities to state radio stations, launched a local nongovernmental organization for media development, and helped improve the regulatory environment to make it more accessible and less prohibitive to Afghan media.

John Langlois, Senior Media Advisor at USAID/OTI, attributes the success of this project to the close cooperation OTI had with the new Afghan government, Afghans interested in starting new media businesses, international donors, and implementing organizations. According to Langlois, “Circumstances and a confluence of events created this cooperation. There was lots of work to be done and lots of money. There was general agreement on the type of work that had to be done. Regular meetings were held and, two years after hostilities ceased, the same donors and implementers were at these meetings, signifying a long-term commitment to the project. The system worked because of an agreed-upon strategy, money and people.”⁸

Eurasia is the only one of USAID’s four geographic bureaus with a designated media development expert. The Europe and Eurasia Bureau produced the first *Media Sustainability Index* in 2001. The bureau continues to fund the annual production of this index, which measures the development of independent media in the region. The index not only assesses progress and regression of media systems, but also serves as a guide to USAID in deciding where media development funds are needed most. For example, Belarus, Moldova, Armenia, Russia, and the Central Asian republics (Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, and Kyrgyzstan) scored poorly in the 2006-07 index.

Office of Democracy and Governance

USAID’s Office of Democracy and Governance (DCHA/DG) works to increase development of politically active civil societies in other countries, including independent media. Reflecting USAID’s decentralized approach to media assistance, DCHA/DG focuses most of its efforts on providing technical advice to USAID missions that are already implementing or are planning to launch independent media assistance programs. Most DCHA/DG funding in the media sector currently goes to improving media sector assessment tools, including the *Media Sustainability Index* for the Middle East and North Africa and the

soon-to-be-published index for sub-Saharan Africa. The *Media Sustainability Index* for the Middle East and North Africa is funded jointly with the Department of State's Middle East Partnership Initiative (MEPI) and implemented by the International Research & Exchanges Board (IREX). The index assesses media development in 17 countries and the Palestinian territories and is a good example of cooperation by government organizations (USAID and MEPI) on a media development project. DCHA/DG also contributes approximately one-quarter of the funding, plus administrative support, to the *Media Sustainability Index* for Africa, which will assess 39 sub-Saharan countries for 2006-07. The rest of the funding for the Africa index is supplied by the Canadian International Development Agency, with funding administered by the World Bank Institute.

Year-to-year DCHA/DG media sector funding has fluctuated, but the office manages roughly \$500,000 annually for media-related work, according to

Senior Advisor for Independent Media Development Mark Koenig. In previous years, the office also administered programs for journalism, as well as media management training, general media development programs in the Middle East-North Africa region (jointly with MEPI), and media-sector workshops.

Office of Transition Initiatives

USAID's Office of Transition Initiatives (OTI), which was created under the Bureau for Democracy, Conflict, and Humanitarian Assistance 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.

OTI has worked in 31 countries transitioning from war, conflict, or major political events and has gained a reputation for implementing quick and flexible programs. Its programs are shorter in duration than

Building Media Capacity in Central America

A grant from the State Department's Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor to the Trust for the Americas, a nonprofit organization created by the Organization of American States, is building journalism capacity and promoting freedom of the press in El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Panama, according to the State Department. The program, started two years ago, trained more than 20 journalists and journalism professionals in El Salvador in investigative journalism skills. In Honduras, the program spurred the creation of the first civil society coalition to promote national legislation on access to information. In November 2006, the legislation was approved. Journalists in Nicaragua were trained on media objectivity, and media coverage of the presidential election was monitored to measure bias in reporting. In Panama, a Media Ethics Committee was established, one of only three in Latin America.¹⁰

Training Emerging Media Leaders in the Middle East

IREX's Emerging Leaders Fellowship Program, funded by the U.S. Department of State's Middle East Partnership Initiative, provides media leaders from the Middle East the opportunity to participate in a training course at Northwestern University and work with a mentor at a U.S. media outlet. Host media in the United States have included WGBH (Boston), *washingtonpost.com*, WHUT (Washington), WBUR (Boston), *The Seattle Times*, and the *Pittsburgh Tribune-Review*.

The fellows adapted their experiences upon their return home, making substantial changes in their own work based on what they learned in the United States. Two fellows from Morocco added a youth section to their newspaper, in partnership with a local school. The newspaper now receives 20 to 30 submissions from young writers each week, selecting approximately five for publication. Two Lebanese outlets increased revenue from online advertising based on concepts developed during the fellowship. The Voice of Lebanon radio updated its Web presence with more current and interactive content. Fellows from state-owned media brought back new approaches and ideas that have been presented to their senior management.¹³

other USAID programs, with OTI's presence in-country usually lasting two to three years. OTI's overall goals include "promoting reconciliation, jumpstarting local economies, supporting nascent independent media, and fostering peace and democracy through innovative programming."⁶

OTI media initiatives have included improving broadcast capacity in Kosovo, expanding access to news coverage for rural populations in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and providing information to refugees and displaced persons from Afghanistan and West Timor.⁷

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

The State Department spent nearly \$15 million in 2006 on international media sector development—10 percent of all funding identified by this survey.

Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor

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.

DRL programs offer grants of one to three years to countries the State Department has identified as high priority for democracy promotion efforts worldwide. To ensure that DRL funds go to the neediest countries, with as little duplication as possible with other funders, DRL selects countries where USAID either is not active or where gaps exist in programs conducted by USAID and other funders.

In October 2007, for example, DRL issued a Request for Proposals for a \$500,000 grant for independent media development in

Somalia in anticipation of elections in the country in 2008 and 2009.⁹

Middle East Partnership Initiative

The Middle East Partnership Initiative (MEPI), which was created in 2002 as a way for the U.S. government to reach out to democracy reformers in the Middle East, includes approximately \$3 million per year in support to independent media, out of a total budget of \$110 million for fiscal year 2006. MEPI funds have provided training for journalists in Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Lebanon, and Bahrain in basic reporting skills, media ethics, and online journalism, as well as election coverage. Elections in Lebanon were used as a training ground.¹¹

With MEPI funding, IREX's project plan for the Middle East includes grants to local organizations working on media law reform, media fellowships, local TV production grants, media management development, and regional advocacy and networking efforts.¹²

Other Bureaus

Other bureaus at the State Department also support media projects. For example, the Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration (PRM) was one of three funders of an Internews radio project in Chad for Darfur refugees living in four refugee camps. PRM paid for the overall administration of the program and local costs associated directly with Radio Absoun in Iriba and La Voix du Ouaddai in Abeche. This included the salaries of expatriates, local staff, equipment, rent, and fuel. USAID's OTI supported a radio program on gender-based violence, "She Speaks, She Listens," including the costs of the salary of

the expatriate coordinator of the program, the reporting team, equipment, and other local costs of the weekly show. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees funded the operating costs for Radio Sila in Goz Beida, costs associated with a repeater in Farchana from which the programs of La Voix du Ouaddai were transmitted, and the costs associated with coverage of the four refugee camps located in the Farchana area.

BROADCASTING BOARD OF GOVERNORS

The Broadcasting Board of Governors (BBG), which became an independent federal agency in 1999, is responsible for all U.S. government and government-sponsored nonmilitary 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, as well as engineering services through the International Broadcasting Bureau (IBB).

BBG's total budget for fiscal year 2006 was \$645 million, of which \$1.5 million went to the training of international journalists. For 2006, this included workshops for journalists in southern Africa, Mozambique, and Bolivia; radio broadcast training in Pakistan; community radio station training in Argentina; and workshops in Nigeria and Kenya on covering avian influenza.

Historically IBB had a larger training budget, but when USAID was merged into the State Department in the late 1990s and BBG became an independent agency, IBB's training department was reduced to two people. IBB's marketing department took over many training activities, linking

international training to market development. In addition, BBG absorbed Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, which continued training international journalists. Over the past seven years, BBG has received millions of dollars from other agencies, primarily the State Department and USAID, to conduct

international media training. The State Department's Support for Eastern European Democracy (SEED) program provides BBG with about \$1 million annually for international media training. USAID has also provided grants for training on global health (HIV/AIDS and avian flu), and other areas.

Private Sector Funding

Private sector funding of independent media abroad, which totaled over \$60 million, or 42 percent, of the total funding identified in this survey, has several advantages over public financing. Leadership at most American foundations and corporations can make final funding decisions in a matter of weeks. Implementing organizations using private sector funds can operate in countries that would not welcome U.S. government-financed programs. Private sector organizations also are not directly tied to policies or politics of the administration in power, which can allow for more flexibility and longer-term strategies.

In the Middle East, local media organizations can find it more difficult to do business with U.S. organizations whose main source of funding is the U.S. government. “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,” said Patrick Butler, vice president of programs at the International Center for Journalists (ICFJ). “For example, one potential partner in Egypt told us that they were eager to work with us, but would not join with us on a U.S. government-funded project because it might be perceived badly by the Egyptian government and by some journalists. This isn’t always the case; other partners in Egypt and elsewhere in the Middle East have been eager to work with us no matter the source of funding, trusting that ICFJ would not participate in any project that could be perceived as propaganda for the

Private sector funding of independent media abroad has several advantages over public financing.

U.S. government. But in the Middle East, it has become more difficult to work with U.S. government funding.”

Open Society Institute

The Open Society Institute (OSI) allocated \$40 million to development of independent media abroad in 2006—28 percent of all funding identified in this survey, and two-thirds of private sector funds identified.

OSI’s support of independent media development grew directly from the experiences of founder George Soros and OSI President Aryeh Neier. As young men, they experienced firsthand how Nazi Germany’s control of media and information affected peoples’ lives. Soros, who was born in Hungary and emigrated to the United States, sought to develop “open societies,” with independent media activists at the forefront of change.¹⁴

Among private U.S. funders, OSI has the best developed and most diversified media development program. It concentrates on the major areas of media sector development, including supporting journalism training, media management training, association development, media law, and legal defense. It has also been one of the principal organizers of donor conferences and meetings to discuss best practices and coordinate programs and activities with other donors and implementers. OSI was the initial supporter of the Media Development Loan Fund, a nonprofit organization that provides

low-cost financing to independent media in emerging democracies.

OSI's Media Program "is committed to providing assistance to media outlets that promote democratic values and demonstrate through their editorial approach a high level of professionalism, independence, and openness in presenting different views."¹⁶ For example, it partnered with Medienhilfe, a Swiss NGO specializing in independent media development, to help develop Roma media. It also supported projects by the South East European Network for Professionalization of Media examining media ethics in Southeastern Europe, and the effects of concentrated media ownership and lack of transparency on editorial independence and news content.¹⁷

Media assistance projects are also funded under OSI's Information Program, which provides access to tools and networks in an effort to promote democratic governance. One grantee, the Center for Advanced Media in Prague, developed and released a free, open-source software tool called Campcaster that allows broadcasters to store and exchange content over the Internet. Campcaster helped independent and community radio stations in Hungary, Liberia, and Senegal organize broadcasts of news, interviews and music.¹⁸

John S. and James L. Knight Foundation

The John S. and James L. Knight Foundation, created in 1950, is one of the oldest U.S. foundations focused on improving journalism

Among private U.S. funders, OSI has the best developed and most diversified media development program.

worldwide. The foundation's journalism initiatives program spends approximately \$7 million per year on international journalism training. 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."¹⁹

Since 1994, the Knight International Journalism Fellowship Program, implemented by ICFJ, has sent more than 200 American journalists overseas to train local journalists in less-developed countries. In 2006, the fellowship program was modified by the Knight Foundation and ICFJ to include international and American journalists as fellows; select journalists and media managers and other media experts based on individual high-impact projects; require language proficiency; deploy fellows for longer periods of time; and place as many fellows as possible in "new media" projects.

According to ICFJ, the Knight International Journalism Fellowship Program has trained more than 30,000 journalists, media managers, and journalism students around the world in professional journalism and business practices.²⁰ Fellows have written interactive teaching tools, including "10 Steps to Citizen Journalism Online," which was published online by ICFJ.²¹ Videographers from Egypt to East Timor have been trained in how to cover issues of social, political, and economic significance. Investigative journalists trained by Knight

Fellows have uncovered government corruption around the world, including in Bolivia, where reporters from the *Santa Cruz Económico* revealed that the Venezuelan government was blocking soybean shipments from Bolivia allegedly due to the political affiliations of the Bolivian farmers.²²

Defending Press Freedom in Latin America

Since 1995, the Knight Foundation has contributed \$7.7 million to the Inter American Press Association's Impunity Project, which conducts independent investigations into the deaths of journalists in Latin America. "Before this project, the murderers of journalists operated with virtually 100 percent impunity," said Eric Newton, vice president of Knight Foundation's journalism program, adding that the Impunity Project got the rate down to 57 percent. "If this grant works, for the first time in journalism history in the Americas, justice will come to a majority of the cases involving the murder of journalists in the Americas," he said. The project includes a public awareness campaign, danger training for journalists, "rapid response" investigations, and calls for action by heads of state in the most dangerous countries.²⁷

Recently, the foundation introduced the Knight News Challenge, a contest that will award \$25 million over five years for "innovative ideas using digital experiments to transform community news."²³

The Knight Foundation also partners with the Ford Foundation, the McCormick Tribune Foundation, and Ethics and Excellence in

Journalism Foundation to fund the Challenge Fund for Journalism, "a capacity-building initiative launched in 2003 that helps journalism organizations broaden their base of financial support through challenge grants, fund-raising training, and organizational development coaching."²⁴ The grants, which are intended to build the effectiveness of the organization's management capacities, require the winners to match the grant equally or double it. While the bulk of the grants go to U.S.-focused journalism organizations, internationally focused groups—including the International Women's Media Foundation and The Press Institute for Women in the Developing World—were among the awardees, with grants totaling \$99,000.²⁵

The Knight Foundation was one of the funders of an Internews-implemented emergency radio program (*Peuneugah Aceh*, "News from Aceh") in Aceh, Indonesia, after the 2004 tsunami devastated the area. The radio program, produced by a team of local Acehnese journalists for 18 months, until funding ended in September 2006, broadcast critical information on reconstruction and rehabilitation efforts to the citizens of Aceh.²⁶

Central European Media Enterprises

Central European Media Enterprises (CME), a private broadcasting company founded in 1994 by American businessman and former Ambassador Ronald Lauder, spent \$1.75 million in 2006 on internal training and other media development activities at its operations in Central Europe, including a "media university" in Romania for its editors and journalists. CME is one of the largest private broadcasters in Central Europe, operating 15 stations in Croatia, Czech Republic, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, and Ukraine.²⁸

Internet Radio in Jordan: Reporting Local Problems without Censorship

In 2000, Daoud Kuttab, a journalist based in Amman, Jordan, wanted to start an independent radio station focused on local news. “Everyone was talking about everyone else’s problems and not their own,” Kuttab says. “I wanted a station that would focus on our own problems, right here in Amman.” So he conceived a plan to create an Internet radio station, convinced the mayor of Amman and UNESCO to sponsor it, and obtained funding from the Open Society Institute, UNESCO, and the National Endowment for Democracy to bring it online. In the autumn of 2000, www.ammannet.net was launched.

When students at a local university held a demonstration, the authorities forced all television camera crews off the campus. An AmmanNet reporter was able to call the station and capture real-time interviews with demonstrators using a mobile phone. Kuttab, a Palestinian, telephoned a radio station on the Palestinian West Bank and convinced its managers to relay AmmanNet’s audio stream via their FM transmitter. The signal carried back across the Jordan River to Amman, allowing Jordanian radio listeners to follow a protest demonstration for the first time as it happened. “People could actually hear the voices of the demonstrators,” Kuttab says. “And we did not get into trouble.”

AmmanNet’s presence on the Web helped reformist ministers liberalize Jordan’s broadcasting laws. For the first time, Kuttab says, the government created a mechanism for a private company or individual to obtain a frequency. “We are unique,” Kuttab says. “We don’t practice self-censorship. We are not owned by the government. We are not owned by business people in bed with the government. So they can’t stop us from doing things we believe in. We have become the trendsetter in the media here. Many times we break a story, the local newspapers pick it up, and the government reacts to the newspaper stories.”¹⁵

According to CEO Michael Garin, CME is successful because it delivers independent news to a region that for decades lacked independent media. The company plans to expand its operations to other countries in the region, including Turkey, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Macedonia.²⁹

McCormick Tribune Foundation

The McCormick Tribune Foundation, which spent \$480,000 on media assistance in 2006, gives grants to nonprofit organizations working to defend journalists. 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.” It focuses in particular on Latin America.

Carnegie Corporation of New York

The Carnegie Corporation focuses its media-related funding mainly on U.S. university 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 for journalists, editors, and publishers in Nigeria, and \$22,700 to ICFJ for dissemination of a media training manual for Arab and American journalists.³⁰

Other Foundations

A number of other foundations that did not reply to the survey fund international media projects or “communications for development” projects that use media to transmit development messages. Information on funding for these projects was obtained from these foundations’ Web sites and interviews.

In pursuing its mission—“to increase opportunity and equity for those most in need”—**the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation** has designated three program areas—global health, global development, and U.S. programs.

The Gates Foundation allocated nearly \$6.75 million in 2006 to BBC World Service Trust for projects to promote condom use in India in order to prevent HIV/AIDS, and for providing information about global health as part of professional media training, as well as \$361,776 to support a professional development program for media scholarship winners from developing countries selected by the International AIDS Society at its 2006 Toronto meeting.

Also in 2006, the foundation was part of a private consortium, along with the Knight Foundation and OSI, that funded the Health Journalism Partnership. Implemented by Internews, Panos London, and ICFJ, the purpose of the partnership was to build support for health journalism in countries with acute health crises.

The Gates Foundation supports other health journalism projects, such as Kaiser’s International Health Journalism Fellowship Project,³¹ GlobalHealthReporting.org,³² and *Maisha Yetu*, a project to improve news reporting on HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, and malaria in Africa.³³ The projects are implemented by the International Women’s Media Foundation and the Kaiser Family Foundation.

In an email to CIMA about its work in the media development sector, the Gates Foundation said that “other media capacity-building projects are currently under development.”³⁴

The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation spent more than \$1.6 million in 2006, including training journalists in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Sudan, and

Business Journalism Training in China

The International Center for Journalists’ global business journalism program in China is a good example of the nimbleness of private sector funds. ICFJ took four months to develop the project and seven months to raise the funds for it. The first class of 20 students entered the master’s degree program in September 2007. Funded by Merrill Lynch, Deloitte Touche Tohmatsu, the Knight Foundation, and Bloomberg, the program—the first of its kind—will train students how to cover global business, economics, and finance at Tsinghua University, one of China’s most prestigious universities.

Uganda on the International Criminal Court, strengthening environmental media capacity in the Lower Mekong River region of Southeast Asia, and activities to support and monitor media rights in Russia.

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.

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.”³⁵ In 2006, the foundation’s support for projects that involved media totaled \$854,400, including development and production of radio serial dramas in Nigeria about family planning and HIV/AIDS, advocacy through the media in Ethiopia about family planning, HIV/AIDS and environmental protection, and support for the “Changing Tides” radio drama in Micronesia about environmental and social issues.

The Rockefeller Foundation gave \$200,000 in 2006 to “Imaging Our Mekong,” a fellowship program that allows journalists from the six countries that make up the Mekong River region to cover cross-border issues. It has supported the program since 2002.³⁶

The Power of the Private Sector

One example of the power of private sector support to independent media is Internet media company RealNetworks’ assistance to radio station B92 in Serbia in the 1990s. B92 started as a student-run station in 1989, the year Slobodan Milosevic was elected president of Serbia. After the Serbian government barred B92 from broadcasting, RealNetworks helped B92 transmit its programming over the Internet. B92 used a two-stream server that RealNetworks donated to the station to relay B92’s signal to a server in the Netherlands, where the signal was transmitted over servers provided free of charge by XS4ALL, a Dutch Internet service provider, which made the program available to a worldwide audience.

The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation awarded \$50,000 to Internews Network for emergency support of the Media Support Mission, which provided information to people affected by the 2006 earthquake in Indonesia.

A variety of other private-sector organizations have supported independent media development internationally on a limited scale. **The Glaser Foundation’s** support of independent Serbian broadcast station B92 is one example of how smaller foundations and organizations support particular aspects of journalism training or media development.³⁷

Implementing organizations such as ICFJ, Internews, IREX, and the International Women’s Media Foundation receive support from private-sector organizations for targeted programs.

ICFJ receives private-sector funding for many of its environmental journalism training programs from the Critical Ecosystem Partnership Fund, a joint venture of the World Bank’s Global Environment Facility, Conservation International, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, the government of Japan, and L’Agence Française de Développement.

IREX was able to assist Serbian and other media covering the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia at The Hague through support from the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, USAID, the international law firm Covington & Burling LLP, and Press Now of the Netherlands.³⁸

Internews worked with a number of funders on the Earth Journalism Network, launched in 2004 to help journalists in developing countries report on environmental issues more effectively. The Network sponsored the launch of the Society of Indonesian Environmental Journalists in 2006; workshops on environmental issues in Thailand, Vietnam, Laos, and Mexico; and a conference on environmental law in China. Funders include the Marisla Foundation, John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, Wallace Alexander Gerbode Foundation, V. Kann Rasmussen Foundation, Robert & Michelle Friend Foundation, Ford Foundation, Howard G. Buffett Foundation, UN Environment Programme, Alumni Fund of the Philanthropy Workshop West at the Tides Foundation, and an anonymous donor from the Rockefeller family.³⁹

Freedom Forum Chose New Headquarters Over International Operations

The Freedom Forum, a nonpartisan foundation established in 1991 “dedicated to free press, free speech, and free spirit for all people,” had a significant international assistance component until 2001, when it closed all of its international operations—offices in London, Buenos Aires, Hong Kong, and Johannesburg—due to erosion of about 30 percent of its \$1 billion endowment from stock market losses. In an interview with the *American Journalism Review*, John Schidlovsky, director of the International Reporting Project at Johns Hopkins University’s School of Advanced International Studies, said the closing of Freedom Forum’s international operations was a significant loss. “The Freedom Forum’s great contribution was a huge presence overseas and work with international journalists in their regions,” he said. “It’s needed more than ever when the U.S. is involved in a global story.” Some criticized the organization’s decision to cut the international program after spending \$100 million on property for new headquarters in Washington. Freedom Forum Chairman and Chief Executive Officer Charles Overby called the changes a “reorganization,” but added, “It was not easy to cut.”⁴⁰

Government-supported Nonprofit Organizations

In 2006, the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) allocated nearly \$11.7 million to independent media development worldwide. The U.S. Institute of Peace (USIP) allocated \$1.5 million that year.

NED is a private, nonprofit organization created in 1983 to strengthen democratic institutions around the world through nongovernmental efforts. It is governed by an independent, bipartisan board of directors, and with its annual congressional appropriation, makes hundreds of grants each year to support prodemocracy groups in Africa, Asia, Central and Eastern Europe, Latin America, the Middle East, and the former Soviet Union.

NED funded nearly 200 separate media-related development projects in 2006. For example, NED began supporting three nongovernmental radio stations broadcasting independent programming into North Korea, which has no independent media. The stations are run by North Korean defectors and South Korean democracy and human rights advocates. Refugees from North Korea have reported that North Koreans are taking the risk of modifying their radios, which were originally fixed to North Korean government stations. According to refugee accounts and other sources, black-market demand for radios from China is also increasing.

NED also gave grants in 2006 to Burmese exile media organizations Mizzima News Group, Democratic Voice of Burma, and *The Irrawaddy*. Despite attempts by Burma's

military regime to stifle independent news sources, some of the reporting and video footage that emerged from Burma during the August and September 2007 protests originated from these NED grantees, which use email, Web sites, video, podcasts, and monthly journals to distribute news.

In Niger, NED grantee Radio Anfani reports on violence in the north of the country and the resurgence by the Tuareg rebel group Niger Movement for Justice, despite a government ban on broadcasts about the subject. Radio Anfani reports on community issues that gave rise to the conflict and the division in public opinion between those who support a military solution and those who favor negotiations with the rebels.

Other media-assistance projects funded in 2006 by NED included: supporting the *Khartoum Monitor* in Sudan in order to promote a north-south dialogue and disseminate information about that nation's Comprehensive Peace Agreement; training and empowering women journalists in Pakistan; providing professional development of investigative journalists in Albania; supporting journalism schools in Kazakhstan; promoting the abolition of criminal defamation laws in Mexico; fostering a regional journalist association in Latin America; supporting an online radio station in Jordan that has since developed into a successful independent radio station; providing journalism training in Tajikistan and throughout Eurasia; supporting training by a journalism association and an independent radio and television network

in Somalia; and training a network of journalists in Iraq on how to publish articles online.⁴¹

USIP is a nonprofit organization funded by Congress and governed by a bipartisan board of directors appointed by the U.S. president which “seeks to help prevent and resolve violent conflicts, promote post-conflict stability and development, and increase peacebuilding capacity, tools, and intellectual capital worldwide.”⁴²

USIP media-related projects in 2006 included development of training modules and a handbook to promote responsible media coverage of conflict in Bangladesh; the first bi-national radio program in Cyprus, “Talk of the Island,” a call-in program that uses Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot NGOs and radio stations to encourage open dialogue between the two communities; production of television programming in Azerbaijan on the relationship between Islam and democratization; and training for journalists in Kosovo and Serbia to produce more balanced reporting about Kosovo-Serbia relations and sources of conflict.

Using Shortwave Radio to Inform North Koreans

Open Radio for North Korea, a NED grantee, broadcasts into North Korea by shortwave radio. Tae Keung-ha, president of Open Radio for North Korea, described in an interview with CNN the hunger for reliable information people have in a controlled society such as North Korea. “In a country of dictatorship, they trust rumors much more than their official broadcasts,” he said. Yet a diversity of media that adhere to professional journalistic ethics can win the trust of audiences accustomed to doubting their state-run media, he said, explaining that listeners in North Korea can “crosscheck” the information they receive from Open Radio for North Korea with other foreign outlets, such as Voice of America and Radio Free Asia. “The trust level is getting higher when they listen to the same story from all of these kinds of foreign radio [sources],” he said.⁴³

Potential Funding Sources

With the growth of U.S. private giving, there are several potential sources of new funding for independent international media development. These include corporations and foundations affiliated with the technology sector, remittances, pro bono assistance, and online donations.

Technology Sector

Yahoo Inc. gave \$1 million to Stanford University in 2006 to expand the university's Knight Fellowships for international journalists. The gift was criticized by some, however, because Yahoo in 2004 complied with Chinese government pressure to reveal names of journalists who had used Yahoo's services to post articles or send messages about democracy, which led to the imprisonment of Chinese journalists Shi Tao, Wang Xiaoning, and others.⁴⁴ In November 2007, Yahoo reached an out-of-court settlement with Shi and Wang's families to pay their legal bills and create a fund to "provide support to other political dissidents and their families."⁴⁵

Yahoo Inc. does not have a company foundation, but has an employee foundation called Yahoo! For Good that "is committed to making a difference in the world by empowering [Yahoo!] users and employees with products and services that inspire them to make a positive impact."⁴⁶

Discussions with technology company **Google** indicated that it is interested in providing access through the Google search engine to all government and public documents around the world and that it is potentially interested in projects to develop free and independent media.

Remittances

Remittances sent abroad by Americans and foreign nationals living in the United States totaled \$61.7 billion in 2005, according to the *Index of Global Philanthropy 2007*—equivalent to 65 percent of total U.S. private assistance to developing countries.⁴⁷ This offers enormous potential for individual or community support to independent media in the remittance senders' countries of birth or origin.

One successful example of such support by expatriates with ties to their homeland comes from Kosovo. RTV21, a television and radio station in Kosovo, established ties with the Albania/Kosovar diaspora in Switzerland and the United States after the station started operating in 2000. RTV21's owner, Aferdita Kelmendi, visited Zurich and cities in the United States to publicize her station and encourage expatriates to sign up for subscriptions to watch RTV21's programming. She brokered a deal with two satellite providers to carry her station's signal and, with assistance from USAID, uplinked the signal to these satellites. This example, in which RTV21 used a business strategy of pursuing expatriate customers to achieve profitability, demonstrates the potential of foreign nationals in the United States and Americans with strong ties abroad to assist foreign independent media.

Pro Bono Assistance

Some private sector assistance to independent media abroad comes in the form of *pro bono* work, often from individuals connected to an implementing organization. For example, Kurt Wimmer, senior vice

president and general counsel of Gannett Co., led efforts while he was a partner at Covington & Burling LLP to draft and analyze broadcast and licensing laws throughout the Balkans in the 1990s. The estimated value of the *pro bono* assistance, which was performed through IREX under the Professional Media program funded by USAID, totaled well over \$1 million, and resulted in the passage of laws providing a legal enabling environment for journalists in the region.

Internet Giving

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 economic development and international health issues, but few address the issues of democracy and governance or independent media development. This is a potential source of independent media development funds.

Conclusion

Despite the rising levels of U.S. official development assistance and private sector philanthropy, little has been allocated to develop independent media worldwide as a sector. Most funding for media abroad goes to “communications for development,” to transmit public information campaigns that address issues such as health, environment, and poverty.

To attract new funders, education and advocacy is needed to inform potential donors of the powerful impact independent media has had and can have in improving peoples’ lives in developing countries, and its indispensability in democratic societies.

Media sector development organizations should join organizations involved in “communications for development” to make the case to private foundations, private companies, and public agencies that building the independent media sector in less developed countries contributes to addressing other areas of concern, such as health and poverty issues. Efforts should also be directed toward making development of the independent media sector abroad a

Education and advocacy is needed to inform potential donors of the powerful impact independent media has had and can have in improving people’s lives.

priority at international gatherings, such as the World Economic Forum, the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Summit, and other events attended by world leaders.

Coordination of efforts across public and private sector funders is needed as well.

Although the private sector has been a strong supporter of many of the key media development programs around the world, including media development projects and “communications for development” projects that have had a lasting impact on local communities, most of these efforts have been small in scale, piecemeal in nature (one-time training exercises, for example), with little or no coordination between

the private donors and larger, government-funded programs. More coordination between the various private and government donors has great potential for increasing the impact of these programs.

This report offers a preliminary assessment of U.S. public and private funding of independent media abroad. More work is needed to further assess the extent of such funding and trends over time.

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