GLOBAL JOURNALISM PRACTICE AND NEW MEDIA PERFORMANCE

EDITED BY **YUSUF KALYANGO, JR.** AND **DAVID H. MOULD**

Global Journalism Practice and New Media Performance

This page intentionally left blank

Global Journalism Practice and New Media Performance

Edited by

Yusuf Kalyango, Jr and David H Mould
Ohio University, USA

palgrave
macmillan

Softcover reprint of the hardcover 1st edition 2014 978-1-137-44055-6

First published 2014 by
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN

Palgrave Macmillan in the UK is an imprint of Macmillan Publishers Limited, registered in England, company number 785998, of Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS.

Palgrave Macmillan in the US is a division of St Martin's Press LLC, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

Palgrave Macmillan is the global academic imprint of the above companies and has companies and representatives throughout the world.

ISBN 978-1-349-49451-4 ISBN 978-1-137-44056-3 (eBook)
DOI 10.1057/9781137440563

This book is printed on paper suitable for recycling and made from fully managed and sustained forest sources. Logging, pulping and manufacturing processes are expected to conform to the environmental regulations of the country of origin.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Global journalism practice and new media performance / [edited by] Yusuf Kalyango, Jr., Ohio University, USA ; David H. Mould, Ohio University, USA.
pages cm
1. Journalism. 2. Online journalism. 3. Digital media. I. Kalyango, Yusuf., editor. II. Mould, David H. (David Harley), 1949- editor.
PN4775.G565 2014
070.4—dc23

2014025263

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

Contents

List of Figures and Tables

Figures

Tables

Preface and Acknowledgements

Yusuf Kalyango Jr and David H Mould

One spring day in 2010, as we were driving back from the airport after an all-day briefing at the US Department of State in Washington, DC, we discussed the research potential of a new professional development program for international journalism and media educators. Ohio University had just been awarded a three-year contract to offer a summer Study of the U.S. Institute (SUSI) on Journalism and Media. Every year, 18 lecturers, some of them mid-career scholars and heads of journalism and media departments, would be visiting to learn about the US media and journalism, do research, and visit local, state, and national media.

We had a good grasp of what our academic and research program in the E. W. Scripps School of Journalism could offer, but struggled with a broader question. How will we know what participants think about US journalism and how it compares with the journalism they have taught and practiced in their own countries? Of course, we had a monitoring and evaluation plan, but it was mainly designed to measure outputs—the sessions and activities conducted—and what the participants liked or disliked about them. Gauging how they viewed or contextualized media was not in the scope of work. However, we understood that hosting international journalism and media educators from many countries over the next three years offered an exciting opportunity for the learning to go both ways. Most participants would be visiting the US for the first time and we expected they would be more than willing to share their perspectives. Some were already established researchers and others were experienced professional journalists and teachers, but without rigorous, peer-reviewed, research experience.

In 2010, the first round of focus groups was conducted near the end of the program. After six weeks of learning about journalism and media practice in the US, mass communication theories and research methodologies, journalism ethics, and working and traveling together, the participants felt comfortable enough with the program staff and each

other to speak frankly as they reflected on what they had observed and learned. After two more focus groups in 2011, we decided to take the project to a more ambitious stage—an open invitation to all participants to submit chapters for an edited book on global journalism practice and new media performance. One program objective was to improve the research skills of the educators, some of whom had been exposed to rigorous academic research for the first time during the program. How better to achieve this than for them to go through a demanding review and editing process to prepare a study for publication?

The 15 contributions selected for this volume span the globe—from Central and South America to Europe, Africa, and Asia—and come from educators at different types of institutions and at different stages in their careers. Most are publishing in English for the first time. Although the collection features studies on countries such as China, India, and Russia, where there is an extensive body of academic research on journalism and media, it also includes countries where the literature (at least in English) is scant, such as Armenia, El Salvador, Kyrgyzstan, Suriname, and Yemen. We are proud of the time and effort these educators put into their research and writing, and in revising their chapters over a period of one year. We hope that the experience, grueling though it may have been, will encourage them to continue doing rigorous, peer-reviewed, research and publication.

We would like to thank the Study of the US Branch at the US Department of State, Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, for its support of the program since 2010, and for renewing the contract for three more years until 2016. The editors particularly wish to thank Mr Kevin H Orchison, Ms Britta S Bjornlund, and the entire team at the Study of the US Branch for selecting such committed and hardworking groups of journalism and media educators. This book would not have come to fruition without this continued support and collaboration between the Institute for International Journalism at Ohio University and the Study of the US Branch.

Faculty from Ohio University's E.W. Scripps School of Journalism, School of Media Arts and Studies, and the School of Communication Studies in the Scripps College of Communication have served as research mentors for the scholars during their time at Ohio University and beyond. They include professors Duncan Brown, Anne Cooper-Chen, Roger Cooper, Claudia Hale, Michael Sweeney, William (Bill) Reader, Steve Howard, Jatin Srivastava, Hans Meyer, Hong Cheng, William (Bill) Benoit, Aimee Edmondson, Yea-Wen Chen, Eric Rothenbuhler, Craig Davis, and Robert (Bob) Stewart.

Among those to whom the educators are most indebted is journalism professor Mary T Rogus, who served as the program's academic director for its first three years. We are very grateful to Mary for being an exemplary team player in providing an academic program and media study tours, which provided invaluable insights about journalism and media in the US. We also wish to express our appreciation for all the support provided by Robert K Stewart, director of the E. W. Scripps School of Journalism, Scott Titsworth, dean of the Scripps College of Communication, and former dean, Gregory Shepherd. The editors wish to extend their appreciation to the program assistants who served as focus group moderators—Sally Ann Cruikshank, Ed Simpson, and Ashley Furrow.

Yusuf is indebted to his two beloved sons, Ragan and Isaac Kalyango, for the time he has spent away from getting in the mud with them and he is humbled by the boys' patience while he and David composed and edited this volume. The deepest love he has for his two sons is the culmination of this and other ambitious endeavors. David thanks all the contributors for their patience and understanding through a long and demanding editing process. And he is especially grateful to his wife, Stephanie Hysmith, for her support throughout a project that took more time and effort than he told her it would.

Athens, Ohio, 2014

This page intentionally left blank

Notes on Contributors

Mohammed Abualrob is an assistant professor of Media Studies at Birzeit University in Ramallah, Palestine. He worked as a researcher at the Institute for Social Anthropology at the Austrian Academy of Sciences (AAS) in Vienna from December 2012 to July 2013. In 2012, Abualrob published a book entitled *Al-Jazeera and Qatar: Conflation of Political Interests and Media Discourses*. He is now working on a second book on religious satellite channels in the Middle East.

Aysha Abughazzi is an assistant professor in the Department of English and Linguistics at Jordan University of Science and Technology. Her PhD thesis examined the impact of translation on public opinion in the Jordanian press. Her current research is related to journalistic language, ideology, and socio-cultural impacts on local and online marketing.

Murad Alazzany is Professor of Mass Communication in the English Studies Department at Sana'a University, Yemen. He has published several research papers and a book on discourse analysis and the media. His main research interest is in the representation of Islam and Islamic movements in Western media. Currently, he is pursuing a project on the representation of the Arab Spring in Western media.

Diana Alkhayyat is a graduate student in Media Studies at Birzeit University. Her latest research project, "The role of social media in forming the Palestinian public opinion and enhancing the efforts toward supporting the Palestinian prisoners in the Israeli jails" is currently in publication.

D Alper Altunay is assistant professor and deputy chair of the Cinema and Television Department in the Faculty of Communication Sciences of Anadolu University in Eskisehir, Turkey. He teaches courses in television programming, video art, and producing and directing. He is the author of several books, book chapters and articles on communication and media.

Silvia Callejas Contreras is a faculty member at Dr. José Matías Delgado University in El Salvador, where she has taught courses in communication theory and strategic communication since 2008. Currently, she is leading a project to design a scholarly journal at a public school in the municipality of Comasagua, La Libertad department.

Sally Ann Cruikshank is an assistant professor of journalism at Auburn University, where she teaches courses in digital media reporting. Her research focuses on press freedom and agenda building in postconflict and postgenocide countries. She has taught and conducted research in several countries, including Rwanda, Guyana, and Myanmar (Burma). Before receiving her PhD from Ohio University, she was an award-winning television producer in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and Miami, Florida.

Suren Deheryan began his teaching career at Yerevan State University in Armenia in 2006. Since 2010, he has worked at the Scientific-Educational Center of International Journalism at Yerevan State Linguistic University named for V Brusov, where he teaches courses in editorial management, the role of media in integration with the European Union, print and online media, and news reporting and writing. His research focuses on mapping the impact of digital media on democracy in Armenia and Armenian-language content on the Internet.

Wilberforce S. Dzisah is Vice-Rector of the Ghana Institute of Journalism in Accra. He holds a PhD from the University of Westminster and a Master's Degree from Cardiff University (UK). He has served as a senior lecturer in media, journalism, and communication, as deputy coordinator of Africa Media at the University of Westminster, and as Dean of the Faculty of Communication and Social Science at the Ghana Institute of Journalism. Dzisah was a professional journalist for 15 years.

Ashley Furrow is an assistant professor of journalism at the University of Memphis, where she teaches courses in visual communication and online journalism. Her research focuses on sports media, journalism history. and gender and diversity in the media. She received her PhD from Ohio University in May 2013. Her dissertation explored the modern demand for college athletics in the US and how the press entrenches its importance into Americans' views of higher education, manhood, and masculinity.

Guoping He is a professor and vice dean in the School of Journalism and Communication, Guangdong University of Foreign Studies, People's Republic of China. He obtained his PhD from Zhejiang University, China. He has published over 30 articles on international communications and new media. His major academic work, *Policy Study on Reporting China for Global Audiences* (2009), has been translated from Chinese into Korean. He is currently working on research projects on international communication capability and online mobilization in China.

Yusuf Kalyango, Jr is Director of the Institute for International Journalism and an associate professor of journalism in the E. W. Scripps School of Journalism at Ohio University. Kalyango is author of a seminal public opinion scholarly book, *African Media and Democratization* (2011), and co-editor of qualitative-methods book, *Why Discourse Matters* (2014). He has published more than 20 journal articles, including 7 scholarly book chapters, between 2008 and 2013. His research focuses on comparative political communication, media and democratization, conflicts and crises, and public opinion. He is a recipient of several top research awards at major international media conventions and national journalism conferences.

Alexander A Kazakov is an associate professor and Chair of Political Science at Saratov State University in the Russian Federation. He teaches courses in international relations and world politics, political linguistics, mass media in politics, and English for political science students. His dissertation research, based on an analysis of articles in *Rossiyskaya Gazeta* and the *Washington Post* in 2007-2008, focused on how communication technologies have shaped Russian-American relations. His research interests include political communication, Russian-American relations, mass media, and agenda setting.

Peddiboyina Vijaya Lakshmi is Professor of Communication and Journalism and Registrar at Sri Padmavati Mahila Visvavidyalaym (Women's University), India. She teaches courses in international communication, communication theory, and women and media. She has worked on research projects on new media technology and has published several research papers and a book on media globalization and new media. Her research interests include new-media technology and health communication.

Silvia Montaña holds a Master of Arts degree in Politics and the Mass Media from the University of Liverpool (UK) and is currently studying for a PhD in History at Universidad Nacional de Colombia. For many years, she worked as journalist for the Colombian newspaper *El Espectador* and other print media. Her research interests are in journalism studies and history, new-media technologies, and international communication.

David H Mould is Professor Emeritus of Media Arts and Studies at Ohio University (USA) In a 30-year career as a faculty member and academic administrator, he taught courses in audio and video production, international and development communication, media history, media in war and conflict, and media and politics. His research interests are in post-Soviet media in Central Asia, early 20th century news and documentary film, and oral history. He has worked as an educator, trainer, and media consultant for international and US government agencies, mostly in Asia, and is currently managing a UNICEF staff-training course on communication for development. A former newspaper reporter and TV news assignment editor and producer, he continues to work as a freelance journalist.

E Nezih Orhon is Dean of the Faculty of Communication Sciences and Professor of Cinema and Television at Anadolu University in Eskisehir, Turkey. He completed his first master's degree in Turkey and his second at Morehead State University in Kentucky. He teaches courses in television journalism, television news programming, cinema production and directing, and cultural diversity and communication. As Erasmus Coordinator of Cinema and Television, he has administered several programs funded by the European Union, including the current "Digital Bridges" project for journalism and communication students. He has published several books, book chapters, and articles on communication and media.

Gulnura Toralieva is assistant professor and Chair of the Journalism and Mass Communications Department at the American University of Central Asia in Kyrgyzstan, and a senior communications advisor for the government of the Kyrgyz Republic. She earned her doctorate in journalism from the Academy of Sciences of the Russian Federation and a Master of Science degree in Journalism from City University (UK). She began her professional career as a media analyst at the Institute for War and Peace Reporting. She has extensive experience as a training facilitator and in writing and editing handbooks on journalism and video production.

Rachael van der Kooye is a journalist, educator, and documentary scriptwriter, producer, and director. Since 1994, her reporting has focused primarily on environmental issues in Suriname, including logging, gold mining, climate change and sustainable development. From 2004 to 2010, she served as president of the Surinamese Union of Journalists, and in 2008 was one of three founders of a training center for working journalists and journalism students. She has received fellowships from the Organization of American States, the US Department of State and the Knight Center, and has participated in two UN conferences on climate change.

Carolyn Walcott has served as director of the University of Guyana's Centre for Communication Studies (UGCCS) since August 2012. She is a media and communications specialist, and news, feature, and documentary producer whose career started at the Guyana Television Broadcasting Company in 1994. She joined UGCCS in 2007 and teaches introductory and advanced radio and television production as well as integrated marketing communications. Her research interests include curriculum and media development and transnational communication and migration.

Ke Wang is a lecturer in the School of Journalism and Communication, Guangdong University of Foreign Studies, People's Republic of China. She graduated from the School of Communication at the University of Leeds (UK) with an MA in International Communication, and holds two bachelor's degrees in International Journalism and English. Her research interests are in international reporting and communications. She is the author of book chapters and articles on international reporting and public media.

Huei Lan Wang is an assistant professor in Nan-Hua University's Department of Communication and General Education in Taiwan. She teaches courses in media literacy, television reporting, production, and news writing, principles of digital media theory, journalism, communications history, and magazine-publishing management. Her media literacy course has been awarded funding by the Taiwan Ministry of Education. Her research focuses on citizen journalism, journalism education, and media literacy.

This page intentionally left blank

Abbreviations and Acronyms

AKP	Adalet ve Kalkinma Partisi (Justice and Development Party, Turkey)
CARIMAC	Caribbean Institute of Media and Communication
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CNNIC	China Internet Network Information Center
CSC	Common Service Centre (India)
DPP	Department of Press and Publications (Jordan)
ICTs	Information and Communication Technologies
ISP	Internet Service Provider
ITU	International Telecommunication Union
MDGs	UN Millennium Development Goals
NGOs	Nongovernmental Organizations
NMC	National Media Commission (Ghana)
PPL	Press and Publication Law (Jordan)
PSRC	Public Services Regulatory Commission (Armenia)
RSF	Reporters Sans Frontières (Reporters Without Borders)
SHG	Self Help Group (India)
SUSI	Study of the US Institute (on journalism and media)
UGCCS	University of Guyana Centre for Communication Studies
VKC	Village Knowledge Centre (India)

1

Introduction: Trends in Global Journalism and New Media Performance

Yusuf Kalyango Jr and David H Mould

Journalism across state polities and media convergences is at a crossroads with agents of momentous transformation. The history of media in the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries shows that, every two decades or so, media institutions and journalism experience a metamorphosis in communication processes, especially regarding content production. With the increasing proliferation of mass communication alternatives available to information seekers and communicators, traditional journalists are debating how to transform and adapt to the current and evolving media environment.

Some of the key debates concern core journalistic values: how to remain relevant as the main arbiter of reliable, accurate, independently sourced, and verified news and information. Part of the challenge in the proliferation of alternative media—through wireless digital and online outlets—is the journalistic obligation to enable media platforms as a forum for public debates, criticism, and compromise.

In this new media environment, traditional media outlets around the world—television, radio, newspapers, and newsmagazines—are facing credibility issues, declining advertising revenue, and dwindling audience numbers. Whether in Russia, Turkey, Colombia, India, El Salvador, or Palestine, traditional media outlets are now in competition with social media outlets and bloggers, who audit and critique traditional media and journalistic practices. These developments, coupled with the rapid growth of online media platforms, calls into question the basic journalistic principles of accuracy, reliability, sourcing, fairness and responsibility and journalism's obligation to be the sole utilitarian facilitator of deliberative media discourse.

No longer is the information flow unidirectional, from state and commercial actors to the mass audience. In the new media discourse—be it in China, Armenia, Jordan, or Guyana—the information disseminated for mass consumption is increasingly free of cost and easier to access, while less so from powerful elites. This book highlights the normative premise that journalism practice around the world, and media performance in the Western world and other countries with varying media systems, continue to serve multiple functions in society, using journalism's core values (Herbert, 2000; Knight, 2013; Ward, 2010). As we navigate other cases around the world, the evaluation of traditional media in the US is used here as the first case study.

Deuze (2005) argues that journalism continues to reinvent itself in response to media ecology as it impacts the character and quality of journalism practice through commercialization, concentration of ownership, audience participation, bureaucratization, and technology. Media ecology brings about more openness to new media players, and mass deliberators, than the core values of journalism ever intended. As Deuze (2005, p.458) rightly stated, "multimedia developments and multiculturalism are indeed similar forces of change when seen through the lens of journalists' perceptions of themselves." Thus, there is a growing need to understand how journalism continues to be practiced around the world from those who practice and teach the craft.

Pertinent questions include:

- How do journalism educators from around the world evaluate the performance of Western media?
- What are the expectations for journalists working in traditional and new media?
- What is their role in public discourse within their respective societies?

Journalists who work in traditional, as well as new, media outlets relinquish their influence to critics as credibility issues, coupled with public criticism of journalistic practices, continue to surface (Allan & Thorsen, 2009; Obijiofor & Hanusch, 2011).

This volume is a collection of important national investigations of global journalistic practices, within the context of the new media environment. It is inspired by a growing body of international comparative research, such as the *Worlds of Journalism Study*'s network (Hanitzsch & Mellado, 2011; Hanitzsch & Berganza, 2012; Plaisance et al., 2012), It complements many recent books and scholarship, which have explored other critical areas pertaining to global journalism. These works include Merrill and de Beer's (2008) serial chronology of journalism issues in

some parts of the world; an important text about the effects of online journalism on ethics by Friend and Singer (2007); Deuze's (2006) work on global journalism education; and Berglez's (2008) conceptualization of global journalism and practice. This volume also uses cases from around the world to inductively challenge some theoretical propositions and observations that "the social institution called journalism is hesitant in abandoning its conventions, both at organizational and professional levels, even in the 'Age of the Net', when overall communication patterns in society are being re-shaped." (Sullivan & Heinonen, 2008, p.368)

Contributors to this volume provide a broad-ranging overview of both new and traditional media systems in their respective countries: Russia, Palestine, China, Armenia, Jordan, Turkey, El Salvador, India, Ghana, Colombia, Taiwan, Guyana, Yemen, Suriname, Kyrgyzstan, and the US. The authors attempt to relate new media performance and journalistic output within the framework of journalism's core values and its obligations for independence, responsibility, accuracy, and truth, as well as its duty to monitor powerful state actors in the sociopolitical and economic arenas. The chapters are divided into the following sections:

- Section I: Journalism Practice in the United States
- Section II: New versus Traditional Media
- Section III: Journalism Practice and Media Performance

The chapters have been developed over the life of the Study of the US Institute (SUSI) on journalism and media from 2010 to 2013 at Ohio University. SUSI is an annual summer institute for journalism and media educators from universities and academic institutions from around the world. The educators live together for six weeks to share knowledge, collaborate on research with their US counterparts, and explore US media performance. Fourteen SUSI participants contributed to the second and third sections. For many, this is the first time their research will be available in English; indeed, their language facility gives them access to primary sources and interviews with prominent media players that are difficult for even Western scholars to obtain.

Chapter 2: Media Educators Evaluate US Journalism Practice, based on focus groups with 51 of these educators, suggests that the notion of universal professional standards remains elusive, and that journalism practice is shaped by social, cultural, and political factors. It assesses their attitudes and opinions toward international news coverage and journalism practice in the US. It contributes to key debates concerning core journalistic values such as how traditional media in the US can remain relevant as the main arbiter of reliable, accurate, and independently

sourced and verified news and information. This chapter sets the stage for the remainder of the volume and demonstrates how traditional values in the practice of professional journalism in other parts of the world may no longer mirror, or consider, the Western practice of journalism and its core values or obligations as the standard universal model for replication (Cropp, Frisby, & Mills, 2003).

The Second Section, New versus Traditional Media, with case studies from eight countries, highlights key challenges facing journalism and media in the digital era as vertical information hierarchies are disrupted by horizontal, user-generated, participatory communication patterns. From the former Soviet Union to the Middle East, the question persists: although new media may be participatory, even empowering, can they challenge the reach and credibility of traditional media? The seven case studies in the third section, **Journalism Practice and Media Performance**, situate journalism practice and media performance, including journalism education, within specific national contexts, where a range of factors—from government pressures and the political and business alliances of media owners to audience needs—shape the news, those who report it, and those who prepare students from the profession it.

Section II: New versus Traditional Media In *Case 1:* Russia, Alexander Kazakov argues that agenda-setting studies have focused on traditional media, often neglecting the social and political role of new media which can generate and coalesce around certain issues as well as "lift" problems from the bottom to the top of social and political discourse. Using data from national surveys and sketching the growth of social networks and the Russian blogosphere, this study shows that while TV, newspapers, and radio are still more trusted than the Internet, its credibility has been rising, and it is increasingly being used as a tool for social mobilization.

In *Case 2:* Palestine, Mohammed Abualrob and Diana Alkhayyat investigate whether new media are changing public discourse through a comparative content analysis of *Alquds*, a widely distributed newspaper, and the online news site *Ma'an*. Media agendas in Palestine have long been dominated by international and regional issues, as well as internal political conflicts, with less attention given to issues that concern citizens in their daily lives. As more people gain access to the Internet and social networks, this study investigates whether new media are changing media discourse by covering a broader range of topics.

In *Case 3:* China, Ke Wang and Guoping He conclude that new media have become the primary form of expressive media, by broadening the

public sphere and those who participate in it, and by changing the ways in which communication flows. Media, old and new, have played an important role in economic, social, political, and cultural transformations in China over the past two decades. Economically, they have helped the government meet its development goals by boosting business; however, new media have also contributed to social, cultural, and political consequences that the government neither anticipated nor welcomed.

In *Case 4:* Armenia, Suren Deheryan examines how the recent rapid expansion of Internet access has had a profound impact on many areas of society. In the political sphere, the Internet has increased pressure for transparency in government and elections, and promoted freedom of speech. Political parties, individual politicians, and other activists began to use the Internet in the 2008 presidential election. By the 2012 parliamentary elections, new media were firmly established not only as a political campaign tool, but as an alternative platform for those outside the political establishment to express their political views.

In *Case 5:* Jordan, Aysha Abughazzi shows that online news sites play a pivotal role in providing access to information and offering alternative platforms for journalists and readers to express opinions on issues that may not find their way into mainstream newspapers. Despite press and publication laws that have, over the last two decades, shaped journalistic practice, the variety and volume of online news sites have enhanced the quality of journalism in general, and created an atmosphere of dialogue and plurality.

In *Case 6:* Turkey, Nezih Orhon and Alper Altunay show how social media have become crucial to citizen action in a country where political and business pressures on mainstream media often stifle opposition voices. These pressures have led to self-censorship, with editors and journalists reluctant to cover controversial issues, and media owners preferring entertainment programming and tabloid stories that attract viewers and readers. Using the case study of the 2013 occupation of Istanbul's Taksim Gezi Park and the nationwide protests that followed it, the authors show that social media play a crucial role in distributing information and images, and that traditional media are losing their monopoly on information, a trend that could have profound political consequences.

In *Case 7:* El Salvador, Silvia Callejas Contreras argues that scholars of digital communication have recognized multiple ways in which knowledge is created and shared, and attitudes and behaviors potentially changed, by user-generated content and horizontal networking.

The chapter documents the experiences of a university, upper-level communication class in developing and designing a digital campaign to promote *Movimiento Libro Libre*, the Latin-American version of the United States-based Bookcrossing movement. In an increasingly urbanized society where many young people have not developed a reading habit, *Movimiento Libro Libre* promotes reading by encouraging people to drop off books in public places for others to pick up.

In *Case 8:* India, Peddiboyina Vijaya Lakshmi shows that information and communications technology (ICT) applications are making information accessible to marginalized groups, especially poor rural women. The historical gender gap in ICT access disadvantages not only women, but their families and communities as well, because women play a pivotal role in achieving development goals, such as reduced child malnutrition and mortality and economic enterprise. In India, this has resulted in experimentation by government agencies and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) with ICT applications in areas such as agriculture, health, governance, financial services, education, and employment. This study explores the impact of ICT projects on gender inequality, healthcare, education, and economic issues for poor women.

Section III: Journalism Practice and Media Performance In *Case 1:* Ghana, Wilberforce Dzisah examines how the political ideologies of authoritarianism and liberalism have shaped the country's media. Since gaining independence in 1957, Ghana has experienced periods of military dictatorship and democracy which, together with the British colonial legacy, have shaped its media landscape. The country has, since 1992, embraced multiparty democracy. The traditional media have expanded rapidly, empowered by a constitution that prohibits censorship and state control. The study demonstrates that while the media sector has been opened to more players, some outlets overtly or covertly represent the interests of political groups, and punitive libel settlements are being used to settle political scores. At the same time, the commercial orientation of media is reducing its role in advancing the national development agenda.

In *Case 2:* Colombia, Silvia Montaña examines the following question: how have digital technologies transformed the Colombian media and the ways in which journalists perform their jobs? This ethnographic study of journalistic work environments presents the results of a four-week observation exercise, and interviews the team of one of Colombia's major online news media, lasillavacia.com (literally, "the empty chair"). Editorial policies, updating cycles, space and production dynamics, control of, and interrelation with, sources and bloggers, and the implications

of the growing capability of citizens to participate in communicative processes are all explored.

In *Case 3:* Taiwan, Huei Lan Wang examines the role of journalism educators in shaping their students' views of the profession, and the extent to which the ethics and values taught at university are practiced in the newsroom. Journalism educators argue that formal, university-level journalism education provides students not only with knowledge and practical skills, but instills ethical standards. The study investigates how the attitudes of educators on concepts such as public service, news value, and news ethics, have shaped the views of their students, even as business and political pressures, and Taiwan's highly competitive media market, may be compromising journalistic values and ethics.

In *Case 4:* Guyana, Carolyn Walcott examines how capacity development at the individual, organizational, and institutional levels saved and reinvigorated the country's only journalism program. In 2006, the University of Guyana's Centre for Communication Studies (UGCCS) faced imminent closure. The lack of full-time teaching faculty, broadcast studio facilities, and an outdated curriculum required an immediate response. Using models from US and Caribbean media education, the UGCCS revised its curriculum to blend theory and practical skills, hired new faculty, and improved facilities and equipment.

In *Case 5:* Yemen, Murad Alazzany analyzes the political goals and themes of President Saleh's speeches. The 2011 revolution that led to the ouster of Saleh, who had ruled the country for three decades, lasted ten months, much longer than the popular movements in Tunisia and Egypt. Saleh sought to counter the revolutionary wave through speeches to various domestic audiences, most of which were broadcast on television and radio, and reported in newspapers. Using van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach to critical discourse analysis, the author analyzes how Saleh used socially resonant themes such as patriotism, legitimacy, and democracy in an attempt to influence public attitudes.

In *Case 6:* Suriname, Rachael van der Kooye examines the coverage of land-rights disputes and journalism practice through a content analysis of two newspapers and interviews with journalism educators. Suriname, the former Dutch colony in South America, has a history of conflict between indigenous peoples, and the government and mining companies, over land rights. The study argues that the quality of coverage has deteriorated in terms of research and sourcing. The educators attribute declining professional standards to the commercial orientation of media owners, lack of time and resources for investigative reporting, and government pressures on journalists.

In *Case 7:* Kyrgyzstan, Gulnura Toralieva explores why journalists have largely ignored, or downplayed, environmental problems—from the effects of climate change to industrial and mining pollution, soil erosion, and deforestation. After two revolutions and social and ethnic unrest in the south of the country, media outlets focus primarily on political issues and journalists worry about the consequences of angering the politically and financially powerful. This study examines the challenges journalists face in covering environmental issues including self-censorship, an often uncooperative government, intractable politicians, and the economic challenges of an emerging democracy with high unemployment.

Global Journalism Practice and New Media Performance is an important international scholarly assessment of media transformation and journalistic adaption to current and evolving media ecology, and how this dynamic relationship is changing the face of journalism education and journalism practice both in developing and developed countries throughout the world.

Section I

Journalism Practice in the United States

2

Global Media Educators Evaluate US Journalism Practice

Sally Ann Cruikshank, Ashley Furrow, Yusuf Kalyango, Jr

This study is based on focus group data from 51 journalism and media educators (college-level lecturers) from 39 countries who participated in the Study of the United States Institute (SUSI) on journalism and media from 2010 to 2012. All the educators had been in the United States for a period of at least six consecutive weeks, and had monitored US media and visited media outlets. The first objective of the study was to analyze their views on how US traditional media (television, radio, and newspapers) report news about their region, or other countries. The second objective was to understand how they compared journalism practices in the US with those in their own countries.

Attitudes toward journalism practice in the US media have often been measured using five professional norms of accuracy: investigative reporting; diversity; caution; skepticism; and dialogue (Kalyango & Eckler, 2010; Weaver & Wilhoit, 1996). However, these professional norms, and other aspects of journalism practice, are still widely debated for their international application and relevance (Edelstein, 1982; Reese, 2001; Weaver, 1998). The assumption is that educators regard journalism practice in the US as meeting their expectations of professionalism—regardless of the political situation and journalism practice in their countries, and their cultural identity.

National Identities and Global Media Coverage

Hallin and Mancini (2005) argue that one cannot understand how the news media function in any nation unless one understands the nature of the state, its social and political culture, its moral values, and its people. Hence, national identity is an important concept to explore when examining global journalism practices. Van Dijk (1996) argues that in

modern cultures, both news broadcasters and their audiences tend to overlook the implicit messages in news content. The content is taken for granted by one culture, interpreted differently by another, and misinterpreted, or not even decoded, by yet another.

Identity is a multifaceted concept. It can be understood through social character, personality or individuality, gender, race, ethnicity, and even professional attributes. All identities are nurtured and created by a complex variety of factors including social norms, familial upbringing, and even the kind of media and outside exposure an individual or a community faces (Erikson, 1994). An individual often defines a part of his or her identity through association with a social group (Tajfel & Turner, 1978). Many aspects of identity are constructed due to social forces, such as mass media, and a group's depiction in the mass media (Tajfel, 1979).

The media, in the form of newspapers, television, radio, and now the Internet, have broadened the horizon for dissemination of information. Even seemingly innocuous elements of life can help shape social and gender identity. Apart from these constructions, identity is also built in subtle ways, through news, television programs, and other mass communication tools, which act as a medium for dialogue between members of society who do not directly communicate with each other (Garnham, 1993).

Some identities, even entire countries, are subsumed in stereotypes; for example, labeling some industrialized nations the "white, rich countries" and other countries as the "third world" (Hale, 1997). The media hold one of the biggest megaphones through which identities and stereotypes are broadcasted. These stereotypes are not limited to race, but also extend to socio-economic classes (Floyd, 2008). Rearticulation is a key phenomenon by which thoughts of a dominant ideology perpetuate other societies, even on the global scale. Rearticulation refers to the way in which individuals and collective groups find newer methods of perpetuating their values, interests, and imperatives (Hale, 1997).

The ideologies and values of some marginalized societies are not always reported in the media. This leads to an identity crisis when they are exposed to a world beyond their immediate reach (Castells-Talens, Rodriguez, & Marisol, 2009). Unlike the Internet, media, such as newspapers, radio, and television, offer limited space for content. The use of that space by the dominant class automatically marginalizes (and could also delegitimize) other classes, their self respect, and their sense of social identity (Garnham, 1993). Representation of diverse cultures through mass media, even in artistic performances, music, dance, and plays, is necessary for identity formation.

There are many instances where communities, and even legitimate organizations such as political parties or religious groups, work to delegitimize the status of a community and hurt its identity through deliberate negative portrayals. For example, in the mid-2000s, the Quichua of Ecuador, one of the country's major ethnic groups, were marginalized in the media. This led to their rejection of the national mainstream media, as they turned to content produced locally in their language, focusing only on their issues (Floyd, 2008). Floyd calls this media rebellion. The Quichua intimated that they could not relate to content in mainstream media, and hence, could not seek appreciation or pleasure from it.

The experience of the Quichua is one example of how the endurance of identities and the relative position of societal groups depend on adequate expression. Without public expression through mass media, dominant media forces may subsume or even reject weaker groups and their social identity. Community-based media—street plays, songs written by members of a community, and literature produced in the local language—then becomes an important medium of expression.

The subsuming of identities is applicable to many tribal cultures and to people in developing countries where socioeconomic barriers prevent the bridging of communities through media platforms (Haber, 1996). In many countries, individuals face ethnic, economic, and security-related problems and do not find a voice or a medium to express themselves (Duarte, 2010). Unless bridges of communication are built between ethnically and socio-economically divided communities, there can never be equality or parity in terms of social rights and identity. This leads to further marginalization and mutual enmity (Karl, 1990).

If national identity and its value to the national prestige of many developing nations is not recognized or considered in the newsgathering process, in what ways can it lead to undesirable consequences? In Colombia, the international media interpreted information on drugs and health messages by failing to factor in the sociocultural milieu (Obregon, 2005). Providing proper channels for communication to all citizens of a nation or region is necessary because failure to do so may have negative implications for the communities who are misrepresented.

Recognizing the unique identities of these communities is the first step toward resolving multifaceted misinformation and miscommunication problems. Not recognizing unique social identities can amplify ignorance about peoples from developing nations (Hale, 1997; Huhn, Oettler & Peetz, 2009; O'Connor, 2011). In countries where domestic discord gives rise to instability and violence, or to sporadic clashes between the state and protestors, conflicts are sometimes blown out of

proportion or misreported in international media (Hale, 1997; Huhn, Oettler & Peetz, 2009; Karl, 1990; McLeod, Rush & Friederich, 1968; Murillo, 2003; O'Connor, 2011; Pardo, 2010).

Because of the worldwide reach of US media products, such as CNN International, Voice of America, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, Time, Newsweek, Facebook, Twitter, and other online media outlets, this study offers perspectives from countries that have often been exposed to US media content and journalistic practices. The goal is to present the views of media educators on how US traditional media (television, radio, and newspapers) cover news at home or globally and to understand how they compare journalism practices in the US with those in their own countries.

Research Design and Data Gathering

Six focus groups with 51 journalism educators from 39 countries were conducted. The participants in this study were from Afghanistan, Armenia, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Cameroon, China, Colombia, Czech Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Estonia, Finland, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Macedonia, Malaysia, Mexico, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Palestine, Poland, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Sudan, Suriname, Taiwan, Thailand, Turkey, Ukraine, Vietnam, Yemen, and Zambia. The participants (just like society) are not seen "as an aggregate of atomized opinions or attitudes, but as individuals located in concrete social groups who construct meaningful social action partly through the discursive interrogation of texts" (Lunt & Livingstone, 1996, p. 85). Participants were all media educators or professional journalists who also taught at a college as an assistant lecturer or adjunct professor.

All participants had previously worked as journalists in newspapers, radio, or television, and on average had seven years of journalism experience. Some had taught journalism and international journalism or communication courses at their universities for more than five years. The age of the participants was between 35 and 52. All participants were in the United States for six weeks under the SUSI program to study US journalism practice, pedagogy, and media studies. They observed various news outlets during newscasts and visited several media outlets, observing practice in newspapers, radio, or television news programs.

Six focus groups were conducted at Ohio University, two each in 2010, 2011, and 2012. Each focus group session lasted for about two hours. The participants agreed to participate through a written consent statement

giving moderators the right to record them on audio cards, and the right to use the collected data in any form. "US media," in this context, refers to traditional news media such as national and local newspapers, cable news television networks, television networks and their affiliates, and National Public Radio. All the educators had no objection to full identification in this study. However, due to the approval notice from the institutional review board on ethical research practices, the moderators assured participants that their personal information would remain anonymous. Therefore, in the analysis, only the first names and countries of origin are provided.

The discourse of participants was summarized according to the following criteria: use of first name; range of discourse; abstraction or specificity; use of direct quotes; identifying country specifics, and disclosure of the participants' academic institutions. Participants were asked a series of questions dealing with their expectations of the US media, based on their previous experience as journalists, and their observations as educators. A semistructured technique was used, where the moderator asked a question and allowed participants to take turns answering. The moderator asked followup questions to points raised by participants, and ensured that everyone was given a chance to answer each question.

International News Coverage

In 1996, Shoemaker and Reese found that for some scholars, the US media were often seen as the model for media systems internationally, establishing US journalism practice as an almost universal ideal for the profession. This study examines how media educators perceive US media performance and journalism practice based on their observation of US media coverage of their home regions or countries, and in relation to universal journalism practice. Most of the educators said they had expected international coverage to focus on events of an unusual nature, particularly natural disasters or coups and, for two participants, unusual crimes. Nnamdi from Nigeria said, "In Africa, in Nigeria, for instance, poverty, hunger these are live issues. But from our point of view, these have not been the only issues, but each time, this is where the press goes to." The educator from Bangladesh, Mofiz, said, "If we have floods, if we have drought, it is in the media. But otherwise, we have been making some improvements there, but we never see that there. So we expect the media should also focus on the good stuff." Aazad, from Pakistan agreed, "I think we can feel a little ignored in the US media, especially when it comes to good things."

Figure 2.1 Journalism and media educators from Pakistan, Ghana, Jordan, and China (among others not pictured here) on a media study tour to talk to the newsroom staff and management about the newsgathering process and media operation at WOIO 19-Action News in Cleveland, Ohio 2012

The educators also said they expected only unusual events or stories that aligned with US interests to be selected by media outlets. Yam from Nepal said, "US newspapers, especially national newspapers, seem to be focused on domestic issues. They pay less attention to international issues." Amar from Sudan said, "Unless it's a tragedy that's going to affect the US, you can't find an international section. I think it makes even the audience to be more focused on their issues and not think of the outside world." The educator from Yemen, Abdulrahman, agreed: "I see the agenda of foreign policy and the media almost sometimes the same." Taimoor from Afghanistan agreed that the US media, particularly national newspapers, focused mostly on military activities in his country. He said, "They are not very much focusing on the life of ordinary Afghans, what's going on, where the money comes and how it's being spent. They are just looking for their own interest. They are somehow following the policy of their military rulers." Pirongrong, from Thailand, agreed that the US media furthered a government agenda:

> They are feeding on the same repetitive theme that third world countries have coups and coups are usually bad, and all this pro-democracy

> protestors are fighting for something against a dictator. It is always like pro-democracy fighters, but it is a lot more complicated than that.

Nezih, from Turkey, however, said he was "happy that [the US media] are critical to my country." When his colleague from Ukraine questioned him, he continued, "I see a critical harsh criticism of politics in Turkey, or issues related with minorities, ethnicities, there should be. Because we are not really criticizing ourselves. Even ourselves as educators, in my opinion."

Some educators said they understood why the US media would not be interested in their countries. Kenny from Zambia said, "You do not really expect Americans to be interested in what is happening in Zambia. Unless it has some profound impact." Manuel from Mexico agreed that most US news consumers probably would not be interested in news unless it affected their lives:

> Some news that is just about drugs and immigration and that is just so. But I think that's the way it should be, because the audience here in the United States would not have interest in many other stuff. In that case, the US media do their work [well], because the audience would not understand some other things.

Hugo, from the Bahamas, argued the tendency to focus on US interests put US citizens at a disadvantage, saying:

> One of the challenges from where I see it for American media is they inform around American issues and they don't know much about what's going on in other places. That puts the American citizen at a disadvantage because in a way they ignore a lot of the things that are important, especially for a country like the US which is involved in a lot of international issues.

Two journalism educators from Europe said the world news coverage by US media mirrored the coverage of the US in their countries. Outi, from Finland, laughed when she said:

> It is a reciprocity thing. They cover Finland the same way we cover America. Sometimes, we mostly cover American conflicts, but other times we tell funny stories that are really stereotypical about America. And they do the same. So it evens out.

Her colleague from Austria, Claudia, concurred that international coverage in the US media was similar to international coverage in their own countries, but Hoi from Malaysia said the opposite was true in her country:

> I think it is the other way around. Instead of the US coverage of our news, we have a lot of news talking about the US and what has happened here. I think it may be because of the power that is, the great power in the world, it is the other way around exactly. We have news about [the] US.

Although some said they had not expected coverage of their countries at all, others were extremely critical of the way the US media reported on their country or region. Mohammed from Palestine spoke several times about the coverage of his country.

> There's a big gap between what we wish and what is the interest that's leading the American media. What we wish for is balance in covering international issues. I wish America would deal with the Israeli occupation with balance and fairness, but what is going on is something else.

When asked if he thought the US media reported on his country accurately, he replied, "Absolutely not. The people in Palestine don't trust US television because the people have a strong belief that America supports Israel over Palestinian rights. For this, nobody believes in American media." Aysha from Jordan agreed that people in the Middle East approached US news with caution.

> When you live in a country like Iraq for instance and you listen to the news media, American ones, you'll find that they don't always tell you everything that goes on. There is always that, I wouldn't use the word mistrust, but skepticism.

Amani from Bahrain added, "I feel there is a lack of professionalism in coverage of Bahrain and the Middle East in general because they heavily rely on the local journalists, who sometimes are pressured from their own government." Suren from Armenia was especially critical of Fox News. "I remember that Fox covered the conflict between Russia and Georgia during the South Ossetia War for five days," he said. "At that time, we found that Fox used video from Afghanistan. It's not from South Ossetia. Fox is not a professional TV channel."

Beyond questioning the accuracy of international news coverage, the educators said they expected and observed a lack of context and sensitivity concerning other cultures. Nearly all complained that not enough context was provided when covering international news. Kaja from Estonia followed up by saying, "The lack of context is one thing, but also lack of economic knowledge, political knowledge, knowledge about cultural differences, and such kinds of things." Monika from Poland suggested the US media "should probably cover more culture-related issues," particularly local traditions and historical context. Abdulrahman from Yemen agreed, pointing out that the world looks to the US for news and information:

> Because this is a world-wide media for the international community, for the donor community, they are exposed to media and you need the international community to contribute aid and assistance. When you bring such human stories, you contribute to the international target for development.

His colleague from Ukraine, Olga, elaborated on the importance of cultural context, calling the US "the leader of the whole mainstream." "Different mistakes can affect the rest of the world," she continued. "It may not be important for the whole United States, but it is very important for other countries." Kaja from Estonia agreed the US position in the world meant that US media were burdened with a greater responsibility. ''American journalists from [a] professional point of view do not feel a responsibility to the world, but they need to recognize their responsibility," she said. "They also need to be correct more, more educated, and more responsible about their words.''

Aleksandr from Russia, however, defended U.S. journalists:

> I think some things may be misinterpreted, but I think this may not be American journalists' fault. It can be difficult to understand other cultures, other countries' traditions, their political situation. Maybe they don't know about some internal issues, this is why they may make mistakes. I don't want to blame American journalists.

He added that he would have trouble writing about US politics, as it was not his area of study. He was, however, in the minority. Most of the educators had no problem blaming the US media for its perceived representation of their respective countries.

Figure 2.2 Journalism and media educators from 18 countries on a media study tour at the CNN Headquarters in Atlanta in 2010 to talk to the news production staff and public affairs executives about the global newsgathering process and media operation.

Journalism Practice

When asked to compare US media practices with those in their own country, most educators immediately pointed to the amount of freedom the US media enjoys. Taimoor from Afghanistan said:

> Here, the papers are more liberal. They can publish; they can attack; they can criticize the government or the mayor, whatever. But in my country, they are so limited. They are under pressure of the government or tribal centers. They cannot go to the point. They can mention the problems, but they cannot mention who is responsible for the problems. But here, if someone does something, or makes a mistake, his name is mentioned and they go into details. There, we have limitations.

Ibaa from Sudan agreed that some issues were "taboo" in the media, creating a difficult situation for journalists and society. "We've got a

problem in Sudan; we have a very great problem," she said. "If you would like to solve some problems, social problems, health problems and so on, you cannot discuss those issues frankly." Hoi, from Malaysia, pointed to government control as the main issue facing journalists in her country. "Because the major media are actually controlled by the government, most of the ideas from the opposition party normally go online," she said. "This is because the mainstream media are all owned by the government or its political party." Guoping from China said he admired the US media's ability to draw from a variety of sources. "They can cite many news sources," he said. "That is different from China. Chinese just use sources from the government or authorities. But the US media diversify their news sources." Nnamdi from Nigeria also pointed to the professionalism of the US media as something he would like to see in his own country. He said the US media was "much more independent in the approach to content" and had "greater details because of availability of information." He went on: "Here, there are laws that give journalists availability of information. Also, I see better quality in the journalism here than I can find in my home country." However, Pirongrong from Thailand questioned how much freedom the US media really had:

> In my country, the control of the media is very blatant; from the owners, it's obvious. But here, I think the control is more at the ideological level. And the news practitioners don't know they're being controlled. They talk of freedom, but what degree of freedom do US journalists really have from these dominant values of consumerism, capitalism, and neo-liberalism?

Aazadi from Pakistan said she hoped her country would someday enjoy the same freedom as the US media. "Freedom of media here adds to the responsibilities and duties of media practitioners, which is a very good thing. I think we can share that with our countries' media. We are very new to freedom." She said she especially thought diversity in the US contributed to that freedom. Her colleague from Indonesia, Nurul, agreed, and pointed to the media outlets that existed for minority groups in the US "For me, it's about public radio and community magazines for gays and lesbians," she added. "I cannot find it in Indonesia. We do not have a place for gay and lesbian and transgendered, and I found it here."

Beyond the freedom of the press, many of the educators pointed to the professionalism of the US media as a practice they would like to see in their own countries. Aazadi from Pakistan hoped partnerships with

US media and universities could help her country develop more media professionalism. She said, "In developing countries, media is still in the process of learning and development, so the US media can lead them in trainings and guidance in making them more aware of professional reporting." Trang from Vietnam also spoke of professionalism, especially in television news. "I'd like to say that I really am very impressed about local television stations in the United States," she said. "They can control everything smoothly and even we cannot see the cameramen. Everything that's going on is very perfected, really professional."

Conclusion

The underlying assumption for this study was that journalism practice in the United States, and US media coverage of world affairs, would meet the expectations of media educators, regardless of the political situation in their respective countries, their cultural identity, and their media's journalism practice. The overall findings indicate that their expectations were met, to some extent. Most of the educators expected US media (television news, radio news, and newspapers) to focus on unusual international stories. They expressed concern that most coverage was biased, inaccurate, and perpetuated negative stereotypes about other cultures and ethnicities. They were not asked to propose solutions. Future studies may explore ways to improve the US media's coverage of international news.

This study is based on a relatively small number of media educators and their expectations. However, according to the focus groups' consensus, the US media are not fairly reporting world events and do not represent all of the news (both good and bad) internationally.

The education' opinions of US media are important because they train future journalists and communication specialists. Considering that the US media are regarded by some as a role model for ethical and professional, international current-affairs production, as well as an arbiter of international news, the discourse suggests that media scholars and professionals around the world are either attempting to model these journalistic practices, or are concerned about the quality of international news coverage. Media educators expect US journalists to improve their global newsgathering practices, particularly in regard to news selection and reporting.

About two decades ago, some scholars determined that the US media were often seen as the model for media systems internationally (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996). The discourse in this study raises doubts about

such assumptions. The educators expressed concerns that US media may perpetuate stereotypes when focusing on negative events, such as coups and natural disasters. Dwindling budgets in the US media create a situation where news outlets increasingly rely on "parachute" and local journalists, a practice specifically criticized by some of the educators. The focus group study suggests that the US media should not only provide in-depth coverage of world issues, but also be conscious of the types of stories they report and the context provided.

Section II
New versus Traditional Media

3

Case 1: Russia—New Media Reshape the Social and Political Agenda

Alexander Kazakov

A pivotal goal of media is to provide audiences with news and social information. This function of mass-mediated messages is often regarded as agenda setting, which has traditionally been a focus of academic research. It will be argued here that agenda setting typically refers to the so-called traditional media and, thus, the social and political role of new media is underestimated.

To date, scholarly examinations of Russian media, social media, and agenda setting have been limited. The author's hypothesis is that a fundamental rebuilding and reshaping of the way information circulates in society is occurring, and that this has much to do with the agenda setting process. With the rapid development of new media, traditional media are losing their monopoly on agenda setting. The audience decides independently what it wants to read, watch, and listen to, and what kind of sources to use. New media are able to generate and coalesce around important issues, as well as to "lift" problems from the bottom to the top of social and political discourse.

Walter Lippmann's (1922) idea that people base their perceptions mainly on mass-mediated messages (p. 7) is not as relevant as it once was. On one hand, citizens' beliefs about social and political events still predominantly depend on the way they are covered by mass media. On the other hand, it's noteworthy that in Lippmann's day only print and radio could be truly considered mass media. Later on, television became widespread and, more recently, the Internet appeared with its interactive capacities.

It is argued here that despite the growing diversity of mass media, the extent to which they influence popular perceptions does not lessen. Yet it is not clear how the ways in which audiences are influenced interact

with each other, and how such effects are produced. One way to explore this is to use the well-developed theory of agenda setting.

One of the earliest attempts to investigate the effects of mass media was by Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet. In *The People's Choice* (1948), they posited that mass media are capable of influencing an electoral campaign outcome (p. 151). Later, Cohen (1963) stated that the mass media "may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about" (p. 13). A similar idea was formulated by Lang and Lang (1966), who argued that mass media "are constantly presenting objects suggesting what individuals in the mass should think about, know about, have feelings about" (p. 468).

Such an approach to mass media's impact on social perceptions came to maturity with the work of McCombs and Shaw (1972). Stemming from a study in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, they created the theory of agenda setting. This concept emphasizes the media's effect on the public agenda. The media determine the important political issues and, therefore, set the public's agenda. In other words, people learn both about given issues, and how much importance to attach to those issues, by the amount of information provided by the media (pp. 180–181).

McCombs and Shaw admit that the theory has at least one limit. In their opinion, "normally the better educated and most politically interested (and those least likely to change political beliefs), actively seek information; but most seem to acquire it, if at all, without much effort" (pp. 176–177). Thus, in most cases, agenda setting is applicable to the largest part of society.

This approach dominated media and journalism studies for a long period. However, as the Internet became a popular medium for news consumption, agenda setting's efficacy and congruence with reality began to be called into question. For example, Brubaker (2008) suggests that traditional media (newspapers, magazines, radio, and television) no longer enjoy a monopoly on agenda setting. In his view, traditional media and the Internet have a significant impact on the wide array of issues under the public spotlight. Combined with the "old" media, "new" media lead to deeper fragmentation of the audience. People no longer receive homogeneous information but an individual set of issues corresponding to their personal needs and demands. As a result, people formulate different hierarchies of events that they consider important (Brubaker, 2008, p. 5). A similar point of view is shared by Paletz (2002), who believes that users actively seek out political information and are not passive recipients of media agendas as suggested by traditional

agenda setting. Internet users are able to select the information they wish to receive, avoid what they do not want, and access information not provided by traditional media (p. 21).

Despite the fact that traditional media have gradually lost their monopoly on agenda setting, it is premature to think that print, radio, and television no longer affect the popular mind. Rather, an influential process of slow redistribution of traditional and new media is underway. For instance, speaking about the growing influence of blogs, Meraz (2009) notes that "though traditional media's agenda setting power is no longer the sole influence, its influence still remains a driving, 'A-list' force in the creation of blog agendas" (p. 701).

To adequately estimate traditional and new media's capacities to set the public agenda in Russia, it is necessary to distinguish between categories which sometimes may be unreasonably used as synonyms: framing, agenda setting, and priming.

Kim, Scheufele, and Shanahan (2002) define framing as a process within which mass media:

> …seek to reduce the complexity of issues for the audience by presenting news in easy-to-understand interpretive packages or frames. In addition to reducing complexity, these frames also serve as interpretive shortcuts for audience members, leading them to make attributions of responsibility or other judgments, based on different frames or interpretations offered by mass media for the some factual content. (p. 8)

Unlike agenda setting, framing assumes that mass media affect audiences not due to the increasing frequency of addressing specific issues, but as a result of putting some terminological or semantic spin on these issues.

Iyengar and Kinder (1987) proposed that the perceived salience of certain issues directly influences the public's evaluation of political actors as a direct outcome of agenda setting. When making decisions about political actors or public figures, they argued, audience members rely on those issues which are most salient to them at the time they make the decisions. This process is commonly referred to as priming.

It appears that there are no distinct differences between framing, agenda setting, and priming. Moreover, the similarity of these concepts enabled some scholars to regard framing and priming as synonyms, or—at most—natural extensions of agenda setting. But it is argued here that these terms denote different processes. Framing implies a predominantly qualitative influence on audiences, which becomes possible as

a result of using certain linguistic techniques. On the other hand, an agenda is set mostly due to its quantitative impact on people—regular coverage of specific issues. Priming may be seen as an outcome of framing and agenda setting when events, processes, and persons covered by mass media set specific images in people's minds.

Having distinguished these categories, it is now possible to state a hypothesis: a gradual change in the roles played by traditional and new media in influencing popular minds is observable now in Russia. In practice, this tendency means that new mass media are taking a more active part in public agenda setting, and becoming capable of producing effects in their audiences. In this context, new mass media include news internet sites, social networks, blogs, podcasting, Internet versions of newspapers, magazines, TV channels, and radio stations.

In April 2012, a survey of mass media usage by The All-Russia Center of Public Opinion Research indicated that television remains the main source of information. More than three quarters (78 percent) of respondents said they use federal (national) TV stations often for information; over half (52 percent) said they often used regional and local TV stations. Only about one quarter cited print media as an often-used source (27 percent for federal and 26 percent for regional and local); radio's numbers were even lower. Internet data indicate a digital divide: 39 percent said they used it often as a source of information, but exactly the same percentage said they never used it.

In sum, it is evident that:

- Television remains the most popular medium in Russia, followed by the federal (national) and local press. The Internet is now the third-most popular medium, more popular than a traditional medium such as radio. Russians get information from foreign media far less frequently.
- Russian people trust national and regional TV stations most of all. As in the case of popularity, TV is followed by the federal and local press. As for the Internet, citizens trust it less than radio. Again, the least-trusted medium is the foreign press.
- In spite of the fact that the Internet is by far the least trusted medium, its credibility is increasing: public trust in the Internet grew from 49 percent in 2008 to 64 percent in 2012.

Apart from positive trends in terms of credibility, the number of Internet users in Russia is steadily increasing. The Public Opinion Fund's project "FOM-RUNET"[1] reports that 8 percent of Russians used the Internet in 2003, and 51.2 percent in 2012.

Table 3.1 Trust in Types of Mass Media in Russia

Do you trust the following types of mass media? (close-ended question, one answer possible for each type of mass media, percent of those who use this type of mass media)

		2012	2009	2008
1) National/Federal/State TV stations	Yes	36	29	27
	Mostly yes	42	46	44
	Mostly no	16	17	17
	No	3	5	8
	Cannot say	3	3	4
2) Regional and local TV stations	Yes	30	25	25
	Mostly yes	48	47	44
	Mostly no	15	19	18
	No	3	5	8
	Cannot say	5	4	5
3) Central/Federal/State press	Yes	23	20	19
	Mostly yes	47	44	43
	Mostly no	21	24	23
	No	4	7	9
	Cannot say	6	5	6
4) Regional/local press	Yes	21	18	22
	Mostly yes	47	46	40
	Mostly no	21	24	22
	No	5	7	8
	Cannot say	7	5	7
5) Central/Federal/State radio	Yes	26	23	25
	Mostly yes	46	46	43
	Mostly no	16	18	17
	No	3	6	8
	Cannot say	9	7	8

(*continued*)

Table 3.1 Trust in Types of Mass Media in Russia (*continued*)

6) Regional/local radio	Yes	24	19	22
	Mostly yes	42	46	41
	Mostly no	19	19	18
	No	4	7	8
	Cannot say	11	8	10
7) Foreign mass media	Yes	13	–	11
	Mostly yes	30	–	21
	Mostly no	30	–	23
	No	7	–	23
	Cannot say	19	–	23
8) The Internet	Yes	23	22	15
	Mostly yes	41	34	34
	Mostly no	22	17	20
	No	7	8	13
	Cannot say	7	20	19

According to another survey, Internet World Stats,[2] 47.7 percent of Russians used the Internet in the summer of 2012. Taking statistical error into account, these numbers—51.2 percent and 47.7 percent—may be seen as almost identical.

To ascertain the ratio between traditional and new media in agenda setting, it is necessary to know why Russians use the Internet. According to data from the FOM-RUNET project,[3] people in Russia most frequently access the Internet to look for information (72 percent) and read the news (63 percent). Figure 3.1 illustrates Internet uses and percent of users in 2010 and 2012.

From 2010 to 2012, both "communication in social networks" and "reading news" increased in popularity by 9 percent. These data significantly correlate with figures from a longer-term survey carried out by the All-Russia Center of Public Opinion Research.[4] Figure 3.2 illustrates Internet uses and percentage of users in 2006, 2008, 2010, and 2012.

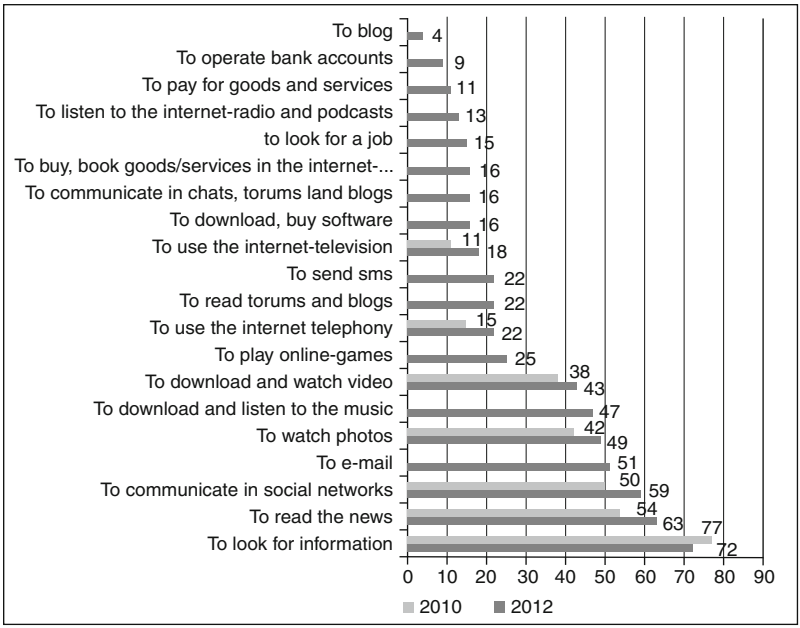

Figure 3.1 Internet Use in Russia
(FOM-RUNET project)

According to these data, using the Internet to get information about current events is popular. The fact that the most common way of using the Internet is "to work or study" (51 percent in 2012) but not "to read the news" (47 percent in 2012) may be simply explained: there were no options concerning work or education in the questionnaire of the All-Russia Center of Public Opinion Research. It can therefore be argued that new media play a certain role in the agenda setting process. The growing popularity of the Internet supports this conclusion. It would be naive to suppose that, despite the comparatively low level of trust of Internet sources, the medium does not affect the attitudes of Russian citizens.

The growing popularity of new media and their impact on public minds are hardly surprising. Compared to traditional mass media, new media can employ interactive and multimedia options, providing their audiences with information faster and at less cost. Finally, there is another, typically Russian, factor accounting for the high popularity of new media: it is practically impossible to put authoritarian pressure on the Internet. In Russia, TV channels, radio stations, and newspapers

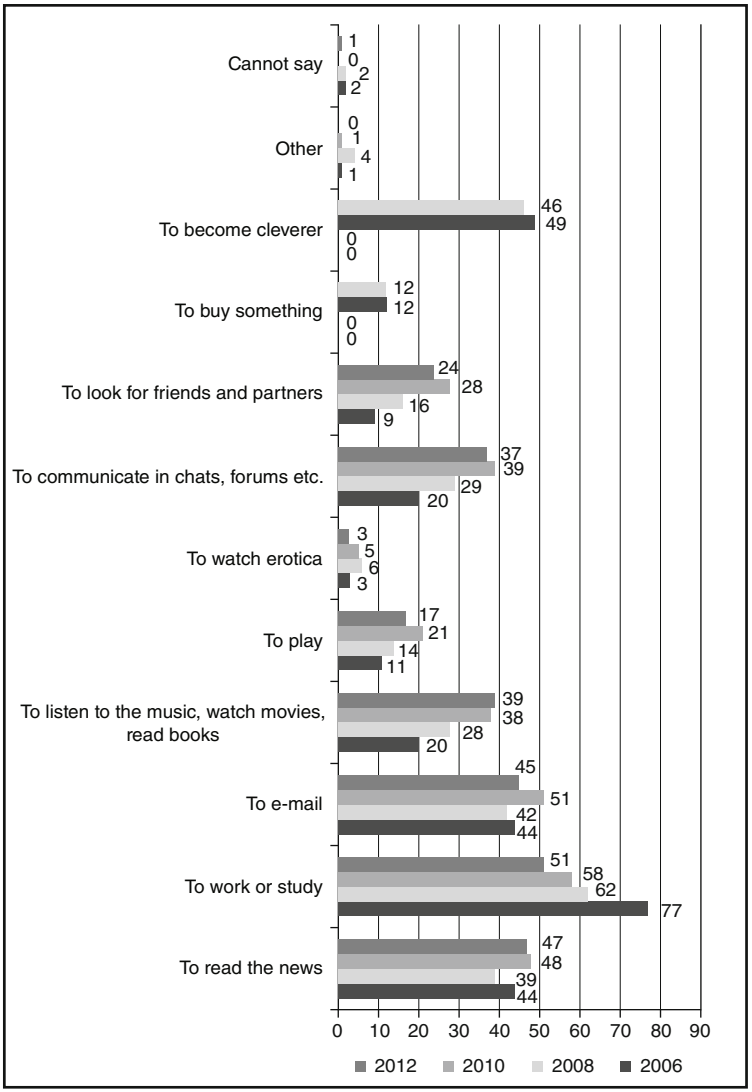

Figure 3.2 Internet use in Russia
(All-Russia Center of Public Opinion Research)

disloyal to the government can simply be closed. But to do this with blogs or social networks is more difficult: as soon as Internet sites are "banned," several new ones may instantly appear. As Pavlyutenkova

(2012) notes, "the Internet made possible a situation when it's impossible to switch it off without switching off the whole communication system of a country" (p. 363).

The advantages of new media have led scholars to debate the future of mass media. The majority view is that in the long run, the influence of new media on politics will increase. In parallel with this, the role of traditional media will be reduced. Banyliak (2011) believes that, at best, traditional media will be digitized, and, at worst, will be left behind by new media (p. 191).

Even without data from public surveys, the expanding role of new media is evident. Issues are hotly debated in social networks; for example, a car accident in which a high-profile manager of one of the top Russian oil companies was involved, numerous examples of clownish behavior of policemen, and suspended sentences for culprits of hit-and-run fatalities. In most of these cases, new media initiated public discussion of the issue. In other words, new media initially drew attention to problems and situations and only after this did traditional media begin to cover the issues. This is another indication that new media have a significant impact on setting the public agenda.

Additional confirmation of this can be found in the way the Russian blogosphere functions. Lazutkina (2011) points out so-called "opinion shapers." She thinks that such bloggers "are successful in promoting socially important projects and programs, organizing cultural events and meetings, publicizing in traditional media materials concerning issues originally hyped up by bloggers, making officials respect public opinion formed in the blogosphere" (p. 376). To put it another way, bloggers as opinion leaders draw the attention of Internet users to specific aspects of social life, and in this way participate in agenda setting.

It is argued here that the political influence of new media is more obvious in terms of priming. Due to the Internet—primarily social networks—people can, to a large extent, become spontaneously and involuntarily involved in political communication. Even if someone entered a social network merely to communicate with their friends, there is still an opportunity to stumble upon political news—among the updates from friends, for example. Sometimes such issues attract the attention of users, and even form their attitudes toward them. In this context, Muzyka (2012) deems it possible to speak of "two-stage communication in the Internet," i.e., the process in which "political information first comes to people interested in politics and looking for political news

intentionally, and then through them it's spread on [to] 'usual' users of the Internet" (p. 234).

Thus, new media may be considered as a space where people can freely, without any external control and restraints, discuss issues that interest them. Furthermore, such discussions may unite users on the basis of shared views on certain issues, lead to planning collective actions and, ultimately, to participation in the political process. Pavlyutenkova (2012) believes that "those who use social media are a good example of politically active people ready to hold rallies and come together in organizations like the League of Voters"[5] (p. 364).

With regard to priming, the Internet mobilizes users to take part in political actions, including demonstrations and protests. Bytorina (2012) suggests that major rallies and demonstrations in the aftermath of the State Duma (the lower chamber of the Russian parliament) elections in December 2011 were organized and managed via social networks and other channels of Internet communication. In total, according to various estimates, from 25,000 to 150,000 Russians participated in numerous street actions (p. 88).

The fact that new media are capable of shaping public opinion on the most urgent social and political issues (the priming effect) became apparent after different campaigns initiated by social networks in Moscow and Saint Petersburg. Examples are the "blue buckets" movement (against high-profile drivers who use blinking lights for their own convenience), defenders of the Khimki forest movement, and disorders after the murder of Igor Sviridov, the leading fan of the Spartak Moscow soccer club (most popular club in Russia).

These examples of the growing influence of new media on public opinion support the hypothesis stated earlier. New media are actively taking part in agenda setting and the creation of priming effects. As far as framing—the third element of mass media effects—is concerned, it was not properly analyzed within this work. But we believe that, as is the case with traditional media, Internet sources also contribute to framing. To define the intensity and the specific character of such usage, it would be necessary to conduct another research study.

New media's role in agenda setting and creating priming effects also needs further investigation. In this light, the research presented here is a statement of the problem and an indication of a general trend. Empirical research should be conducted into the parameters and characteristics of new media's impact on the political mindsets of their audiences. However, we are convinced that, in the long run, the political influence of new media in Russia will increase. The pace of information growth

makes it inevitable that the Internet will play a growing political role. If so, Russian new media have the potential to become one of the most important political actors in the country.

Notes

1 Retrieved from http://runet.fom.ru/posts/10714
2 Retrieved from http://www.internetworldstats.com/stats4.htm
3 Retrieved from http://runet.fom.ru/posts/10714
4 Retrieved from http://wciom.ru/index.php?id=459&uid=112941
5 The League of Voters is a Russian political activist group that monitors elections in order to make them more honest and fair.

4

Case 2: Palestine—New Media, Same Old Political Agenda

Mohammed Abualrob and Diana Alkhayyat

The Palestinian media represent an exceptional case in the Middle East, and the Arab world in particular. Because Palestine is still under Israeli occupation, media tend to focus on macro issues such as politics, the Palestinian-Israeli negotiations, and restrictions that cause suffering to Palestinians in their daily lives. Focusing on major political issues means that other issues, such as housing, food, petrol prices, education, individual freedom, and social and family violence, are less frequently covered.

This study investigates whether there are significant differences in the central issues addressed by daily newspapers and online news sites. Specifically, content was analyzed in *Al-Quds*, a widely distributed newspaper in the West Bank, Jerusalem, and the Gaza Strip, and the *Ma'an* news website. It is important to mention here that Israeli policies, including control of the crossing areas, prevent the regular passage of daily newspapers between Gaza and the West Bank. This study addresses a number of questions, including:

- To what extent do media coverage priorities differ between traditional and online media in Palestine?
- What kinds of issues are both covering?
- How do the topics, frames, and sources differ between *Al-Quds* and the *Ma'an* news website?

The content analysis covers the period when the Palestinian Authority attempted to earn recognition for Palestine as a state in the United Nations (September 15 to October 15, 2011) and there was wide media mobilization of public opinion. The analysis examined the variables of topic, frame, language, and source, which reflect the priorities of coverage. The study also includes interviews with the editors of *Al-Quds* and *Ma'an*.

The Era of Electronic Media

A distinguishing quality of the newspaper as a medium is its ability to encourage the reader to think about and analyze events. In addition, the reader can read the news again at any time, and subject the text to criticism and comment. Because it is published on the day following an event, the newspaper has time to gather information, and analyze and present it in a logical sequence, enabling the reader to understand and absorb it more thoroughly (Abu Ayyash, 2008, p. 11). Nevertheless, the Internet has changed the way in which news is presented and consumed. Online news sites take several forms—electronic versions of traditional media, purely electronic news sites, and aggregator sites such as Yahoo News that collect news stories from various sources. The spread of online news has raised questions relating to the standards and formats of traditional media, the nature of a website's audience, the control of published material, the site's economic viability, and competition from other online news sites, as well as the influence of newspapers. The challenges presented by online media include the multiplicity of options such as multimedia, archives, updated news, participation features, interaction with readers, advertising and other services, and the ability to modify content in response to changing events (Nubar, 2004, p. 19). The Internet has become not only a channel to disseminate information, but a challenge to the production process of newspapers, as it includes advertising and services and a forum for interactive contact with the public. The technological revolution has given the media a greater role in influencing events (Nubar, 2004, p. 19).

What Are Online Media?

While traditional and new media have similar principles and objectives, what distinguishes new media is that they combine all the traditional means of communications in a more effective way. The Internet gives journalists the opportunity to combine text, audio, graphics, stills, and video, reducing the barrier between sender and recipient (Bunder & Al-Majaydah, 2009). Although a wide range of literature examines the characteristics of new media, most scholars have focused on three features: variety, flexibility, and interactivity (Hjarvard, 2003; Davie & Upshaw, 2006).

Journalists have long faced the problem of limited space in traditional print media, competing with advertising for space in a finite product. The Internet allows the creation of a multidimensional newspaper with a theoretically unlimited size that can satisfy many levels of interest.

Flexibility is also a key feature, enabling the user to easily access a large number of information sources and sites, and to select the information the user considers good and credible. One of the most important differences between an online newspaper and a traditional newspaper is the ability to interact directly, express views, and participate in discussion forums (Bunder & Al-Majaydah, 2009).

Online and traditional media differ in the geographical area covered. Obviously, a website can be accessed worldwide, unlike most traditional media that are restricted within geographical boundaries. *Ma'an* is available to many Palestinians who live outside the Palestinian Territories. There are also cost differences: compared with physical print distribution or broadcast radio and TV transmission, the costs of electronic distribution are low (Ahlers, 2006, p. 32).

The Palestinian Authority has placed no restrictions on Internet Service Providers (ISPs) or the opening of new web domains. By contrast, traditional media, with large capital investments in older technology and higher cost structures, are at a disadvantage. The competitive response of traditional media is to offer online versions at a substantially lower operating cost (Ahlers, 2006, p. 32). New Internet users read newspapers an average of four hours per week, whereas experienced online users spend only an average of three hours per week reading newspapers (Ahlers, 2006). These data suggest a decline in print readership and an increase in electronic readership, as users become more acclimated to the online world, but do not indicate a wholesale migration from print to the online medium (Cole, 2004).

What makes the Internet unique is that it can display information in ways similar to television, radio, and print media, but without limits of space and time. Radio and television content are both limited by available airtime, and print by the available number of lines, columns, or pages. Traditional media have tried to adapt to a new competitive environment by delivering their content online, extending services and adding new ones, and repackaging their content (Medoff & Kaye, 2011, p. 8).

News organizations worldwide are increasingly practicing convergence journalism—combining text, audio, and video in progressively interactive ways to tell stories—to engage potential audience members. However, many news websites continue to rely on written text as the dominant channel (Wise, 2009, p. 532). Media industry observers believe that the move toward convergence journalism significantly impacts how citizens consume news (American Press Institute, 2006; Nguyen, 2003, 2008). However, little research goes beyond basic audience data to explore the question of how convergence journalism affects

the way news site visitors cognitively process stories (American Press Institute, 2006; Nguyen, 2003, 2008).

Online media have also affected advertising revenues. As consumers turn to the Internet, major newspapers have declared bankruptcy, shut down, imposed staff pay cuts, or turned to Internet-only publication (Salman, 2011, p. 2).

Web versus Print Media Writing Style

Writing styles evolved in newspapers, radio, and television due to the unique nature of each medium and to the manner in which its audience consumes each medium (Johnson and Cartee, 2005). In online media, it is not always easy to identify the writing template, especially when the material includes audio, video, and images. With news reports, short stories, investigative reports, and opinion articles, it is difficult for the audience to distinguish between the various online journalistic styles. To understand the cognitive demands of reading the stories used in this study, it is important to review the history and conventions of two writing styles: the inverted pyramid and the narrative.

The inverted pyramid is a mainstay of journalistic style. Early adoption of the inverted pyramid by journalists is often attributed to the invention of the telegraph. Because of the uncertainty and expense of wiring stories, reporters were instructed to begin with the most important information (Brooks et. al., 2008). This structure works well for two reasons. First, the most important information helps to grab attention and interest, so the reader is more likely to read the entire article. Second, a story written in the inverted pyramid structure means the least important information is at the very end of the story and can be cut without any loss of important information. The alternative is the narrative style, also referred to as literary journalism, which entails presenting facts and real-life observations in the suspense-ridden manner of a novel or a short story. Narrative style is more consistent with how humans perceive and communicate information about events (Wise, 2009, p. 534).

Palestinian Media—Historical Background

Following is a timeline of key events in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict (1948–2012):

- 1948: Declaration of the creation of Israel on 57 percent of historical Palestine land. The same year witnessed the war between the Arab countries and the Zionist militias, which later formed the army of Israel.

- 1967: The Six-Day War between the Arabs and Israel; as a result, Israel took control of all historic Palestinian land.
- 1987: The emergence of the first Palestinian Intifada in the occupied lands.
- 1993: Signing of the Oslo agreement between Israel and the Palestinian Liberation Organization, which led to the creation of the Palestinian Authority in parts of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.
- 2000: Israel continued the construction of settlements in the West Bank in violation of the Oslo accord, leading to the emergence of the second Intifada. Israel destroyed the institutions of the Palestinian Authority and reoccupied the West Bank.
- 2012: Palestine declared as Non-Member Observer State Status in the United Nations.

Palestine is a geographical area on the coast of the Mediterranean, south of Turkey. For hundreds of years it was under Muslim rule, until the fall of the Ottoman Empire in 1917 during World War I. From 1921 to 1947, Palestine was under British mandate. Britain encouraged the world's Jews to immigrate to Palestine, especially after the 1917 Balfour Declaration, the promise made by British Foreign Minister Balfour to establish a Jewish homeland in Palestine. Palestinian Jews made up five percent of the total population of Palestine until the beginning of the British mandate. With the support of Britain, the Zionist movement brought hundreds of thousands of Jews to Palestine, and built Jewish institutions that led eventually to the declaration of an Israeli state on over half of the lands of historic Palestine. As a result, approximately 750,000 Palestinians have migrated to neighboring Arab countries, losing their homes and lands (Khawaja, 2012, p. 6).

The Israeli occupation of Palestine has raised the issue of the media's role in forming Palestinian public awareness. As Jamal (2005) has noted: "Despite the limited number of readers as a result of low literacy rate in Palestinian society before 1948, several newspapers were published in Palestine. Journalists played an important role in propagating Palestinian nationalism. Political leaders and later, parties, utilized newspapers to promote their views and express their positions in different fields that concerned the contemporary social elite" (p. 72).

Israeli occupation after the 1967 war presented obstacles for the Palestinian press. Palestinian newspapers are required to seek approval from Israeli military censors for all stories, and to publish all Israeli military orders immediately and for free (Abu Ayyash, 1990, p. 74). The headquarters of *Al-Quds* in Jerusalem were closed more than once on the pretext that it published articles not cleared by the censors. Stories about

the occupation, and calls for national mobilization, have been banned. The military censor's authority even extends to the Announcement of Condolences for the Dead (obituaries). According to a prominent reporter, the Israeli censor deleted the phrase "pure soul" from the condolence the newspaper intended to publish for a Palestinian. The censor justified the deletion by asking, "How do you know that his soul is pure?" (M. Al-sheikh, personal communication, January 12, 2012).

After the Israeli occupation in 1967, a number of daily newspapers were published, including *Palestine, Al-Manar, Al-Jihad, Al-Difaa*, and *Al-fajer*, followed by *Al-Sha'b*, which continued to publish until 1993. *Al-Sha'b* was shut down and blocked more than once on the pretext of being funded by the Palestine Liberation Organization. During the period from 1967 to 1987, 22 newspapers were issued in Palestine, including dailies and weeklies, in addition to 20 magazines with different specialties. Ayyash concluded that these newspapers dealt with the political situation, and the circumstances resulting from the Israeli occupation, as a priority over social, cultural, and artistic issues (Abu Ayyash, 2008, p. 27). After the Palestinian Authority took control of some parts of West Bank and Gaza Strip, following the signing of the Oslo Accords in 1993, a number of daily newspapers emerged, including *Al-Ayyam* and *Al-Hayat Al-Jadedah*, while *Al-Quds* continued to be published in Jerusalem under Israeli military censorship.

According to public opinion polls conducted in 1993–1994, the majority of Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip supported the Oslo agreement, "indicating that they viewed the peace process as a way out of their miserable situation" (Jamal, 2005, p. 74). The peace process reoriented newspapers to expand coverage of social, cultural, and artistic topics. The transition to a state with full sovereignty gave journalists more freedom to deal with issues such as family honor, honor crimes, women's freedom, and physical violence, along with criticism of customs and traditions.

Media Landscape in the Palestinian Territories

Several research studies have examined audience attitudes toward the various media platforms.

- Al-Quds Center for Media and Mass Communication (JMCC) carried out a survey to examine audience opinions of mass media. 76.2 percent of respondents listed television as their primary source of information, while 10 percent named radio, 6 percent the daily newspaper, and 5.4 percent online media (Al-Quds Center, 2008).

- The Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics published a media survey conducted in 2000 of 8,276 households in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Only 10.9 percent of households received daily newspapers, while the percentage with access to weekly and monthly newspapers was 8.3 percent and 0.6 percent, respectively. As for the method of receiving the daily newspaper, weekly newspaper, or magazine, the survey revealed that 4.2 percent subscribe, 74.2 percent purchase, 15.6 percent borrow, and 6 percent get them free (Jamal, 2005, p. 80).
- According to the Central Bureau of Statistics, Internet usage grew rapidly from 9.2 percent of the population in 2004 to 30.4 percent in 2013. Moreover, 55 percent of Palestinian youth used the Internet, and more than one half said that they received online threats that included malware, security risks, vulnerabilities, and spam. (Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, 2013).

This study attempts to highlight the differences and the similarities between the Palestinian print and online media through variables that include priorities of coverage, interactivity, and writing styles.

Al-Quds Newspaper

A daily political newspaper founded in 1951 by Mahmoud Abu Alzoulf, *Al-Quds* is partly financially supported by the Palestine Liberation Organization. According to a survey by the Ramallah Center for Human Rights in 2009, *Al-Quds* is the most widely read newspaper in Palestine; 47 percent of respondents preferred *Al-Quds,* while 19 percent preferred *Al-Ayyam* and 15 percent, *Al-Hayyat al-Jadedah* (Al-Quds, 2009).

According to its publishers, about 50,000 copies of *Al-Quds* are distributed, but people familiar with Palestinian journalism question this claim, saying that distribution does not exceed 30,000 copies (Thawabteh, 2010, p. 74). Despite this discrepancy, *Al-Quds* still has the highest circulation in Palestine. Newspapers rely primarily on advertisements, which in some cases make up more than 50 percent of the content (Thawabteh, 2010, p. 74). The influential Abu Al Zolof' family owns *Al-Quds*, and researchers claim that it is managed for pure profit (Thawabteh, 2010, p. 74). *Al-Quds* is read mainly by the elderly and is distributed widely in the central West Bank in Jerusalem, Ramallah, and Bethlehem, and in Jordan.

Newly established newspapers formed a challenge to *Al-Quds*. "Each daily, in its own way, has adopted a kind of mediator's role in which it attempts to explain PA [Palestinian Authority] polices to the public, and at the same time express the public's demand to the PA," notes Jamal. "This

role is reflected by the fact that *Al-Quds* has emphasized a national responsibility approach to the role of the press rather than freedom of the press driven by the economic forces of the market" (Jamal, 2005, pp. 76, 78).

_Ma'an_ News Website.

Ma'an describes itself as an independent news agency on its website. *Ma'an* was founded in 2005, and is operated by Palestinian journalists and foreign correspondents or friends of the Palestinian people. It is self-funded through advertising and sponsorship of programs by companies and institutions.

Ma'an, with headquarters in Bethlehem, is a large media network and nongovernmental organization. It has partnerships with nine independent TV stations in the West Bank: Amal TV in Hebron, Bethlehem TV in Bethlehem, the Al-Quds Educational Television in Ramallah, Nablus TV in Nablus, Al- Farah TV in Jenin, Nour TV in Jericho, Al-Salam TV in Tulkarem, Watan TV in Ramallah and Qalqilya TV in Qalqilya (Khreisheh, 2011, p. 207). *Ma'an* describes itself as the main source of independent news from Palestine. The *Ma'an* News Agency (MNA) has become the first choice of many Palestinians, and is attracting a growing international readership and interest from international news organizations and agencies (Khreisheh, 2011, p. 207). MNA offers news reports for local, regional, and international readers, as well as feature stories, analysis, and opinion articles. Like the *Ma'an* Network, MNA maintains its editorial independence and aims to promote access to information, freedom of expression, and media pluralism (Khreisheh, 2011, p. 208).

Content Analysis

Using topic, language, source, and frame as variables, the sample analysis includes 30 stories from the front page of *Al-Quds* (1 story for each day) and 60 stories from *Ma'an* (2 daily, front-page posts, primarily 1 in the morning and 1 in the evening, depending on the timing of the information update). The content analysis covers the period when the Palestinian Authority attempted to earn recognition for Palestine as a state in the United Nations (September 15 to October 15, 2011).

Topics

The analysis shows that 79 percent of the headlines on *Ma'an* and 99 percent of the front-page headlines in *Al-Quds* were primarily political. According to Nasser Al-lahham, the editor in chief of *Ma'an*, "the

political situation in Palestine under the Israeli occupation makes political news an absolute priority." Al-lahham says that there are many reasons for the lack of economic and social coverage: the lack of a budget earmarked for such coverage, few professional journalists in these fields, and the fact that media schools in Palestine do not focus on investigative journalism. Al-lahham also cited the secrecy of business owners, who publish whatever they want on their own websites, without any transparency (personal communication, January 18, 2012). To exacerbate the problem, the judiciary does not follow up on complaints in the economic field. One major topic not covered by mainstream media is the quality of services provided by the Palestine Cellular Communication Company (JAWAL), documented in complaints that the Aldameer Association for Human Rights received in February 2010. Complaints related to high-cost and low-quality service in the Gaza Strip (Aldameer, 2010).

As for *Al-Quds*, 99 percent of the headlines on the front page are political. Maher Al-sheikh, the editor in chief, explained that "*Al-Quds* is a conservative newspaper and avoids the excitement and suspense style, even though the newspaper considers this style in some published reports" (personal communication, January 12, 2012). Besides, the newspaper depends on advertising which increases the taboo list of topics. For example, the newspaper avoids criticizing some companies and advertisers, or the services of the Palestine Cellular Communication Company. Nonpolitical issues, such as health, education, and the environment, are not a priority for the newspaper.

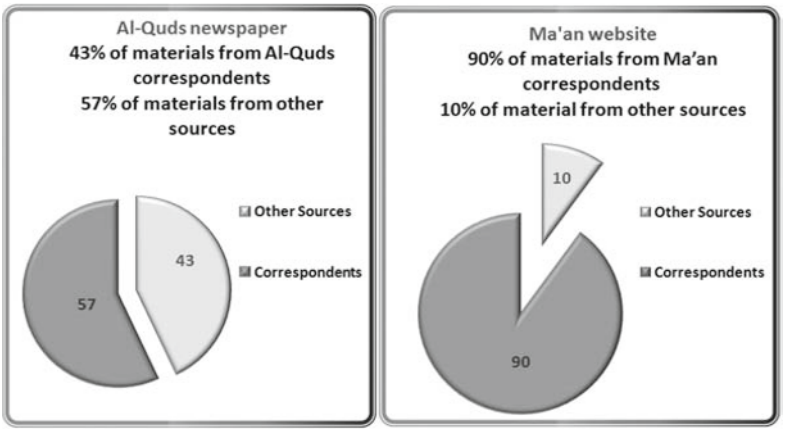

Figure 4.1 Differences Between *Ma'an* and *Al-Quds* in Sources of Stories

One of the fundamental differences between *Ma'an* and *Al-Quds* is the sources of stories. *Ma'an* is largely dependent on its own sources, while *Al-Quds* depends significantly on other sources, mainly news agencies, both local and global. According to Al-lahham, *Ma'an*'s policy is to rely on staff and correspondent sources for Palestinian news, and on international agencies for world news (personal communication, January 18, 2012).

Language and Style

The assumption of this study is that electronic media language may be less serious and sober than that of traditional print media. Daily newspapers have not adopted the tabloid format, because it may suggest a lack of seriousness. Palestinian journalists do not want to compromise the historical relationship between the form of the newspaper and the gravity of its language. The chief editor of *Al-Quds*, Al-sheikh, stated that tabloid journalism is often exciting and not suitable in the conservative Palestinian reality (personal communication, January 12, 2012).

In terms of language, two main title styles were observed—serious and direct headlines, and comic-analytical headlines. The direct headlines use formal language, while comic-analytical headlines have an analytical dimension presented in comic format. On *Ma'an* 47 percent of the main news headlines were composed of serious, direct language, while 37 percent were verbatim quotations, and only 16 percent were comic analytical. In *Al-Quds*, 77 percent of the main headlines used serious and sober language and 33 percent verbatim quotes; there was not a single headline that could be classified as a question or an analytic headline, or even far from direct language. This indicates that language in Palestinian media—whether traditional or electronic—still adheres strictly to traditional styles.

In addition, 61 percent of the content on *Ma'an* used the inverted pyramid, while 26 percent used descriptive narrative language. In *Al-Quds*, 84 percent of the stories used the inverted pyramid and 16 percent used descriptive narrative language. According to Al-sheikh, "The reason why *Al-Quds* adopts the inverted pyramid is related to the conviction of the newspaper that this is the most important template for the formulation of news. The audience asks for everything new from the media" (personal communication, January 12, 2012). It is clear that there is a correlation between newspaper content, writing style, and the predominance of political priorities in the Palestinian press. The greater the dissemination of political news, the more the inverted pyramid is used.

In terms of layout, the traditional Palestinian press, and especially *Al-Quds*, still uses only one or two pictures on the front page. The front page usually contains between 12 and 20 headlines and the most important information in the stories, with the rest on an inside page. This layout contrasts with the modern style, which features a large photo on the front page and a small number of news items, and sometimes only one news item on the page. Al-sheikh considers using a large photo on the front page—the style of the tabloid press—as inappropriate in *Al-Quds* (personal communication, January 12, 2012). Using a large photo may come at the expense of advertising space and the newspaper is not interested in losing advertisements. On *Ma'an*, the main website interface does not include more than six news stories, including the main news story, and each has at least one picture.

The large number of political headlines on the *Al-Quds* front page indicates that the newspaper still considers its readers as the elite of society. To appeal to them, Palestinian newspapers seek to preserve the seriousness of classical language in writing and publishing. Furthermore, they assume that readers want to find the most important local, regional, and international news on the first page, and will seek details on the inside pages only when interested in a specific topic.

Another assumption of this study is that electronic media will take advantage of the lack of geographical limitations. Strangely, the content analysis showed the opposite. While the traditional Palestinian press continues to highlight Palestinian news on the front page as a priority, followed by Arabic and international news, 87 percent of news published on *Ma'an*'s main interface is Palestinian news. The reason may be that *Ma'an*'s editors want to provide information to people living around the globe, primarily the more than five million Palestinians in the diaspora (Dane and Knocha, 2012, P. 28).

General Results

This study shows that online media in Palestine, as represented by *Ma'an*, are seeking to overcome traditional stereotypes in journalistic writing, as well as relying on excitement and suspense styles. In contrast, the printed press is still committed to sober and strict press language, and even transliteration, in addition to relying on the inverted pyramid.

The interactive nature of online media gives it the capability to respond to changing and fast-moving news. The political situation in Palestine and the rapid flow of daily news has meant that the *Al-Quds* website has become more popular. While the newspaper claims that it

prints 25,000 copies a day, about one million visitors per month go to its website. Visitors to *Ma'an* may participate in online opinion polls, making it more interactive than *Al-Quds,* which does not provide such a service.

Little attention is given to interactivity in the Palestinian press, both in print and a electronic outlets. For instance, *Ma'an* does not provide participation and comment option, although when it was available in 2011 for a short while, many visitors responded and posted comments. Al-lahham said the reason for dropping the service is the lack of staff to monitor comments. More than 7,000 reports are published daily on the website, and the estimated number of comments, when the option was available, was between 80 and 100 per report. "There are many international agencies that don't use the interactivity feature," Al-lahham said. "There's a difference between a news agency, and blogs or social network sites, regarding comments, which are not needed unless there's a certain benefit from them" (personal communication, January 18, 2012).

The Palestinian press audience is in constant decline. The three daily Palestinian newspapers (*Al-Quds, Al-ayyam*, and *Al-Hayat Al-Jadedah*) do not reveal their circulation figures, current or past. The editor-in-chief of *Al-Quds*, Al-sheikh, indicated that his newspaper prints 25,000 copies daily, but the number of copies sold is not clear. Al-sheikh does not consider the distribution a reflection of the newspaper's readership, because a single newspaper is read by more than one person within an organization or in the home (personal communication, January 12, 2012).

In an effort to maintain sales, the daily *Al-Ayyam* has a policy of delaying publication of the electronic version on its website until after the middle of the day. This underscores the argument of this study that the electronic media are a real threat to the future of Palestinian newspapers.

Finally, the media, out of a sense of social responsibility, focus on the political situation rather than economic, social, and cultural issues. This results in the use of serious language and writing styles. After all, most Palestinians believe that the Israeli occupation is the main factor that hinders all aspects of daily life.

5

Case 3: China's New Media Paradox: Economic Gains, Political Troubles

Ke Wang and Guoping He

Background

China is going through an enormous transition, perhaps even a transformation. The ultimate engine of this transformation is economic reform, termed by some as the vigorous revival of a capitalist economy (Winfield, 2005). Yet political reform has not kept pace with economic reform, making China a unique transitional society with a system that has been described as "market authoritarianism" (Winfield, 2005): the co-existence of economic openness and success with comparatively tight political control.

China's media system has attracted the interest of many scholars. Most researchers contend that marketization and deregulation have made the Chinese media market- and audience-oriented, although its propaganda role remains (Winfield, 2005; Stockmann, 2011). However, most debate is about the commercialization of traditional media, and research is needed to explore the latest changes in China's media landscape, where the most dynamic impulse is the rapid diffusion of new media. By the end of 2012, the number of Internet users reached 564 million, accounting for 42.1 percent of the country's population. Of these, 74.5 percent, or 420 million, surf the Internet via mobile phones. Microblog users totaled 309 million, with 65.6 percent of them sending microblogs via mobile phones. In 2012, 2.68 million websites were registered in China (CNNIC, 2012). The questions of how new media as technological innovations are used, and how they have changed the Chinese media landscape and society, have become pressing.

Transitional China and Its Media Landscape

Before 1978, China was a closed society with a one-party political system and a state-controlled planned economy. Under reforms that opened up the country, China embraced the market economy, often called the "socialist market economy with Chinese characteristics." The introduction of competition and openings for foreign investment resulted in fundamental changes in economic structure, triggering and accompanying equally far-reaching social changes. The main areas of socio-economic transition have been:

- from an agricultural to an industrial economy;
- to marketization and urbanization;
- from a relatively homogeneous society to the stratification of social classes with heterogeneous values and interests; and
- in people's thought and behavior, to more diversified and multi-faceted attitudes (Xin, 2010).

The transitional period has seen many problems, including:

- the growth of wealth but unequal and unjust distribution;
- drastic urbanization but limited city resources;
- years of industrialization but with a heavily polluted environment;
- the commercialization of housing, education, and medical care, but a social welfare system that fails to meet the people's needs; and
- the emergence of interest groups, and conflicts between them.

Adding to the problems is the lag in political reform. Though some opening in the country's political affairs is apparent, there are calls for more reform. Direct selection and voting exist only at the village level, and calls for the establishment of mechanisms for government transparency and accountability have not been fully met. The balance of power between a large government and a small civil society is basically unchanged. Formal, effective, and multiple channels for the expression of diversified interests are not available. Therefore, the most remarkable feature of transitional China is the discrepancy between capitalism and economic reforms, and the one party-adherent political system.

China's media systems mirror this reality, representing, as some scholars have stated, "persistent competing forces between Capitalism and Communism" (Winfield, 2005, p. 258). Politically and culturally, China's media continue to function as the mouthpiece of the party-government, and are subject to tight regulation. In 2009 alone, 105 national regulations, ranging from censorship of online music to regulation of advertisements on radio and television, were issued by 16

central government departments (Luo, 2010, p. 31–37). Financially, China's media must be self-reliant and compete fiercely for market share, advertising, and investment, just like any other business in a market economy. The trend is toward business and media concentration with cross ownership between media outlets in different provinces and cities, cross-ownership of media and nonmedia industries, and larger media conglomerates (Luo, 2010). Some have even argued that the Chinese media are transforming to a state-controlled, capitalist, corporate model (Huang, 2007). Chinese media must serve and please two masters: the state and the market. The two share decisive and interlaced power in influencing, determining, and shaping all aspects of China's media.

The commercialization of traditional media has been well documented (Winfield, 2005; Tai, 2007; Liebman, 2011; Guo, 2012; Tang, 2012). The rapid development of new media has made the media landscape less clear-cut. Before a discussion of the entangling presence of new media is presented, it is useful to define the term. Peters (2009) argued that new media are not new, and that in fact, all media were new. Instead, he argues for renewable media. But he also acknowledges that in most English-speaking countries, new media refers to digital communication technologies (2009, p. 16). This research defines new media as the Internet and its related digital technologies and applications (Tomasello et al., 2010), and includes both computer-based and mobile-based Internet applications. The Internet and new media are used interchangeably here. This understanding incorporates popular terms such as "the fourth media" and "the fifth media," referring to the Internet and mobile media respectively, and distinguishes them from the first media (printing), the second media (radio) and the third media (television), which are the old or traditional media as defined in this research.

However, a close look at the application of new media may find this juxtaposition of new and old media problematic. Like old media, new media are being used as sources of news and information as well as entertainment content. But new media are also being used for commercial purposes, such as online shopping and banking; for instantaneous communication (just like old media telephone and fax); and for user-generated content (like previously alternative media), as well as other applications and uses (CNNIC, 2013). Hence "new media," in this research, has two meanings: in the broadest sense, it refers to commercial and communication instruments, as well as information and entertainment media coinciding with the old media; in a narrower sense, to the functions of traditional media.

Old media in China are fast being digitized, or converging with new media. Most old media have websites and are exploring mobile applications. Large media groups that built their market share and influence mainly on old media are now making great efforts to expand into new media services. For example, the *People's Daily*, which serves as a spokesperson for the Chinese government and an agenda setter for Chinese media, owns one of the three most influential Internet forums, and has its own search engine and Twitter-like messaging service. By the end of 2012, 17,221 traditional media outlets had signed up for microaccounts in Sina Weibo, the most influential microblog service provider in China. The active and sometimes influential presence of traditional media (national party media, in particular) earn them the title of the "national team on Weibo" (Analytic Report on the Internet Public Opinion, 2012).

Private companies provide the majority of online services, ranging from blogs and microblogs, to instantaneous communication and forums. However, according to the Provisions for the Administration of Internet News Information Services issued in 2005, only traditional media can publish news information on their websites. Portal websites and other online media can publish reprints or aggregate news information. This regulatory protection for old media secures their status as the main, online, news and information producers and providers.

New Media Diffusion and Application in China

Diffusion of innovation theory is used as the framework for this analysis. The authors are well aware of China's uniqueness as manifested in its "non-democratic setting" (Tang, 2012), and "transitional media system" (Guo, 2012); however, the political implications of new media—particularly as a possible force for democratization—have been a major concern for scholars (MacKinnon, 2008; Guo, 2012; Tai, 2007). The role of new media in setting the agenda for state-controlled traditional media is also examined, although it has been concluded that the effect is not strong (Tang, 2012). The understanding of China's special sociopolitical conditions means that researchers tend to be more conservative in predicting the political power of new media. This research is not intended as orthodox diffusion research. By using the methodology of documentary analysis, we analyze data from China Internet Network Information Center (CNNIC) statistical reports from 1997 to 2013, other reports, and the literature.

China's uniqueness adds another dimension to these classifications. As Zhao notes: "[i]n contrast to the diffusion of innovations theory based on

the experiences of American farmers, the diffusion of the internet in rural China is by no means the result of individual efforts or personal choices," and could only be introduced through planned efforts by government or other institutions (2006, p. 304). Because government plays an important, if not vital, role in shaping the media landscape, including the development of new media, this research will explore how uses of new media meet or defy the government's planned development of new media by using the concept of anticipated and unanticipated consequences.

Anticipated consequences, according to Rogers, are recognized and intended changes, while unanticipated consequences are neither intended nor recognized (2003, p. 448). The intentions of the Chinese government are well articulated in the statement that "[w]hile the Chinese government has supported the development of the Internet as a tool for business, entertainment, education and information exchange, it has succeeded in preventing people from using the Internet to organize any kind of viable political opposition" (MacKinnon, 2008, p. 31). In 1997, three years after China formally adopted the Internet, the CNNIC issued its first statistical report on Internet development, which was also the first report of its kind. It reported that there were less than 300,000 computers in China and about 600,000 Internet users (CNNIC, 1997). Since then, CNNIC has released its reports at the beginning and middle of each year.

This research draws on the reports released at the beginning of the year from 1997 to 2013. The reports published before 2009 provided numbers of Internet users without giving the percentage of Internet users in the total population. These rates were calculated by using census data divided by the Internet population, and are compiled in Figure 5.1, which indicates three stages of Internet diffusion. Before 1999, the Internet was a rarity and only several persons per thousand used it. Between 1999 and 2006, the development of the Internet began to take off. Since 2006, the Internet has diffused quickly. The year 2007 could be seen as the point of critical mass, because the 15.9 percent penetration rate is similar to the proposed 16 percent (cited in Garrison, 2001, p. 223). Today, the diffusion of the Internet is reaching the mature stage, and a slower growth rate may be expected during the next couple of years.

Internet usage has also been evolving. Figure 5.1 shows the changes in Internet usage in China. In the "rarity" and "takeoff" stages, the Internet remained a communication and information medium, used mainly for sending and receiving emails, getting a variety of information (news, business, education, finance, science, and so on) and downloading software. This is because the early users of the Internet were mainly

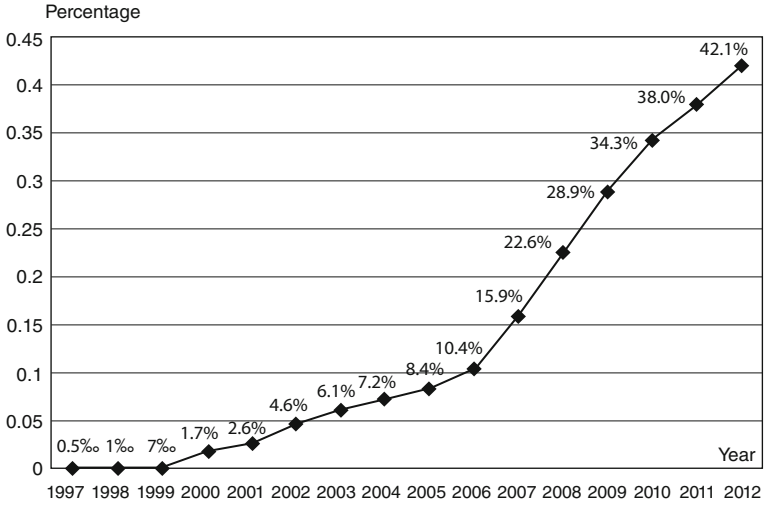

Figure 5.1 Internet users in China

researchers, computer professionals, and university students. Since 2007, or the "critical mass" year, entertainment and social usage of the Internet are in the top three, as seen by the rise in online music and instantaneous communication. Table 5.1 offers a closer look at these trends. During the takeoff stage, a variety of uses were developed quickly. Social, entertainment, and commercial uses were prominent. In the "rapid diffusion" stage, the commercial uses of the Internet dominated the top three ranks. The change from being a major communication and information medium to an entertainment, social, and commercial medium may be due to the changing demographics, with more and more ordinary people using the Internet. China now hosts the largest number of Internet users in the world with the greatest variety of Internet usage, although all of these uses have been imported from the West (Yin, 2012). Today, the Internet is used primarily for information, communication, entertainment, and commercial uses, as seen in Table 5.1. It seems that the development of new media has closely matched the government's expectations. However, a closer look at these applications and the profound changes they have brought to the social, cultural, and economic landscape, as well as the media landscape, may tell a different story.

This depiction of the Internet's trajectory and development is far from complete because it is subject to the way surveys have been conducted, how statistical reports have been compiled, and how the categories have been used. The categories have changed often, resulting in incompatibility

Table 5.1 Comparison of Internet Usage in China in 2011 and 2012

Use	2011		2012	
	User scale (Ten thousand)	Rate	User scale (Ten thousand)	Rate
Instantaneous communication	41510	80.9%	46775	82.9%
Search engine	40740	79.4%	45110	80.0%
Online music	38585	77.3%	43586	75.2%
Blog / Personal space	31864	62.1%	37299	66.1%
Online video	32531	63.4%	37183	65.9%
Online game	33569	59.5%	32428	63.2%
Micro-blog	24988	48.7%	30861	54.7%
Social network sites	24424	47.6%	27505	48.8%
E-mail	24578	47.9%	25080	44.5%
Online shopping	19395	37.8%	24202	42.9%
Online literature	20268	39.5%	23344	41.4%
Online banking	16624	32.4%	22148	39.3%
Online payment	16676	32.5%	22065	39.1%
Forum/bulletin board	14469	28.2%	14925	26.5%
Online travel booking	4207	8.2%	11167	19.8%
Online group purchase	6465	12.6%	8327	14.8%
Online stock transaction	4002	7.8%	3423	6.1%

Source: CNNIC 2013

between some earlier and later statistics—and although some categories always exist, their uses may have changed since the early days (for example, the search engine). Though flawed, these reports and their findings can be used as a reference for understanding Internet usage in China.

The Economic, Social, Cultural, and Political Role of New Media

The commercial uses of new media have had a huge impact, with the Internet economy becoming an important component of the national economy. In 2011, China's e-commerce trade volume contributed 12.5

percent to the nation's gross domestic product by reaching 5.88 trillion yuan, or US$930 billion (China Daily, 2012). According to estimates, by 2015, China will replace the US as the number one e-commerce market in the world (Walters, 2011). New media have profoundly changed some established sectors of the economy, such as retail, travel reservations, and banking. In the media industry, online advertising enjoys the fastest rate of growth among all advertising media. In 2011, online advertising revenues reached 51 billion yuan (US$8 billion), surpassing those of newspaper advertising, and indicating that the Internet has become the second largest advertising medium in China, after television (IRI, 2012).

The Internet has also met the government's anticipated goals by becoming an entertainment or recreation medium. In 2012, Internet entertainment, including online music, video, gaming, and literature, ranked second in Internet usage after communication (CNNIC, 2013). Some attribute this phenomenon to changing demographics; instead of the early, "elite" users, more and more ordinary people use the Internet (Kuang, 2004). From this perspective, the Internet is now a grassroots medium (Kuang, 2004; Dong, 2008), rather than an elite one. And it is in this sense that the Internet is a real "mass" medium—not just a medium for the masses, but also a medium in the hands of the masses.

Grassroots movements in China are subject to many restrictions, including those of identity, vocation and profession, *hukou* or household registration, and structural restrictions (Guo, 2005), to name just a few. Mobility between geographical areas, vocations and professions, and social classes, is difficult. Entertainment and recreational uses of the Internet could be partly seen as subversion to a highly structured, controlled, and stressful society. It also subverts the old media, because old media are primarily mainstream media promoting mainstream values and tastes. The reciprocity of the Internet and grassroots culture contributes to the success and impact of both (Dong, 2008). In China, the entertainment content on the Internet is so different from that of mainstream media that it earned the name "Internet culture," indicating the subversion of elite culture by grassroots culture, and the shift of power to the grassroots in cyberspace. As MacKinnon stated:

> By 2005 blogs had crashed the cultural gates. Chinese editors, station directors, and publishers had always acted as cultural "gatekeepers": deciding who could and who couldn't become known through publication, TV and film appearances, and musical performances. In a major cultural power-shift, pop cultural icons could emerge through

> blogs, forums, chatrooms, and personal websites, completely outside of the government approved cultural structures. (2008, p. 36)

The Internet's unanticipated cultural and social influences on Chinese society are also manifest in online spoofs and web buzzwords. Online spoofs, ranging from extracting abnormal comments to transforming portraits in Photoshop, and the remaking of blockbuster movies, are defined by a *China Daily* commentator from her Google search as popular subculture that deconstructs serious themes to entertain people with comic effects (Huang, 2006). Nevertheless, some scholars, who explored the political implications of online spoofs, have argued that they are comic but subversive, and serve as political discourse to ridicule the establishment (Meng, 2011). Web buzzwords and the concomitant web style language, as Liu has argued, are not only a subversion of the traditional language system but also create a civil discourse space outside the mainstream of state discourse and elite discourse (2012). Besides, widespread spoofs are a form of online collective activity that shows a participatory nature (Meng, 2011).

It is through such collective participation that the political significance of new media emerges along with its social and cultural significance, because the government, in the name of social stability, does not encourage collective participation in public activities. Because of the strict controls on expression in mainstream media, the Internet in the early stage of development was mainly used as a communication tool and as an alternative resource of information (Tai, 2007). Currently, the development of new media allows it to function as a platform for the production of alternative discourse on social and legal injustices, yet its effect on social change may be one of limitation (Erie, 2012). New media can also function as a vehicle for forming public opinion by providing effective channels for "netizens" (active participants of online communities) to articulate their views, and provide a forum for the collective discussion of issues (Tang, 2012).

Online forums have become distribution centers for news, opinions and commentaries, and people's voices (Zhao, 2008). China now has 1.5 million online forums, the most in the world, and the Internet has become an important channel for citizens to freely express their views and to participate in the deliberation on state affairs. New media have played a special role in exposing, publicizing, shaping, and influencing issues of public concern. The number of public events with influence on society has been on the rise in recent years. Well-attended public events in 2010 reached 308, from 183 in 2007. The year 2011 saw a

55.8 percent increase in such events (Wang, 2012). Newspapers, online news, and microblogs are the three main channels for publicizing these events. New media, therefore, have had a huge impact, generating influential Internet incidents and online public opinions. Be it a public space for "public discourse" (Tang, 2012:459) or "private civic discourse" (MacKinnon, 2008), new media have become an important arena for online muckraking and anticorruption campaigns.

The number of Internet incidents rose to 349 in 2011, compared with 274 in 2010 and 248 in 2009 (Yu, 2012). Among the 160 incidents between 1998 and 2009, those dealing with political affairs and people's well-being were the two top-rated issues. In the area of politics, corruption of officials and misbehavior by government administrations are the most important issues (Zhong, 2010). This has led to the use of the term "online anticorruption," which emphasizes the watchdog role of new media on political graft. In recent years, online anticorruption has become more professional, normalized, and entertainment oriented (Analytic Report on the Internet Public Opinion, 2012). Education, food security, environmental pollution, and the demolition of homes for urban development projects are also primary concerns in Internet incidents.

Internet incidents have political influence because they are aggregates of voices and opinions. Before the advent of new media, public opinion was not considered a sensitive issue in China, because traditional media in the service of the party and the government were more inclined to direct public opinion than to voice it. New media have now become a public space in a real sense, and the Internet has become almost the only open channel for people to articulate their concerns. The role of new media in forming, disseminating, aggregating, and amplifying voices from netizens explains why Internet public opinion in China is the most dynamic in the world (Report on Sina media weibo, 2013), and why online muckraking is so popular. Because there are no other effective and convenient channels for voicing opinion, strong expressions of anger and discontent are prevalent online. New media play an important role as a channel to vent dissatisfaction and complain about injustice.

Online public opinion is so influential in China that compiling online public opinion reports has become a routine practice for new and old media, academics, and business. These reports are widely cited in news reports and academic research. In addition, the public is also paying more attention to online public opinion, particularly after it is reported and quoted in the traditional media. Online public opinion is considered both constructive and destructive, and has put government authorities on high alert. As a column in the *People's Daily* reported, the country's

ruling party is taking notice of online opinions (Xinhua, 2012). Officials are called on to attend to, observe, supervise, direct, manage, and cope with online public opinion. According to research, more than 70 percent of events that caused wide concern on the Internet have seen responses from government officials and 50 percent have received a government response within 24 hours (IRI, 2012).

The microblog is the primary arena for exposing and triggering Internet incidents, and 20 percent of Internet incidents were first reported on a microblog (Yu, 2012). Since 2011, the microblog has become the fastest source of news, with discussion peaking within hours of a breaking event. By contrast, before the popularity of microblogs, the high point of online attention and discussion was usually reached on the second day following a breaking event. Tens of millions of comments may be seen on breaking events, an amount that has never been seen in the past (IRI, 2012). Of the top 15 concerns in microblogs in 2011, 12 received more negative than positive sentiments from micro-blog users (IRL, 2012). Yu (2012) and other scholars claim that the microblog has evolved from a social networking tool to a public opinion platform.

Government administrations have felt more pressure to give instantaneous reactions to online public opinion. What's more, the government is also jumping on the wagon by registering on Weibo. The number of administrative microblogs in Sina Weibo, including accounts from government departments and officials, exploded from 1,643 in 2010 to 27,655 in 2011 (IRI, 2012). By September 2012, the number had soared to 50,947 (Xinhua, 2012), making the microblog an important government channel for the release and dissemination of information. Some government officials even exchange views with the public on Weibo.

However, it should be noted that new media cannot be considered homogeneous. There is obvious fragmentation among netizens, because of a lack of common discourse between online "clans" (Yu, 2012). And it should be noted that Internet incidents and online public opinion are influential not because of new media alone. The attention and even involvement of old media contribute to their wide dissemination and influence. The following section addresses the interaction between new and old media.

Interaction between New and Old Media

In many respects, old media remain strong in China's media landscape. Economically, they are expanding and are an important component of cultural industries promoted by the government. Culturally and socially, they

provide food for thought and public concern for both netizens and the general public. Politically, they carry on their mouthpiece function by controlling the production of professional journalism, both offline and online.

New media, though, stand out because of their massive user-generated content. Texts, pictures, and video from eye-witnesses are frequently seen in blogs, microblogs, forums, bulletin boards, and in chatrooms. They are particularly influential during breaking events or events of public concern. Even when reporting nonbreaking news, new media have become important sources for traditional media. A research study on the work-related use of social media by Chinese journalists reveals that visiting websites, and using search engines to obtain story leads, are two of the three major channels journalists use to search for news leads. More than 90 percent of Chinese journalists believe that news leads originating from social media have some value, and over 60 percent said they had used social media to obtain news leads (PR Newswire, 2010).

For routine sourcing and resourcing, traditional media reporters actively use new media. New media have played a role in helping journalists investigate and report on social unfairness, political scandals, and group events (Li, 2012). Because of their anonymity, new media have become an important source for interviewees or citation of old media reporting (Li, 2012). Quotations from netizens with their net names are frequently used in print and broadcast reporting. Secondly, new media have become an indispensable pool for public comments on old media reporting. Some journalists believe that in China, new media will play a more significant role in future anticorruption reporting (Li, 2012).

Meanwhile, old media have an important role in sparking online discussion or Internet incidents. Among the four leading news media outlets that trigger heated discussion on the Internet, three are old media (IRI, 2012). Of the 160 Internet incidents between 1998 and 2009, 48 percent were triggered by reporting from traditional media, as compared with 37 percent from new-media users (Zhong, 2010). Research on the role of new media in the production of anticorruption news also indicates the close interaction between new and old media. In fact, the interplay has become a normal and even formal mechanism for the exposure of negative news (Li, 2012). Without the endorsement of traditional media, hot online discussions would not enter mainstream public opinion and would die out (Analytic Report on the Internet Public Opinion, 2012). Some scholars term the interplay as agenda interaction (Dong, 2006). A more detailed distinction between setting, sustaining, and defeating the old media's agenda through Internet incidents has been put forward (Tang, 2012).

Old media are important in three ways:

- Reporting from old media provides sources for Internet incidents;
- Old media are the gatekeepers of the new media, selecting and covering Internet incidents or online public opinion, and taking them out of cyberspace and bringing them to the mainstream public;
- New and old media parallel and mutually form and promote mainstream public opinion.

The role of traditional media as the primary arena for the formation and shaping of public opinion may be weakened by the presence of new media, but old media make up for the loss by playing an intermediary role between cyberspace and mainstream society. In other words, traditional media referee the entrance of new media into mainstream society. The referee role is built on large market share, wide influence, and social credibility (Yu, 2012). In terms of influence, television ranks first, followed by newspapers, new media, magazines, and radio, although new media will soon surpass newspapers for second place (Zheng, 2011). The influence of old media remains high in China, even among netizens (Pan, 2010). Moreover, the use of new media does not lessen the time and frequency that netizens use the old media (Pan, 2010).

However, new and old media do not always cooperate and interact smoothly, thus the term "two public opinion fields," originally coined to describe public opinion reflected from traditional media, and real public opinion based on mouth-to-mouth dissemination among people (Chen, 2013). Now the term generally refers to mainstream public opinion, primarily from national-party media, civil public opinion, or online public opinion (Dong, 2006; Xiao, 2010). The split between these two fields appears most stark when issues of national security and social stability are concerned (Dong, 2006).

Outlook and Conclusion

The development of the Internet is a mixed blessing for the Chinese government. Economically, new media are now a locomotive, completely meeting the government's expectations. Socially and culturally, new media are important entertainment media, also in accordance with government expectations. However, this is only half the picture. Netizens are not simply recipients of online entertainment content, because the old media already delivers content. New media create entertainment content, such as online spoofs, language styles, and buzzwords. In this way, new media are also self-entertainment media. What's more, new

media are used by netizens as a means to legitimize grassroots culture. These consequences were not wholly anticipated by the government.

Politically, the use of new media promotes Chinese-style political participation. Internet incidents and online public opinion demonstrate that new media play the role of online watchdog. As a watchdog, online media are both timely and persistent, placing officials nationwide on high alert and under pressure (Guo, 2009). The other side of this political participation is that top officials have formally recognized the importance of new media in the state's anticorruption efforts. In this sense, the political role of new media may partly fall within the government's expectations.

The development of new media is a huge topic, and this research is but a modest effort to examine the role of China's changing media landscape and society. More research is needed to develop a full and thorough understanding of new media in transitional China, as both are evolving in as-yet unpredictable ways.

6

Case 4: Armenia—New Media Transform Politics

Suren Deheryan

Armenia is a mountainous country in the South Caucasus region. With a territory of 29.8 thousand square kilometers, it is about the size of Belgium, and is bordered by Georgia, Azerbaijan, Iran, Turkey, and Nagorno Karabagh (a de facto independent country in the South Caucasus). More than 97 percent of the population of over three million is ethnic Armenian. A diaspora of around 6–7 million people of full- or partial-Armenian descent live outside modern Armenia, with the largest populations in Russia, the United States, France, Georgia, Iran, Lebanon, and Syria. With the exception of Iran, Russia, and the former Soviet states, the present-day Armenian diaspora was mainly a result of the Armenian Genocide during World War One (Hovannisian, 1997, p. 427).

Modern Armenia became an independent state on September 21, 1991, following the collapse of the Soviet Union, and embarked on development of democratic political institutions and a market economy. The country faced serious obstacles; the end of 70 years of Soviet central planning left it without a viable economic base and political institutions. From 1991 to 1994, Armenia was involved in a war with Azerbaijan over the disputed region of Nagorno Karabakh,[1] with its predominantly ethnic Armenian population (Tadevosyan, 2010). The gas pipeline from Russia was blown up during the war causing a three-year energy crisis in Armenia because power stations could not produce electricity or heating for the population as well as industrial enterprises. A year after an earthquake in 1988, the Medzamor nuclear plant was closed because of fears of an explosion similar to that at Chernobyl in Ukraine (Erlich, 1993).

These factors affected the development of the economy, including telecommunications. Since the government of independent Armenia lacked the resources to independently manage the Soviet-era network, it

handed over management to a foreign company in the mid-1990s. However, for most people, the benefits of privatization did not become tangible until 2004, when mobile phones became affordable, rather than luxury, items, and the Internet became available at offices and in the newly opened Internet clubs of the capital, Yerevan.

In many countries, new media have become essential tools in the social, business, and political fields. In Armenia, traditional media have lost their monopoly on reporting news. The increase in the number of news websites and social networks has created a new communication sphere that is influencing decision makers and providing a platform for discussing local issues in communities far from the capital.

The latest recorded figures (for 2010) put the number of Internet users at around 1.4 million, representing about 47 percent of the population. These figures show that, as part of its economic and social development, Armenia is forming an e-society. This study is an attempt to understand the place of "e-Armenia" in the virtual world, and the kinds of changes that have taken place through the influence of new media.

Telecommunications Infrastructure and Internet Access

During the 1990s, Internet access was primarily limited to academic institutions. The state renamed the telephone network the Armenia Telephone Company (briefly ArmenTel) and, in 1995, sold a 49 percent stake to the US company Trans World Telecom. The American company remained in the Armenian market for only three years. In March 1998, Greece's Hellenic Telecommunications Organization SA (OTE) became the owner of 90 percent of ArmenTel's shares. The government kept a 10 percent share and gave a 15-year monopoly position to OTE in the field of telecommunications. In return, OTE committed to invest $300 million in the sector over a period of 6 years, and to provide services meeting international standards.

According to the World Bank Country Study (2002), OTE's private monopoly of ArmenTel resulted in high prices for certain services; for example, Internet access tariffs were three times higher in Armenia than in Georgia and Azerbaijan. Combined with low quality and low levels of investment, OTE ownership hampered the potentially explosive growth in the sector (World Bank Country Study, 2002). In 2004, OTE agreed to give up its monopoly of the mobile telephony services of ArmenTel for US$7 million. Soon afterwards, a Lebanon-based company, K-Telecom, introduced the VivaCell brand to the Armenian market. In November 2006, OTE sold its 90 percent share

to the Russian telecommunication company VimpelCom. The government agreed to sell its 10 percent share to the Russian company, on the condition it end its existing monopoly position. In March 2007, VimpelCom acquired the government's 10 percent stake, worth approximately €38.6 million (about US$52 million) and announced the end of the monopoly in the Armenian communications market (VimpelCom, April 2007).

With the liberalization of the communications sphere, two other companies (FiberNet and GNC-Alfa) entered the Internet market; however, the Internet was still too costly for most of the population. According to the Public Services Regulatory Commission (PSRC), during a five-year period (2007–2011), the wholesale price of the Internet in Armenia decreased 150 times, and it continues to go down. In 2006, it cost 5.4 million Armenian drams (AMD)—about US$14,400—for 1 Mb-per-second speed per month. In November 2009, the PSRC set a maximum price of 174,000 AMD (US$435) for 1 Meb-per-second speed per month (Arka Telekom news agency, 2011). And in 2011, the commission determined a new price for the ArmenTel company, which was dominant in the wholesale Internet market, of 35,600 Armenian drams (about US$95) for 1 Mb per second (Ter-Ghazaryan, 2012). According to the PSRC, the decrease of the wholesale Internet price is due to the increasing number of Internet users, and the sharp increase in the volume of Internet Provider (IP) traffic (News.am news website, 2011).

Analysis of the Increase in Internet Uers in Armenia

According to the International Telecommunication Union (ITU), in 2011, Armenia was considered to be the most dynamically developing country in the sphere of telecommunications. From 2008 to 2010, the ICT Development Index[2] shows an increase of 31 percent, with Armenia climbing from 86th to 72nd place in world rankings (ITU, 2011).

Armenia currently has three Internet Service Providers (ISPs): ArmenTel, GNC-Alfa, and Fibernet. Most Armenian Internet traffic comes through Georgia or Iran. According to the PSRC, Internet access in Armenia reached 50 percent in the spring of 2012, with about 445,000 broadband Internet users, including 3G technology (every other family), and more than 1.5 million people having Internet access through mobile phones (GPRS). During this period Internet traffic volume increased 10 times—from 1.028 Mb per second up to 10.547 Mb per second (Mirzoyan, Jnews.am website, 2011).

Analysis of the Increase in Armenian Website Domains (ArmNet).

Internet access has had a direct impact on the number of websites in the .am national domain. The most popular news websites, such as News.am, Tert.am, 1in.am, and Lragir.am, were created from 2008 to 2011. A study by Circle.am, the only Armenian web-resources rating system, shows that the website base of ArmNet registered in Circle.am increased nearly eight times from June 2005 to June 2012, especially since 2009.

According to Circle.am data, views of ArmNet websites increased more than four times in the two-year period of September 2009 to September 2011 (B24.am, 2011). Registration in the national .am domain costs 12,000 AMD (about US$33) annually, three times as much as registration prices in other domains. For instance, registration in the .com or .info domains costs $8 to $12. Experts say that the reason for the high prices is the low number of websites (currently about 20,000) registered in the .am domain (Armenia Network Information Centre).

In addition, many websites with Armenian content are still hosted outside the country. According to information security expert Samvel Martirosyan, the main reason is the distrust of local hosting regarding service, security, and price (personal communication, February 3, 2012). According to the Circle.am study, only 19 percent of websites using the Armenian hosting services are based in Armenia. According to Alexa.com, a leading provider of free, global web metrics, websites with Armenian content used by Internet users from Armenia represent only one quarter

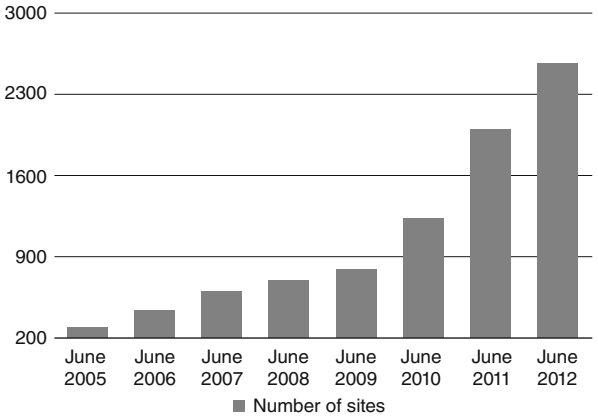

Figure 6.1 Number of Registered Websites in Armenia

Source: Circle.am

of the top 20 websites, and none rank in the top 10, These include News.am in 11th place, Blognews.am in 12th place, and List.am (a website for announcements) in 15th place. The most popular websites are Facebook, Google, YouTube, Wikipedia, the Odnoklassniki Russian social network, and the Yandex Russian search engine (Alexa.com, 2012).

Online Media versus Traditional Media

The first Armenian news websites were established in 2000. Panarmenian.net, A1plus.am, Armenianow.com, and other news websites were not updated daily. Panarmenian.net was the first Armenian site to provide free news in Armenian, Russian, and English, and was founded mostly for foreign visitors. According to executive director Armen Azaryan, the website was created at a time when there were no domestic web users. Traditional media were adapting to new market conditions and resisted any new media projects that could compete for audiences.

"I believe that news should be free and that is why I suggested our media partners create online versions of their media, but they did not consider it as a good idea. We had problems with partners, they were complaining for years. I've been blamed for destabilizing the media market," said Azaryan (personal communication, September 18, 2012).

News websites became more prominent after 2008. "In a short period of time it became obvious that they had become a source of alternative information in Armenia, as TV was under indirect control of the government, radio provides mainly entertainment programs, and the print media with its small circulation is also politicized," said Ashot Melikyan, the head of the Committee to Protect Freedom of Expression, the media advocacy NGO (personal communication, February 10, 2013).

Nevertheless, the main source of information for the Armenian population is still TV. Terrestrial analog television, which is free, is the most widespread form of television. According to the ITU, more than 96 percent of the population use this free TV service (ITU, 2011). The ITU data on radio is limited to the year 2005: 243,049 households, or 28.9 percent of the population who owned radios. But another survey of media consumption conducted by the Caucasus Research Resource Center-Armenia (CRRC) reports a smaller percentage of access to radio equipment for the year 2011 (CRRC, 2011). Only 20 percent of 1,420 residents surveyed had a radio at home, and 16 percent had a radio in the car, whereas 97 percent of respondents reported owning a working television set. Those who owned a computer as well numbered 32 percent and about 90 percent were using a mobile phone. According to the same survey, the most

important source of information about current events and news was TV (90 percent), with all other media far behind—the Internet at 7 percent, radio at 2 percent, and newspapers at 1 percent.

Traditional media are now trying to expand their activities to the Internet. According to Melikyan, although TV is still the most popular medium, online media with their exclusive news, fast and efficient distribution, and diversity have a direct influence on the news that traditional media report.

In the "News and Media" section of the Circle.am rating system, more than 200 websites are available, and the top 10 have 18,000–115,000 visitors every day (there is no information about unique visitors in Circle.am). In 2012, the top five news websites were News.am (114,375 visitors), 1in.am (57,464 visitors), Blognews.am (48,616 visitors), Tert.am (37,946 visitors) and Shanttv.com (34,861 visitors). This rating system does not present the complete list of the Armenian websites.

Access to social networks in Armenian has also led to an increase in the number of visitors. Almost all popular Armenian websites have a page on Facebook where they share their news of the day. According to data from Socialbakers.com, there are about 40 media Facebook pages from Armenia (including newspapers, TV channels, blogs, radio stations, and news websites) (Socialbakers.com, 2012).

Social networks have become tools for attracting readers and making information available; today, most online media provide Facebook, Twitter, and other e-networks. However, there has been an increase in cases where competition to be first with news has led to the distribution of incorrect information, and violation of ethical rules. The NGO Journalist for the Future (JFF) recorded such cases in a study of ten news websites. According to JFF, 11 percent of the articles did not have a clearly reflected source of information, and 80 percent mentioned only one source. Most of the articles were classified as news, press conferences, and research results; few were based on analysis or interviews. In terms of content, multimedia tools were seldom used, even if using them required no extra effort. According to the report, it is essential that online media seek to work impartially and provide comprehensive information and genre diversity to increase audience confidence (Journalists for the Future, 2012).

The Future of Newspapers

Parallel with the development of online media, discussions about the future of print media are continuing. Hakob Avetikyan, editor-in-chief of the newspaper *AZG* (*The Nation*), believes that the newspaper will

change but not disappear. "I do not think that the newspaper will disappear. The extra newspapers will disappear in the course of time, but the serious analytical and in-demand ones will continue their activity." In the editor's opinion, there is a group in society for whom reading newspapers is a culture, and it will be hard for them to change (Eghiazaryan, Mediamax.am, 2011).

Meanwhile, the editor-in-chief of *Zhamanak* (*The Time*) and the 1in.am news website, Arman Babajanyan, believes that newspapers do not have a bright future in Armenia. "I have solved this problem in a simple way. Seeing that newspapers are not competitive and being sure that sooner or later online media will win, I have created [the] 1in.am news website on the basis of Zhamanak daily," he said. Babajanyan is sure that his predictions are justified because 1in.am attracted 10,000 readers in only 6 months, while *Zhamanak's* circulation is still only 4,000 per day (Movsisyan, 2011).

Changes in News Agencies

The growth of the Internet has changed the activities of news agencies as well. The Armenian news agencies ArmenPress, Noyan Tapan, and MediaMax, that once provided information only by subscription, today offer free news websites. According to Ara Tadevosyan, director of MediaMax:

> In 1999, when MediaMax started its activity, the Internet was in Armenia, but it was not so widespread. The main income of news agencies was from subscriptions. Gradually, when the number of Internet users and the operative news websites increased, information for many people became available. And this affected the subscription service, since the news which was received through subscription has become available on news websites today. (Tadevosyan, personal communication, September 14, 2012)

The news website MediaMax.am was launched in the spring of 2011. Tadevosyan says that the challenge is to maintain professional quality while providing news on the Internet. "We do not write about something just to be in top place on the ratings. The number of visitors, of course, is important for us, but we increase it through our exclusive projects." Besides the news website, Mediamax created four other thematic websites for commercial purposes. "Today, our main income comes from advertisements, but it does not mean that any website can survive on

advertisements. In some websites advertising content is more than news content. In my opinion the limits should be kept" (Tadevosyan, personal communication, September 14, 2012).

The Role of Social Networks in Electoral Processes

During the parliamentary elections in May 2012, the Internet became an important platform for political campaigns. Political use of the Internet had been evident since 2011, when dozens of politicians registered their personal pages in social networks, especially on Facebook, and also registered pages for their political parties and groups.

Parallel with the social networks, two crowd-sourcing websites—Irazek.am and iDitord.org—were created in the pre-election period, enabling voters to get information about their rights and the elections process, and access to reporting from the polling stations. Other platforms provided for voter participation. Both the Ditaket.am regional journalists' network and the Mynews.am public contributors' website featured citizen complaints about election fraud, violation of rules, bribery, and the use of government resources during the election period.

The cofounder of the iDitord.org website, media expert Samvel Martirosyan, notes that the first time the Internet was used for political campaigns was in the 2007 parliamentary elections.

> All the parties started to register their official pages, in other words they began to understand that the Internet is an interesting platform for [a] campaign, too. During the Presidential election in 2008, the opposition started to use the Internet actively, though the number of users was not so large, and the main campaign tools were TV and newspapers. (Martirsoyan, personal communication, February 3, 2012)

The A1plus private TV channel, which was the only station to cover election fraud and violations during the presidential election in 1999, had its broadcast license taken away in 2002. It turned to the Internet, creating a news website. However, the A1plus.am website had little impact on presidential election coverage, because of the small number of Internet users. In 2007, before the de-monopolizing of telecommunications, only seven to eight percent of the population used the Internet.

As the number of users increased, especially in the capital, the Internet played a more significant role in the presidential election campaign in 2008, offering alternative sources of information. The trend may have

worried the authorities, because on March 1, 2008, under the 20-day state of emergency declaration by then-president Robert Kocharyan, more than 20 news websites were blocked for the first time, and YouTube was not available for a few days.

During this period, the main sources of information were blogs. Media Diversity Institute expert Arthur Papyan says that in 2008, Facebook was not so popular in Armenia, and that is why blogs were more important. "When Facebook became widespread in Armenia, people who were not so active in blogs registered in Facebook. And now, compared with 2008, the notes in blogs are fewer" (personal communication, October 5, 2012).

In 2010, when prices fell sharply and the number of users increased, the Internet became an important public forum for discussion of political and social issues (Smbatyan, Jnews.am, 2011). People began to register on social networks not for entertainment, but to follow and participate in discussions about issues in the country, as well as joining online groups. These virtual debates attracted the attention of the media and the government. In 2010, Facebook had 110,000 Facebook users in Armenia. According to statistics from Socialbakers.com, in September 2012, the number had increased to 320,140; by April 2013, it was 441,060 (Socialbakers.com, 2012). In 2011, almost all of the political authorities began to use Facebook. Meanwhile, the number of counterfeit groups and profiles also increased. "Since 2012 … internal political attacks have begun," says media expert Martirosyan. "This shows that the sphere has been so important that people have started speaking about making a website silent with money" (personal communication, February 3, 2012).

According to media experts, Facebook and YouTube are the most popular in Armenia. Twitter is not as popular, mainly because of the technical peculiarities and the absence of the Armenian language. The experts believe that the use of social networks and platforms will become an inseparable part of any election process in Armenia.

Transparency and e-Government

The Internet offers a faster, more efficient and convenient way to provide information about the activities of state authorities, and can be used to build a more transparent relationship between state and society in Armenia.

State institutions began developing websites in 2009, when the concept of information security was approved (Armenian Legal Information System, 2009). All Armenian state institution websites are centralized in the E-gov.am website. Helix Consulting director Aram Mkhitaryan says

that the number of services provided through E-gov.am will increase and, by 2016, citizens will use all kinds of e-government services (personal communication, November 5, 2012). The websites of state institutions, some of which feature videos, are updated every day. From the virtual map on the President.am official webpage, one can get information about the president's official visits to other countries.

Despite all these changes, media experts claim that some state offices are still not transparent in their communications. In 2010, the NGO Committee to Protect Freedom of Expression (CPFE) monitored the websites of Armenian state offices to assess the transparency of information. The monitoring took into account how information is posted, its availability, and convenience for users (Committee to Protect Freedom of Information, 2012). According to the study, most websites have improved technical quality and content. In 40 of the 52 websites monitored, the level of transparency increased. This means that state offices were posting more information of public importance than in the previous year, and that media have started to use these websites more frequently.

However, according to Ashot Melikyan, the chief of CPFE, some state offices do not publish some important information. "The daily information is posted, but, for example, annual financial allocations and their aims are not posted on the websites. The results of a number of investigations are not published too," he concluded (personal communication, February 10, 2013).

Developing e-Commerce

According to data from Socialbakers.com for April 2013, the well-known brand Burberry's Facebook page is one of the five most liked in Armenia: it has more than 50,000 "likes" by users, about 25 percent of Facebook users in the country. The pages of the other four popular brands are of local companies, and only the Armenian page "Light Style" has more "likes" than Burberry. Armenian companies try to use social networks for their businesses. They organize competitions through virtual platforms to attract users and add them to their pages.

E-commerce in Armenia is advancing with lower prices for the Internet and the availability of computers. However, it is still impossible to pay online for any product selling in Armenian shops. There is also no legislative definition of e-commerce, which is still categorized as a subtype of retail shopping, and the issues of customs duties and taxes have not yet been resolved. An example is the Idram e-money system, which allows customers to make money transfers and e-payments: it has

50,000 users, but only 5,000 are active. In October 2011, the Union of Information Technology Enterprises (UITE) of Armenia, with the support of the USAID contractor, Counterpart International, implemented a reform program to support the state policy and legal field of the sphere of e-commerce. An interagency commission working group identified three main issues: customs, tax administration, and payment systems. "Armenia is far from the world trade centers, and, therefore, the urgency of e-commerce is unquestionable, said the executive director of UITE, Karen Vardanyan. "E-commerce will promote the development of Armenian regions, decreasing travel cost and management issues. Residents will be able to buy or sell their goods and services in any place with Internet access in Armenia" (personal communication, November 10, 2012). Besides exports, according to Vardanyan, the import trade will be boosted, and the monopoly of major importers that set artificially high prices will be undermined. But she notes the two major barriers: that the legislative base of the commercial system is based on physical commerce, and that customs and tax laws generally take into account only major importers and exporters.

In the banking system, e-transactions are becoming popular. Marketing specialist Artak Harutyunyan claims that the number of monthly e-transactions in 2012 increased by 300 percent on the same period in 2011, while the use of e-banking by customers has increased by 60 percent (personal communication, November 15, 2012). It is also possible to use e-shops and e-casinos, and buy air and rail tickets. The South Caucasian Railway company sells through the Ukzhd.am website, and Armenian representatives sell the e-tickets of Austrian Airlines through the Austrian.com website, although sales manager Tamara Kirakosyan says that website visitors mostly use the service to reserve seats, rather than to buy e-tickets.

For Armenian e-commerce to grow, the banks need to activate their e-services. Almost all Armenian commercial banks are integrated into the ARCA (Armenian Card) system, providing the opportunity to do transactions. The ARCA electronic payment system is designed for companies providing some e-services to accept payments with credit cards, such as e-market.

Conclusion

The growth of the Internet and new media in Armenia has brought positive changes for state institutions, media, and social life. The demonopolizing of telecommunications in 2008 to 2009 helped to spread Internet access throughout the country. The most significant changes have been

in state institutions, electoral processes, and freedom of expression, with signs that a new, more transparent culture is forming between authority and society. This culture will be strengthened by promoting the level of media literacy.

News websites and social networks have provided competition for traditional media, and shaped the news choices of national TV news programs. However, new media face challenges in establishing credibility. Competition for audiences has led to irresponsible reporting and dissemination of unverified or inaccurate information, with negative effects.

The first steps in the business and economic spheres have been initiated by private organizations, but the Armenian government has not yet supported the development of e-commerce.

Armenia has closed its borders with two countries, Turkey and Azerbaijan, because of territorial and political disputes, resulting in the disruption of trade and other networks. In such a situation, the Internet offers a vital channel to promote economic development and trade, the development of e-medicine, education, science, and direct contact with experts from other countries.

For such developments to take place, Armenia needs to expand its online infrastructure through e-Armenia state initiatives, and make continued investments. The further development of the Internet will have a direct influence on every Armenian, and has the potential to reconcile the interests of state and society.

Notes

1 When the Soviet Union established control over the South Caucasus region, the predominantly Armenian-populated region of Nagorno-Karabakh was renamed the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast (NKAO) under the jurisdiction of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic in 1923. This approach reflected Stalin's principle of divide-and-rule. After the break up of the Soviet Union, the region re-emerged as a source of dispute between Armenia and Azerbaijan. Large-scale ethnic conflict led to the 1991–1994 Nagorno-Karabakh War, which ended with a ceasefire that left the current borders intact.

2 The ICT Development Index (IDI) is an index published by the United Nations International Telecommunication Union based on internationally agreed information and communication technologies (ICT) indicators, and used by governments, development agencies, and researchers to measure the digital divide and compare ICT performance within and across countries. The IDI is based on 11 ICT indicators, grouped in three clusters: access, use, and skills.

7

Case 5: Jordan—State of Online Newspapers for Journalists and Readers

Aysha Abughazzi

For over four decades, the public sphere in Jordan was monopolized by public media outlets. In the last 15 years, these outlets have encountered competition from the private sector. This study investigates how this change in the media landscape has produced shifts in readership. It shows that online media are gaining popularity as they provide alternative platforms for expression of opinion and access to information. The expansion in the news market has enhanced freedom of expression to a certain extent and opened up more space for dialogue.

The media landscape in Jordan is shaped by the interplay between:

- conventional print media;
- electronic (including broadcast and online) media; and
- the government.

The relationship between the government and the news outlets has always been fluid and unpredictable because the government closely monitors print and online media, but without setting clear boundaries for acceptable content. The relationship between online and conventional media is competitive, yet complementary.

The term "online media" in this study refers to news websites (including news agency websites) and online-only newspapers. While some print (offline) newspapers have online versions, these are not categorized as online media. Blogs are not examined for three reasons. First, the number of blogs cannot be definitively tracked because they do not require a government license, and hence, there are no official lists. Second, they are open to the public and their scope is very broad. Third, they can be initiated within Jordan or overseas. The study will occasionally refer to some broadcast media outlets.

Measuring Audience Preferences

Two methods were used to explore audience preferences. First, a questionnaire was distributed to 100 randomly selected male and female participants between the ages of 25 and 60. A study by Karam (2007) found that the Arab youth do not follow news media, showing interest in politics, as much as older generations do. Respondents were asked to identify their preferred local and international media outlets. Second, a total of 40 respondents participated in 5 focus groups, each consisting of 6 to 8 individuals. For convenience, participants were selected from the Jordan University of Science and Technology. Because all participants held a university degree, the sample represents a social category with a higher-than-average educational level. While this could be seen as a limitation of the study, the selection was purposeful because most Internet users in Jordan have an above-average level of education.

To verify the results of the questionnaire and the focus groups, a list of the top 100, most frequently visited, Jordan-based websites was obtained from Alexa.com, a website that provides statistical reports and demographic information on web traffic every three months. According to the marketing section at *Addustour* newspaper (personal communication, March 12, 2013), this website is also used by newspapers to get updated estimates of the number and demographics of their readers. This study is based on the statistics from March 25, 2013. The study will not use the demographic information, because Alexa.com does not provide it for all 100 websites. Interviews were conducted with staff at the three dailies—*Alrai, Addustour* and *Alghad*—and the Department of Press and Publications (DPP), the government body in charge of granting publication licenses, monitoring the performance of publications, and penalizing noncomplying media institutions.

The Print Media in Jordan

The contemporary history of the Jordanian press can be traced back to the 1960s, during the reign of King Hussein (1952–1999). From the 1970s to the mid-1990s, the news industry was dominated by public media outlets—the state-owned Jordan Radio and TV Corporation and two public daily newspapers. With the onset of democracy in 1989, and the enactment of a liberal Press and Publication Law (PPL) in 1993, scores of dailies and weeklies were launched. Many closed over the next 5 years, particularly after the 1997 PPL. Considered by journalists as the

strictest media law in the country's history, the PPL allowed the government to jail journalists and fine newspapers. The PPL was contested in court and overturned, but the Jordanian Parliament endorsed it again in 1998. Some restrictions were loosened in 1999 with the ascension of King Abdullah II, and a number of amendments were made in the following years, the latest in 2012.

Since the mid-2000s, the number of Jordan-based, online-media outlets has grown rapidly, nurtured by King Abdullah II's call in 2004 for the private sector to promote social change. According to the CIA Factbook (2013), Jordan had over 1.6 million Internet users out of a population of almost 6.5 million in 2009. According to the DPP (2013), Jordan has 47 registered newspapers and magazines—8 dailies, 32 weeklies and 7 monthly or bimonthly magazines and specialized publications. Since the 1980s, the number of weeklies, many of them tabloids, has ebbed and flowed. Some were owned by nonjournalists and were arenas for muckraking and slander. Lack of professionalism created chaos in the news industry, triggering the government to clamp down on journalists in 1997. Currently, all weeklies have a very low circulation, including the two most popular ones, *Shihan* (the name of a village), and *Ashshahid* (*The Witness*).

The mainstream newspapers are *Addustour* (*The Constitution*), and *Alrai* (*The Opinion*), established in 1967 and 1971 respectively. The government has shares in both, and *Alrai* openly serves as a voice for the government. It has the largest capital and share of advertising revenue, as well as obituaries, which are an indispensable source of income for newspapers. According to its circulation department, *Alrai* has a daily circulation of 70,000 copies the highest in Jordan, and *Addustour* has 35,000. All dailies publish in Arabic except for *The Jordan Times,* owned by The Jordan Press Foundation, the same institution that owns *Alrai*, but with a different editorial board, and a circulation of 10,000.

The private sector is represented by five dailies: *Al-anbat* (*Nabatians*); *Al-Arab Al-Yawm* (*Arabs Today*); *Alghad* (*Tomorrow*); *Al-diyar* (*Homeland)*; and *Assabeel* (*The Route*), which is affiliated with The Islamic Action Front party. All dailies have online versions. The two most widely circulating are *Alghad*, founded in 2003, and *Al-Arab Al-Yawm*, founded in 1997. *Alghad* is one of the fastest-growing newspapers in Jordan, with a circulation of around 55,000. According to its distribution manager, Jamal Khdair, *Alghad* had higher revenues than *Alrai* in 2012 (personal communication, March 20, 2013). The remaining dailies do not have significant circulation.

Online Media

In the 2000s, Jordanians established hundreds of news websites, ranging from private news agencies to newspapers, without seeking permission from the government. The news agencies competed with Petra, the only public news agency and the main provider of national and international news for the local media since 1969. However, they do not match Petra in terms of news output or reach. Other websites act as platforms for news commentary, and do not necessarily provide news stories on a daily basis. The most popular are sawaleif.com (chattering) and ijjbid.net (lashing). The first, still-surviving, news websites are Jordanzad.com, founded in 2004, and Ammonnews.net (2006), followed by sarayanews.com, khaberni.com, rumonline.net, and assawsana.com, among others.

Under the current PPL, all news websites are required to obtain a government license. Licensing requires the owner to first register at the DPP, and obtain a commercial name at the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, followed by approval from the Cabinet. The DPP classifies online news sites into three categories: licensed newspapers; registered newspapers; and nonlicensed newspapers. Licensed newspapers are fully registered and licensed by the DPP and the Cabinet to establish their own websites. Registered newspapers are registered at the DPP but have not completed their registration at the Ministry of Commerce and Industry. They are not licensed to establish their websites, but the DPP has records of their data. Nonlicensed newspapers are websites that have launched without being licensed or registered. According to Ahmad Hiyasat, manager of the Legal Section at the DPP, the DPP pursues unregistered and unlicensed websites (personal communication, March 13, 2013). The PPL authorizes the DPP to block or shut down websites that infringe the PPL, or violate the moral or ethical codes of the Jordanian Journalists Association (JJA). DPP records (2013) indicate that there are 82 licensed news websites, 119 registered news websites, and 286 nonlicensed news websites. The number of nonlicensed news websites may be an underestimate, because it is obtained through tracking efforts of DPP staff. Some websites, according to Hiyasat, may be initiated by overseas Jordanians and do not fall within the jurisdiction of the government (personal communication, March 13, 2013). Nevertheless, the number of non-licensed news websites is at least three times larger than the number of licensed news websites. Hiyasat attributes this either to the reluctance of website owners to pay licensing fees, or to the fact that they can operate more freely without a license. Paradoxically, unlicensed websites provide their owners with more space to

avoid legal accountability for PPL infringement when "unacceptable" content is placed on the website, which is the very reason that licensing is made obligatory by law.

Where do Jordanians Get Their news?

In order to explore the media outlets Jordanians use as news sources, a questionnaire was distributed to 100 participants, followed by focus group sessions with 40 participants.

Respondents were first asked whether they preferred dailies or weeklies. Dailies were favored by 90 respondents, while 8 preferred weeklies and 2 had no interest in newspapers. The trend was confirmed by many focus group participants who suggested that weeklies do not offer reliable or timely news. Those who favored weeklies said weeklies are more critical of the government's policies and cover issues that typically do not appear in dailies, such as corruption. When asked which dailies they preferred, *Alrai* was the most read, followed by *Alghad* then *Addustour,* as Table 7.1 shows:

Of these respondents, 91 read the online version of the newspaper and 7 read the print version. On the other hand, 92 respondents favored online-only newspapers as opposed to offline newspapers. Respondents identified sarayanews.com, ammonnews.net, khaberni.net, assawsana.com, and watannews.com as the top five most-visited news websites, as Table 7.2 shows:

Table 7.3 shows that 74 respondents followed *Al-Jazeera* and 70 *Al-Arabiya*, with nearly 44 of these tuning in to both channels. Most respondents watched the news on TV with a few browsing the news on the Internet.

Finally, when asked about Western outlets, 46 said they followed news on the BBC, 23 on CNN, 4 on Reuters and 4 on other networks. Twenty-two did not follow any Western networks, primarily because of the language barrier.

To substantiate these results, a list of the top-100, most-visited websites in Jordan was obtained from Alexa.com. Alexa.com provides reports of web traffic by counting "hits" (requests to a web server for a file). Data

Table 7.1 Respondents' Preferences of Jordanian Dailies

Dailies	**Alrai**	**Alghad**	**Addustour**	**Al-Arab Al-Yawm**	**Others**	**None**
Number of respondents	59	17	15	2	5	2

obtained on March, 25, 2013, show that 36 percent of the top 100 websites are news media sites, and 14 percent social media. This indicates that a considerable number of Jordanians use the Internet as a source of information and for communication. Table 7.4 lists the top 36 news websites in descending order. The listtes is based on the description provided in the DPP licensing records.

Among the 36 news websites, 4 are sports sites, the top-rated site being kooora.com. Earlier audience questionnaires show that a large proportion of Jordanians buy newspapers to read the sports section (Abughazzi, 2006). Browsers of these websites are typically 25 to 35 years of age, according to Alexa.com.

Of the 32 news sites, 28 are Jordan-based and 7 are regional or international. Two Arabic-language newspapers based in Israel and Palestine, panet.com.il and alwatanvoice.com, rank in the top 10 and top 40 respectively. Their coverage may be of interest to Jordanians, more than one-third of whom are of Palestinian origin. Non-Jordan-based news networks, such as alarabiya.net, based in the UAE, and aljazeera.net, based in Qatar, do not occupy prominent positions, ranking 38th and 58th respectively, preceded by more than 10 local news websites. For over a decade, these networks were the most popular TV channels, as they covered a wider scope of international news than local news

Table 7.2 Top Jordanian Online News Websites

News Websites	Number of R espondents*
Sarayanews	77
Ammonnews	55
Khaberni	52
Assawsana	45
Watannews	35
Sawaleif	28
Rumonline	25
Jordanzad	25
Almadeenah	3
Albaladnews	2
Others	3
None	2

* The total for this category does not equal 100 as many respondents Stated preferences for more than one news website.

Table 7.3 Jordan: Respondents' Preferences of Regional Networks

Tuning in to regional networks*	Yes	No	On TV	Online
Al-Jazeera	74	26	65	9
Al-Arabiya	70	30	62	8

* The total for this category does not equal 100 as many respondents follow the two networks.

sources. A questionnaire by the Strategic Studies Center found that the number of Jordanians relying on news from Al-Jazeera has decreased as more have turned to local online sources (akhbar-jo.com, January 19, 2011). As Table 7.3 shows, around 70 percent of the respondents still rely on these channels for news but most view them on TV, not the Internet. Respondents, however, maintained that they do not rely exclusively on news presented by these channels. First, most Jordanians follow local news on local news outlets. The pan-Arab networks do not cover local news on a regular basis. Second, and most importantly, Al-Jazeera's news coverage of Jordan has often been questioned by officials, creating skepticism regarding the network's political agenda and accuracy of its reporting (akhbar-jo.com, January 19, 2011). Many respondents acknowledged that, in most reports, Al-Jazeera's coverage turned out to be accurate, yet they still felt the need to verify the information from other sources. They said that they referred to Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya to learn about regional events. They noted that the two networks, for example, take opposing positions on coverage of the political upheavals in Egypt, allowing Jordanians to be better informed about the conflict from the standpoints of the Egyptian government and the Egyptian people.

Two other Arab websites appear on the list—alquds.co.uk at 57, a Palestinian London-based newspaper published in Arabic, and youm7.com (Day 7), an Egyptian website at 99. For decades, offshore newspapers have had a reputation for high-quality writing and investigative reporting. Many opinion articles published in these newspapers are re-published in the Jordanian dailies. Interest in the Cairo-based website, youm7.com, stems from concerns about political events in Egypt and dissatisfaction with coverage by mainstream newspapers and TV channels. A number of respondents remarked that news about the Muslim Brotherhood is most often exaggerated, because the government and public media outlets take a firm stand against it. Some respondents said they look for other sources when they read about the situation in Egypt and Syria because the government is careful, for

Table 7.4 Jordan: Most Visited News Media Websites on March 25, 2013

Rank	Website	Description	Rank	Website	Description
8	kooora.com	sports	46	sawaleif.com	news
9	sarayanews.com	news agency	50	goal.com	sports
10	panet.co.il	Israel-based newspaper	56	assabeel.net	newspaper with print version
11	garasanews.com	news agency	57	alquds.co.uk	UK-based newspaper
12	khaberni.com	newspaper	58	aljazeera.net	Qatar-based TV news network
15	alwakeelnews.com	news agency	63	jo24.net	newspaper
17	ammonnews.net	news agency	65	alfetnanews .com	news
21	Alghad.com	newspaper with print version	66	admcsport .com	sports
22	jfranews.com	newspaper	67	jordanzad.com	news agency
27	alrai.com	newspaper with print version	82	clasicooo.com	sports
31	almadenahnews. com	newspaper	86	alarabalyawm. net	newspaper with print version
33	gerasanews.com	news agency	88	bbc.co.uk	UK-based news network
34	rumonline.net	news agency	89	alwakaai.com	news agency
35	watnnews.net	newspaper	90	albaladeyes .com	news agency
37	assawsana.com	newspaper	91	petra.gov.jo	Jordan's official news agency
38	alarabiya.net	UAE-based TV news channel	94	factjo.com	newspaper
40	alwatanvoice.com	Palestine-based newspaper	99	youm7.com	Egypt-based newspaper
43	addustour.com	newspaper with print version	100	maqar.com	newspaper

Source: Alexa.com

security purposes, not to openly comment on ongoing events in these countries.

As for Western sources, the top networks are bbc.co.uk, cnn.net, and reuters.com, which occupy positions 88, 103, and 126 respectively. Respondents rated the BBC higher than other Western news networks for objectivity and credibility. A number of respondents questioned the agenda of CNN, despite acknowledging its excellent news coverage. They explained that they resort to international websites for coverage of critical events because they provide uncensored information. Two respondents cited "The Modern King in the Arab Spring," an article by American journalist Jeffrey Goldberg, based on his interviews with King Abdullah II, and published in *The Atlantic* (Goldberg, March 18, 2013). The article included harsh comments by the king on a number of local issues in Jordan. Readers sought to verify the content following a statement by the Royal Court denouncing what had been written in the article as "misquoted." The article was not translated fully or published in the mainstream newspapers, as would typically be the case with other interviews with the king.

The top-ten, local, online news sites are: sarayanew.com, garaanews.com, khaberni.com, alwakeelnews.com, ammonnews.net, jfranews.com, almadenahnews.com, gerassanews.com, rumonline.net, and watnnews.net. These results are similar to results obtained by the DPP two years earlier (DPP, February 21, 2011) through Alexa.com. The top 10 most viewed were: sarayanew.com, ammonnews.net, khaberni.com, assawsana.com, gerassanews.com, jordanzad.com, rumonline.net, ejjbed.com, albosala.com, and allofjo.net (DPP, 2013). With a slight variation in ranking, the top seven websites in 2011 still occupied top positions in 2013.

The Alexa.com list shows that online-only news sites hold more advanced positions than offline newspapers. This suggests that online newspapers have a higher rate of readership than other types of publications, but is this really the case? It should be noted that readers who prefer to read the print copy of a newspaper cannot log on to read the online version. On the other hand, 91 percent of respondents said that they read online versions of the paper dailies, because they are easier to access, free and frequently updated. When comparing newspapers that belong to the same category (offline newspapers), the private *Alghad* holds a more advanced position (21) than the other mainstream public newspapers, *Alrai* and *Addustour,* and the official news agency Petra (with rankings of 27, 43, and 91 respectively).

A comparison between the top websites listed by Alexa.com and the DPP's three categories shows that all of the top, Jordan-based, online

news sites are licensed. There are two main reasons for their popularity: first, they have developed a reputation for professionalism in reporting and openness in commentary, which is a marketing asset; and, second, their owners and chief editors, being competent journalists with years of journalistic experience, would not readily subject their websites to closure, blockage, or lawsuits for reporting false news, or for allegations of libel. According to Article 23 of the PPL, online newspaper licenses are not granted unless the chief editor of the newspaper has been a registered member of the JJA for at least four years. Chief editors are held accountable for the content of their newspapers, including commentary by readers. Essam Khatatbeh, head of the licensing section in the DPP, states that "because many websites were run by non-journalists before the enforcement of the amendment, the level of reporting was in many instances clearly demeaning to the profession" (personal communication, March 13, 2013).

Online Media and the PPL

The most recent amendment to the PPL, endorsed by the parliament in September 2012, contains articles applying to online media. These include measures to hold websites more responsible for content published. Stipulations include:

- The news website is held responsible for any legal violation pertinent to its content, including comments by readers annexed at the end of each news story.
- The DPP director is authorized to block websites functioning outside Jordan in case they infringe upon the regulations applied to local websites.
- Authorities can refer owners and/or chief editors of local news websites to court without freezing the website, in cases of violation of any article of the PPL.

The government claims the purpose of the amendments is to improve the professional performance of journalists and minimize cases of libel. Online journalists do not agree. While they welcome regulations to improve journalistic work and reduce cases of malpractice and slander, they express concern that the new law will curb journalistic freedom and become an "intimidating sword" for journalists who are currently thriving in an atmosphere of "responsible freedom" (ammonnews.com, August 8, 2012).

Article 38 stipulates restrictions on content. These include any news that violates the private affairs of individuals, instigates sectarian

dissent, defames religions or prophets, and violates the moral values and ethics of Jordanian society and the JJA. Since the 1990s, journalists have complained that the law was fuzzy. Sameer Alhiyari, chief editor of *Alrai*, explains that "there are no clear interpretations of the law or what constitutes a violation of it." Journalists are aware of the importance of not reporting news related to the king, national security, or the Jordanian army (without recourse to official bodies); as such unapproved news may harm national sovereignty, stability, and the Jordanian dinar (personal communication, February 24, 2014).

Contribution of Online Media

While regulations on print and electronic media have contributed to raising journalistic standards in Jordan, they have undermined the role that public newspapers can play to develop a concrete democratic framework. With little variation in the respondents' feedback, most believed that daily print newspapers (public and private) maintain a high level of credibility, even higher than some online newspapers. However, respondents agreed that public dailies are not adequate for two reasons. First, to guarantee accuracy and credibility or to avoid conflict, news stories sometimes do not provide details, especially on local and regional political matters. The problem, according to respondents, does not lie with routine news, but with political and social issues that are debatable, sensitive, or critical. Many agreed that it is not enough to learn what happened. They need to know the implications of events so they seek details online. Second, because these newspapers adopt the official government position, they may not readily publish news or commentary conflicting with their editorial policies. The stories are typically one-dimensional in their presentation. As many respondents noted, each newspaper presents a given story in its own way, which may differ from other versions of the story. In order to fully understand an event, readers need to compare versions of the same story in various newspapers. Because electronic resources are more convenient, a reader can read stories on several websites in a matter of minutes, and structure a comprehensive account. However, respondents do not rely solely on local news sources. Four said that while the accuracy of news in pan-Arab and Western media is not guaranteed, they follow up stories on these networks for verification and elaboration. What this implies is that the Jordanian public is developing maturity in dealing with news and awareness of newspapers' agendas.

The two mainstream newspapers, *Alrai* and *Addustour,* which have been active since the 1970s, are restrained by the government. While

respondents confirmed that they do not question the credibility of *most* news offered by the two newspapers, some believe that both are hesitant to function, as one respondent put it, "outside their comfort zone." *Alrai* chief editor Alhiyari confirmed that "editors of *Alrai* do not allow a news item to appear on its pages unless they make sure it is one hundred percent true." Because the newspaper reflects the voice of the government, it becomes a priority "to maintain the long-standing reputation of credibility" (personal communication, February 24, 2014). To confirm Alhiyari's statement, respondents who reported that they do not read *Alrai* or *Addustour* on a regular basis stated that they refer to them when they need to confirm news appearing in other outlets, particularly news relevant to laws, regulations, official statements, and issues that are not politically two-sided.

Prudence on the part of mainstream newspapers has paved the way for more outspoken private publications. The advanced positions of online newspapers in the Alexa.com list indicate that they have become important sources that function independently of traditional media. *Alghad,* too, which was preferred by 17 percent of the respondents, was described as a "blooming" source that has established a reputation for accurate and reliable news, thorough analysis and investigative reporting. Respondents contended that on many occasions, when comparing stories on the same event in public and private newspapers, readers obtain more details in the private newspapers. *Alghad* online news editor Mohammed Alranteesi says its reporters seek news from various sources, while a newspaper such as *Alrai* is privileged with statements and press releases from public institutions (personal communication, March 20, 2013).

Journalists and readers alike recognize the limitations of mainstream media in criticizing government figures or exposing cases of corruption. Accounts from public TV and newspapers reflect perspectives that do not conflict with the official standpoint. Online-news websites and some private TV channels have taken on this role. Many online-news site owners promise quality journalism with a broader space for freedom of expression. This message is manifested through their website mottos, which include such messages as:

- *sarayanews.com* (Freedom whose limit is the sky)
- *jfranews.com* (No red lines)
- *almadenahnews.com* (We publish what others won't)
- *ammonnews.net* (The voice of the silent majority)
- *garaanews.com* (We come forward when no one else does)

Have they fulfilled their promise? While they operate with a higher threshold of freedom, it is not high enough. They function in a

conservative society in a volatile region, with serious political and economic challenges. Information is often carefully weighed before being disclosed to the public.

All licensed websites are established by journalists, some of whom hold positions in other media organizations. For instance, alwakeelnews.com and Jordanzad.com are owned by Mohammad Alwakeel, a prominent media figure. For years, Alwakeel has hosted a daily show on Jordan's public TV and currently hosts a daily, prime-time, call-in radio show—Bisaraha ma'alwakeel (Openly with Alwakeel)—in prime time (7:15 am—10:00 am) on Rotana Radio private channel, where he receives complaints and remarks from the public on services offered by public agencies. The show is one of the most influential in the country and has inspired other private radio channels to air similar shows. Mahmoud Hwayyan, host of a program on public Jordanian TV, also hosts a call-in show—Qawwak yalurdun (Hello Jordan)—on the private Hala FM radio station. On several occasions both have lashed out at prominent public figures and openly criticized known figures in Jordanian society. Another example is Ziyad Alghwairi, chief editor of garaanews.com, who also hosts "Good morning Jordan," a popular show on the satellite TV channel Arab Post. Mohammad Abu-Rumman, a researcher at the Strategic Studies Center at Jordan University and a columnist at *Alrai,* also writes at sawaleif.com and has his own blog at judran.net. Another public figure is Sameer Alhiyari, chief editor of *Alrai*. He owns the online news agency ammonnews.net, which holds position 17 in the Alexa.com listing. *Alrai* satirical columnist Abdulhadi Almajali has his own website, ejjbed.com. These are a few of the many journalists who work in both sectors. Journalists say that having an individual website gives them more power and prominence but, more importantly, broader space to express opinions, without being subject to censorship by their institution's editorial board. Alhiyari acknowledges that he is better able to expand on coverage of stories and comment on events on his website than at *Alrai* (personal communication, February 24, 2014). The satirical columnist Ahmad Hassan Alzoubi, states that many of his daily columns for *Alrai* have been truncated or modified to comply with his newspaper's editorial policies. He launched the sawaleif.com website in 2007, intending to publish his articles that were censored, publish the articles in their original form, without modification, and communicate the opinions of readers without bias (Alzoubi, 2013). Alzoubi provides a link to opinion articles that were not allowed at *Alrai*, under the title "Banned from Publishing" (Alzoubi, 2014).

A review of some online news sites shows that they cover certain issues that do not typically appear in mainstream newspapers. Online news sites also establish more interaction with readers through comments on news items through social media such as Facebook and Twitter, and through polls and opinion questionnaires. All newspapers have links to social media sites, and many online editors state that they receive feedback from readers through these links.

Conclusion

The questionnaire, focus groups, interviews with journalists and media owners, and Alexa.com's website traffic report, shed light on the performance of traditional and online media institutions in Jordan. They show the complex relationship between the audience and the media, and between mainstream print newspapers and online news sites. While the relationship between offline and online newspapers is basically governed by competition, at certain junctures it becomes one of support, especially when both oppose the government. While there is consensus among news organizations that they need to serve the needs of citizens, each envisions its role, and the way society needs to change, in a different way. The government has also changed its conception of the role of the media. Many officials state their desire for mature and responsible media that provide reliable, accurate, and relevant information within a democratic atmosphere. But the government also contends that Jordan is facing many political, economic, and social challenges, and that the media must act responsibly to promote social and economic change. The government says that this can be accomplished by not focusing on the negative aspects of society, while some media institutions feel that only by pinpointing such ailments can society recover from its predicaments. Hence, in order to reach the stage of mature journalism, responsibility must be matched with independence. Online news sites are playing a noticeable role in expanding public discourse, but because this process is ongoing, it is too soon to assess its impact.

8

Case 6: Turkey—Live Coverage of Protests Pre-empted by Penguins

Nezih Orhon and Alper Altunay

The News from Taksim Gezi Park—Protests or Penguins?

At 10:00 pm on May 27, 2013, a crowd gathered in Istanbul's Taksim Gezi Park to protest plans for urban development and the removal of five trees. The next day, around 9:00 am, approximately 70 people gathered in Taksim Square—one of the main squares in the city—to protest the removal of the trees and to guard the site. Around 1:45 pm, police using tear gas and water cannons tried to break up the protest. Two days later, after Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan announced that the authorities would not back down, thousands of people began to walk into Gezi Park. Again, there was a crackdown by police. The mainstream media kept silent; instead of covering the demonstrations and police reaction, TV stations broadcast cooking programs and wildlife documentaries showing penguins parading across the ice of Antarctica.

The lack of coverage surprised the public. On May 31, police again tried to break up the protest in the park with tear gas and water cannons. This time, photos and video were shared on social media. Thousands began protests in cities throughout the country but, again, the mainstream news networks ignored these developments. In the center of Istanbul, crowds gathered in front of the prestigious news network, NTV. On June 4 in Izmir, 217 people were taken into custody and 38 placed under investigation because of their support for protestors on Twitter. On June 11, at Istanbul Court House, lawyers protested against the government's actions in the Gezi Park demonstration; hundreds were forcefully displaced from the court, and many taken into custody by police. More protests took place until June 15.

The lack of coverage of the protests is a symptom of structural problems in Turkish media because of liberalization, restrictions on freedom

of expression, lack of transparency in media ownership, media laws, and other factors. The problems date from the 1980s, when a military coup was followed by the first liberalization decisions.

Media Ownership in Turkey

1980 was a pivotal year for Turkey. The September 12 military coup had a significant impact on not only the daily lives of people, but on media structure and content. While the coup ended a period of political upheaval and an atmosphere of terror, civil politics were inactive for almost three years, until the elections of November 6, 1983, when Turgut Özal, leader of the Motherland Party (Anavatan Partisi or ANAP), became prime minister. The policies of the Özal governments from 1983 to 1988 brought major changes in society and culture, allowing for the airing of new issues. In the economic sector, Turkey underwent a period of privatization and transition to a market economy. National wealth grew and Turkey became a consumption society, turning toward Europe and applying for admission to the European Union.

During the 1980s, the private sector began investing in areas such as banking, energy, and media. Large corporations directed resources to communications and telecommunications, leading to improved infrastructure, digitization, new technology, connection to the outside world, and the establishment of private media. Media became one of the most important areas for investors, described as "Princes of Özal" (Orhon, 2009), who had both economic and political interests. One of the most important examples is Turgut Özal's son, Ahmet. During Özal's prime ministry, the younger Özal established the first private television station (also the first pirate television station according to the laws of the time), which mainly served the interests of his father's party. At the same time, other investor groups linked to political parties began establishing television stations, while some newspaper groups received direct or indirect assistance because of their political alliances.

With the increasing number of private television and radio stations and print media, questions were raised about content and quality. In a competitive media environment, many outlets turned to tabloidization and "infotainment" (information-based media content or programming that also includes entertainment content to enhance popularity) to capture audience share. Some newspaper sections were devoted to pictures of naked women. There were various reasons for the tabloidization trend. The 1980 coup led to a depoliticization process that was intended to counter leftist movements, but the process ended almost all

political activities and organizations, and restricted freedom of expression. Political discussion was discouraged and public attention shifted to other areas, including fashion, religion, and sports, especially football.

Today, almost 30 years after these developments, Turkey has a strong, single-party government. The conservative party, AKP (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi or Justice and Development Party) has been in government for more than 10 years. However, the media landscape has changed since the 1980s. According to the European Journalism Centre, Turkish media have been in turmoil:

> Mainstream media in Turkey are plagued with severe problems: media ownership is heavily concentrated, nationalist rhetoric and self-censorship is paramount, and media are vulnerable against political powers (the military, the government and others). Seventy per cent of the media, including national newspapers, radio, and television channels, are owned by few cross-media groups. The activities of these conglomerates expand to other sectors beyond media such as tourism, finance, auto, construction, energy, and banking. These conglomerates, in order to secure their business interests, establish alliances with major powers (the military, religious communities, bureaucratic elites, government). The outcome of this situation, during the last 25 years, has been a very biased and extremely nationalistic media landscape, and all attempts of independent journalism practice (despite some positive developments) remain dangerous. (Barış, 2013)

Depoliticization has had a two-way, or cyclical, effect, resulting first in tabloidization, with tabloidization then leading to depoliticization. The two trends contributed to an ideology of consumerism, propagated by Özal during the 1980s (Oktay, 1993). New tabloid television and newspaper formats appeared in talk shows, including infotainment, reality, "Big Brother" shows, paparazzi, pop star, and celebrity gossip shows. The back pages of newspapers featured pictures of celebrities, naked women, and stories about affairs.

At the same time, media owners invested heavily in other economic sectors. While cross-ownership increased, the profile of media owners also changed as they began to invest in technological infrastructure rather than journalism. Media owners have historically been interested in their investments in other business areas, and recruiting star columnists rather than correspondents and reporters helped them to voice their interests.

Concentration of Ownership and Cross-Ownership

By 2013, according to BYEGM (General Directorate of Press, Publication and Information), Turkey had a total of 2,604 newspapers (43 of them national) and 3,469 magazines. In addition to the public television broadcasting authority's (TRT) television and radio stations, there are 24 national, 16 regional, and 224 local television stations. There are 36 national, 108 regional, and 944 local radio stations in Turkey (BYEGM, 2013). All of the major commercial media groups have other business interests and political orientations.

The Dogan Media Group can be considered a mainstream media group with nationalist leanings (also with liberal tendencies). The group has been fined almost US$1 billion dollars for tax-related issues during the conservative government period, resulting in a loss of its leading position (*Wall Street Journal*, 2013). The fines were regarded as politically motivated because of the group's opposition to the conservative government (Arsu & Tavarnise, 2009; Andrew, 2009; *The Economist*, 2013). According to Kerem Oktem in *The Guardian* (June 9, 2013), understanding the reasons for this changing media environment:

> …lies in the ownership structure of the main media companies, and government interference with editorial policy. All major media groups in Turkey are now part of larger corporations with diversified interests ranging from banking to the hospitality sector. They depend on government contracts and are therefore under pressure to make amends. A forceful reminder of this unhealthy relationship between media patrons and the government was the tax evasion case brought against the (more independent) Doğan Media Company in 2009, owner of the flagship TV channels Kanal D and CNN Turk, and two of Turkey's most influential right- and left-wing liberal newspapers *Hurriyet* and *Radikal*… Yet, the real price paid cannot be measured in money but in the loss of editorial freedom.

The owner of the Turkuvaz Group has connections with the AKP government which, according to critics, enables the group to receive government funds to buy media outlets. According to a report in *Hurriyet* (2008), "Calik (the owner of the Group) took $750 million-loans from state-owned Vakifbank and Halkbank to finance the acquisition".

The Feza Group has the largest-selling and most widely distributed newspaper, *Zaman*, with a daily circulation of almost one million. In

Table 8.1 Major Media Groups in Turkey

Media Group	Description
DOGAN MEDIA GROUP	*Hurriyet* newspaper, *Radikal* newspaper (leading national newspapers); Kanal D, CNN TURK TV and radio stations. This group also has investments in energy, tourism and commerce. It was formerly the largest media group in Turkey, but has lost its leading position while the AKP has been in power.
TURKUVAZ GROUP	*Sabah* and *Takvim* (leading national newspapers), and ATV channel. This media group is actively involved in energy, textiles, construction, and other areas. Berat Albayrak, CEO of Çalık Holding (the company which owns the media group), is the son-in law of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan. Albayrak has been with the company since 1999.
CINER GROUP	*Haber Turk* newspaper and Haber Turk TV channel. Besides its media, the group has 26 companies with interests in energy, tourism, aviation, commerce, and service sectors. Ciner Group can be considered liberal mainstream, but also tries to maintain good relations with the government.
FEZA GROUP	*Zaman* newspaper and others; STV TV channel and others. This group has investments in various areas, particularly international education.
CUKUROVA GROUP	*Aksam* newspaper and others; SHOW TV, SKY TURK TV and others. The Cukurova Group is actively involved in telecommunications (e.g. the major GSM company Turkcell, and internet provider Superonline), construction, tourism, aviation and other areas. Recently, government agencies have made moves to take over the Cukurova Group's media outlets because of so-called financial issues.
DEMIROREN GROUP	*Milliyet* and *Posta* newspapers and others. This group maintains close relations with the government and has investments in various areas, particularly in energy.
DOGUS GROUP	STAR TV, NTV TV and CNBC-E (Turkish) and other media outlets. This group has investments in banking, finance, auto, construction, tourism, and energy. This group, which is becoming the media leader in the country, has been criticized because of its close relations with the government.

addition to sales, *Zaman* is distributed free to many households. The Feza Group has close connections with the Islamic sect leader, Fethullah Gulen, who has been living in the United States for many years.

Prior to June 2013, the Cukurova Group owned the nationalist dailies *Aksam* and *Gunes*, in addition to the television stations Show TV and Sky Turk. In June 2013, the government took control of the group's newspapers and television stations. The official reason was that the group was having financial problems, but some observers felt that the motives were political. Regulatory organization leaders from, for example, RTÜK (Radio and Television Higher Council) and BTK (Information and Communication Technologies Authority), are appointed by government officials. Accordingly, as in the Cukurova Group case, there are clearly political motives when regulatory bodies take control over media organizations. *Today's Zaman* headlined news of the takeover as "having lost autonomy, regulatory bodies are under political influence" (2013).

The Demiroren Group is a relative newcomer to the media sector. Because of financial problems and pressure on the Dogan Media Group, the Demiroren Group was able to buy the *Milliyet* and *Posta* newspapers. Demiroren Group maintains relatively good relations with the government.

Similarly, because of the Dogan Group's financial problems, the Dogus Group was able to buy the Star television station. Dogus's NTV, a news-oriented television station, was regarded as the leader in attracting liberal, social democratic, and other audiences. That perception changed dramatically with the 2013 Istanbul-Gezi Park protests. International media, including CNN International, BBC World, and Al-Jazeera International, provided live and recorded coverage of the protests from the park and Taksim Square. What were Turkish viewers seeing? The Dogan Group's CNN TURK and the Dogus Group's NTV were broadcasting wildlife documentaries and cooking programs. However, the Taksim Gezi demonstrations were simply the latest and most startling evidence of the complicity of mainstream TV news channels with the authorities in ignoring social and political protests. For years, the culture of self-censorship had been criticized in editorials, online commentaries, and cartoons.

Indirect/Direct Pressures on Media and Freedom of Speech

In relation to press freedom in Turkey, Czepek (2009) lists five factors to be considered:

- *Structural conditions* (legal, political, economic, historical, and cultural)

- *Organizational prerequisites* (organizational objectives, internal structure, self- and co-regulation)
- *Individual journalistic freedom* (influence exercised, degree of harassment, censorship, and self-censorship)
- *Content pluralism*
- *Possibilities for participation* (access to the media and activity (as producers)

Despite recent socio-political changes and democratic developments in Turkey, media freedom suffers from economic and authoritarian pressures. The mainstream media are still used for propaganda by the three major organs of the state: the judiciary, the army, and the government. Therefore, the media are unable to fulfil their role of protecting political pluralism, investigating government and business, or voicing cultural and ideological diversity. The challenges, all dating from the 1980s, are:

- political, legislative, and policymaking aspects of media must be democratized;
- media regulation agencies must be able to operate independently;
- freedom of press and freedom of expression need to be protected; and
- competition between media must be regulated to maintain fairness (Barış, 2013).

According to Barış, "Besides these deficiencies, media also suffer from internal problems. Editorial hegemony prevails in all major media outlets. News are overruled or bent in accordance with the desire of editor-in-chiefs, who take hints from the media owners. Similarly the rights of young journalists and correspondents vis-à-vis editorial staff are not protected. Those journalists who are committed to truthful reporting suffer from very precarious work conditions" (2013).

According to a survey of journalists and editors, 95 percent reported government interference in news production and 85 percent intervention by media owners (Freedom House, 2013). By 2013, Turkey was the world's leading jailer of journalists. Although there are different estimates, at least 49 are currently in jail according to *The Economist* (2013). According to Reporters Without Borders, Turkey ranked 154th among 179 countries in the Press Freedom Index, behind Mali and Afghanistan (Reporters Without Borders, 2013).

Laws and Legal Restraints

According to Kurban and Sözeri (2013) of Galatasaray University in a report for the Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (TESEV), changes

in law are needed to restore media and press freedoms; the antiterror law should be repealed, and all journalists detained on remand for their journalistic activities should be immediately released. Media regulation should be redesigned in a collaborative manner, with the cooperation of civil society and journalists' associations, to eliminate restrictions. The parliament and the executive branch must adopt political, legal, and administrative measures to ensure the government's neutrality and separation from all media, including public service broadcasting.

Turkish Radio and TV (TRT) should be transformed into a truly public broadcaster with a supervisory body representative of society at large and protected against interference, particularly of a political or economic nature. TRT should be guaranteed editorial independence and be funded in a manner that protects it from arbitrary interference with its budget. Legal, political, and administrative measures must be adopted to put an end to Internet censorship through arbitrary, broad, and unlawful access bans and restrictions (Kurban and Sözeri, 2013).

Overall, all branches of government must fulfill their obligations to execute the judgments of the European Court of Human Rights and implement the recommendations of the Council of Europe and the European Union. Government officials should refrain from all actions and statements that have or can be deemed to have a censorship effect on the media. Government should respect the principles of neutrality and objectivity in enforcing tax laws, social security laws, and other relevant laws in regard to all media groups. Press cards must be issued and disseminated by an independent body representing journalists' unions and associations; cards should be given to all journalists regardless of the media outlets they work for, and should be taken away from anyone who is not a member of the journalistic profession (Kurban and Sözeri, 2013).

The US State Department's *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2011* summarized the concerns of international and domestic human rights organizations over "an overly broad definition of terrorism under the anti-terror law and the disproportionate use of the anti-terror law against journalists and writers." The Turkish criminal code contains multiple articles that restrict press freedom and free speech, including provisions on praising a crime or criminal, inciting the population to enmity or hatred and denigration, and protecting the public order; providing protection of the confidentiality of investigations; attempting to influence the judiciary; insulting the Turkish nation (Article 301), the republic, and organs and institutions of the state; and discouraging individuals from doing their military service.

According to a European Commission report, four laws obstruct press freedoms in Turkey (PARTICIP GmbH, 2013):

- antiterror law
- Turkish criminal law, including the infamous Article 314, which allows for life imprisonment for any person who serves in the army of a country at war with Turkey, or participates in an armed attack against the country
- press law
- Internet law

Both the antiterror law and the criminal code have been used by judges in trials involving the Kurdish issue and other minority problems. The antiterror law has been interpreted by the courts to prevent the media from covering events related to the PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party) and its activities.

According to Max and Werz (2013), "the majority of imprisoned journalists are Kurds charged under the remit of Article 314 of the Turkish Criminal Code or under the Turkish Anti-Terror Law." According to the most recent study by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), 68 per cent of Turkish journalists in prison were jailed on charges related to the Kurdish issue, 13 per cent were related to the ongoing Ergenekon trial of alleged right-wing coup plotters,[1] and 19 per cent were jailed on assorted other charges. Both Article 314 of the Criminal Code and the Anti-Terror Law

> are overly broad and poorly defined, leaving them open to abuse by prosecutors and judges for a wide array of reasons. The Turkish Anti-Terror Law, for example, declares it a crime to print or publish declarations or announcements of terrorist organizations. The law is intended to target those dispensing terrorist propaganda but leaves open the possibility of prosecution for any number of journalists trying to cover the activities of the PKK or other terrorist groups (Max and Werz, 2013).

In addition to the press law, a law entitled "Regulation of Publications on the Internet and Suppression of Crimes Committed through Such Publications" was enacted on May 23, 2007. According to the law, the Telecommunications Communication Presidency (TIB) was authorized to execute court orders to block websites and issue blocking orders to content providers inside or outside Turkey for crimes such as promoting child pornography, obscenity, drug use and gambling, and for insulting Ataturk.[2] Since passage of the law, approximately 3,700 websites, including YouTube, MySpace, and Geocities have been blocked (Barış, 2013).

The two-year YouTube ban (2008–2010) resulted in activist groups creating influential protest blogs such as the Internet Without Censorship Movement (Sansürsüz *İnternet,* www.sansursuzinternet.org.tr), the Cyber Rights Movement (www.cyber-rights.org.tr), and the Censoring Censorship Movement (www.sansuresansur.org).

Other legal problems are reflected in the high concentration of media ownership and growing media partisanship. Since coming to power in 2002, the AKP used legal tactics and loopholes to control and sell independent media outlets to party allies, thus changing the media landscape (*Today's Zaman*, 2013). Again, according to sources such as Open Society Forum, in 2002 pro-AKP businesses owned less than 20 percent of Turkish media outlets while, today, progovernment, partisan entrepreneurs own more than one-half (Open Society Forum, 2012; TESEV, 2012). According to Tunç (2011), media companies are split into "proponents" and "opponents" of the government. Tunç argues that the government has facilitated the establishment of "proponent" media organizations by providing easy credit and indirectly threatened "opponent" media owners by opening tax-related procedures against them. The seemingly diverse media scene in Turkey is highly deceptive.

There are also growing concerns about homophobic and ultranationalist discourse in print and digital media, which has resulted in the persecution of journalists from different minority backgrounds. In addition, the roles of RTÜK (Radio and Television Higher Council) and BTK (Information and Communication Technologies Authority) have become unclear since the start of the digitization process. Turkey launched trial digital transmissions in 2006 and is gradually switching over, with a scheduled completion date of 2015 (Ulaştırma, Denizcilik ve Haberleşme Bakanlığı, 2010).

Social Media Create New Public Space

While there have been negative developments in traditional news media, the Internet and particularly social media, are still platforms for a variety of ideas and freedom of expression, creating an environment for information and debate for the Turkish public. According to the Turkish Statistical Institute (2012), almost half of the households (47.2 percent) had Internet service, with an estimate of almost 37 million users. In the same year, Turkey ranked 7th in the world in the number of Facebook users and 11th for Twitter.

The Internet plays a crucial role in civil activism in Turkey. Facebook and Twitter have been widely used to organize social and political protests. For

instance, activist groups succeeded in mobilizing thousands of people on the fifth anniversary of the murder of Hrant Dink, a well-known Turkish-Armenian journalist and editor-in-chief of the newspaper *Agos,* who was assassinated in broad daylight in front of his office on January 19, 2007. Dink's murder triggered protests against ultranationalists, and each anniversary of his death has seen demonstrations in Ankara and Istanbul to honor his memory and demand justice (Open Society Foundation, 2012).

Dink's assassination was not the only case where the public was able to gather and take action through social media. On May 11, 2013, there was a devastating bomb attack in Reyhanli in Hatay province, near the Syrian border, that killed 51 people and caused widespread devastation. Unfortunately, reports of the attack were banned by court order and a declaration by RTUK. According to Öğret (2013), "as justification, the court cited, in part, Article 3 of Turkey's Press Law, which allows for restrictions on news media when the 'public health and morals, national security, public order, public safety, and the unity of the land' are at stake." Again, social media provided news of what happened in Reyhanli.

The most significant recent case about media freedom and freedom of expression in relation to social media occurred during the May–July 2013 Istanbul Gezi Park antigovernment demonstrations. What began as a single environmental protest turned into significant antigovernment demonstrations in Istanbul and other cities, including Izmir, Ankara, Antalya, and Eskisehir. While the international media covered the demonstrations, mainstream Turkish media largely ignored them. According to Zanotti's report, "the demonstrations swelled, partly in response to dismissive remarks about the protestors by Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan. Many middle-class Turks joined the protests to express dismay at what they describe as an increasingly authoritarian leadership style from Erdogan and the ruling AKP government" (2013). By the beginning of August, at least five people had died and thousands had been injured by police using tear gas, water cannons, and physical force. Hundreds were detained or arrested. According to Zanotti,

> Erdogan argued that the urbanite protestors did not reflect majority Turkish opinion—a reference to large electoral mandates the AKP has achieved in the past due in part to substantial support from voters in Turkey's Anatolian heartland. Erdogan and other authorities alternated between attempts to meet with or otherwise engage some protest leaders, and new deployments of riot police (including some reportedly brought in from outlying provinces) to clear Gezi Park and Taksim Square and prevent protestors from re-gathering.

Because of civil activism on social media, demonstrations spread to other cities. All the demonstrations were called "Gezi Park Demonstrations," and they have important implications for press freedom because they reflect new forms of news gathering and sharing.

Antimainstream-media protests began during the third day of demonstrations in Istanbul. While protests were taking place in front of NTV's building, some people decided not to use Garanti Bank (which belongs to the same Dogus Holding group as other media outlets) and began withdrawing their money from its branches, and closing their accounts. The general manager of the bank even declared he was actually one of those protestors (Reuters, 2013), although his claim was hard to believe and had only a brief life on Twitter.

While the demonstrations grew more intense and violent, Turkey's leading news stations, CNN TURK, MSNBC-affiliated NTV, and HABER TURK, preferred to broadcast penguin wildlife documentaries and cooking programs. After NTV failed to cover the protests, the BBC ended its cooperation with NTV. According to the announcement,

> The BBC is suspending its partnership with NTV in Turkey with immediate effect following NTV's decision not to transmit the BBC programme Dünya Gündemi [World Agenda] today. Any interference in BBC broadcasting is totally unacceptable and at a time of considerable international concern about the situation in Turkey the BBC's impartial service to audiences is vital. (BBC, 2013)

The protestors had expected their actions to be reflected by the mainstream media. The more they expected media attention, the more they were disappointed. This created a cyclical effect. To be seen on media, protestors increased their protests. Again, there was almost no response from the mainstream media. Only the left wing and nationalist television news stations, ULUSAL TV and HALK TV, provided coverage. These stations also benefitted from their social media sites to engage themselves with the public. In these circumstances, citizen journalism helped to fill an information gap. The protestors, their supporters, and the general public followed developments and shared their comments, tweets, photographs, and video footage on alternative platforms, including the following:

- Gezi TV (online TV)
- Capul TV (online TV)
- One Radio (online radio)
- Gezi Radio (online radio)
- Gezi Postasi (newspaper)

Several Internet sites and social-media platforms were also created:

- http://gazetegezipostasi.blogspot.com/
- http://www.livestream.com/revoltistanbul
- http://www.capul.tv/
- http://www.diren.tv
- http://geziparkitv.wordpress.com/
- http://geziradyo.org/
- https://www.facebook.com/TaksimPressTaksimBasini?fref=ts

During the Gezi Park demonstrations, government officials, including Prime Minister Erdogan and President Gul, made public declarations. On July 7, 2013, seven newspapers carried Erdogan's comments on the demonstrations with similar headlines, angering the crowds.

One of the reasons why people (particularly younger people) use social media—Facebook and Twitter—is that there is greater potential for delivering more individualized content. Public space is easily transferrable to personal space on social media. Van Dijk (2006) defines the blurring of public and personal space as one of the crucial characteristics of network societies. There was clear hesitation in the comments of government officials. While the average age of government members was almost 50, the average age of the demonstrators was almost 30. Of the demonstrators, 80 percent were university graduates, and some with graduate degrees were under the age of 35 (Genar, 2013). Prensky (2001) defines this generation as "digital natives," and underlines the problem of older generations. According to Prensky, earlier generations are not able to think, act, and feel like digital natives. This also influences what they expect from the media and how they use media. According to Prensky, digital natives use and benefit from the free flow of information on social media, while government officials attempt to restrict it. In a speech, the Prime Minister labelled the protestors and civil activists on the Internet as "external forces" (*Hürriyet*, 2013), indicating his lack of understanding of digital natives and predigital generations. The more demonstrators used social media, the more pressure on these platforms grew. Government officials asked Facebook and Twitter to share user profiles (*Radikal*, 2013), a new form of pressure and censorship on freedom of expression.

In contrast to the freedom of expression on social media, NTV decided to shut down its prestigious magazine program, NTV History, after the senior editor decided to cover the Gezi Park demonstrations and to use a cover related to the protests (*Radikal*, 2013). The mother company did not want to risk offending the conservative government.

From the 1980s to the present, there have been few changes in press freedom and freedom of expression in Turkey. The challenge is to fully

democratize political, legislative, and policymaking aspects of media. Media regulation agencies need to be able to operate independently while freedom of press and freedom of expression must be protected, particularly to overcome censorship. The only significant change since the 1980s has been in the structure of media ownership. However, concentration, cross-ownership, and political linkages have limited diversity, and so competition needs to be regulated to maintain fairness. Media laws must be reassessed, and independent councils and bodies given authority to ensure press freedom. For Turkey, all these changes require commitment and motivation, not only from political bodies, but also from the individuals and media as well. Otherwise, future television news bulletins and newspaper headlines will show more "penguins."

Notes

1 According to the allegations, a group of journalists, military staff and others were plotting to overthrow the conservative AKP government.
2 The term "crimes against Ataturk" covers laws (particularly the notions of the secular state) propounded by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, the founder of the Turkish Republic.

9

Case 7: El Salvador—Digital Media and Social Campaigns—*Libro Libre*

Silvia Callejas Contreras

Impact of Digital Communication

Since 2005, El Salvador has enthusiastically welcomed the new media boom, especially Facebook and Twitter. These tools have become powerful channels for people (especially those ages 18 to 35). Any institution or user interested in publicizing their brand or activities must be on the web, mainly on social-networking sites. This is forcing Salvadoran communicators (journalists, publicists, public relations professionals, designers, and teachers) to learn more about digital communication so that they can produce messages that more accurately target users.

This study documents the experiences of a group of students in developing and designing a campaign to promote *Movimiento Libro Libre*, the Latin American version of the United States-based Bookcrossing movement (www.bookcrossing.com), by using both new and traditional media. The idea is simple: participants place a book in a public space with the hope that someone will pick it up and read it before passing it along to someone else. Inside the front of the book is information about Bookcrossing or *Libro Libre*, and an encouragement to share the love of books with others.

Digital Natives and Digital Immigrants

The first time I heard about the concept of digital natives and digital immigrants was in April 2010 during a lecture by José Luis Orihuela, professor at Navarra University, Spain, at Dr. José Matías Delgado University in San Salvador. The definitions of both terms made me realize that as a teacher and professional in communication, I had to update the way I had been teaching. Obviously, I wanted to reduce the gap between my

students and me (a teacher is almost always considered a digital immigrant). According to García, Portillo, Romo, and Benito (2005), digital natives are those born after the 1980s who have grown up with technology. This is a generation "whose principal characteristic is their attraction to everything related with new technologies" (García et al., 2005, p. 2).

> There is an early overexposure, because pre-school children start using the media earlier than many of us believe. For the first time, the members of this generation are introducing themselves into the audiovisual media, their culture and into the world through their own mass media, instead of doing it across the printer and the paper. (Ibarra; De la Llata, 2010, p.5)

Students in the School of Communication at Dr. José Matías Delgado University, where I have taught since 2008, are typical digital natives. They play with their cell phones while in class, walk along the hallways working on their laptops, design computer-based presentations, as well as download information related to their classes. The perfect digital natives as described by Prensky (2001) are those who "are used to receiving information really fast." He continues, "They like to parallel process and multi-task. They prefer their graphics *before* their text rather than the opposite. They prefer random access (like hypertext). They function best when networked. They thrive on instant gratification and frequent rewards. They prefer games to 'serious' work." (p. 2)

By 2010, our digital native students began looking for multitasking teachers who could challenge them design activities where they could use new media tools to combine theory with practice and to interact with others. This demand was evident during the process of updating the university's curriculum in communication, and so we organized student focus groups to listen to their opinions about how they wanted to learn. As a result, we restructured our curriculum, relating courses to digital communication and mixing theory with practice. Teachers who wanted to enter this new era of communication had to show a strong sense of commitment as well as understanding the meaning of being in tune with the digital natives.

> Today´s teachers have to learn to communicate in the language and style of their students. This *doesn't* mean changing the meaning of what is important, or of good thinking skills. But it *does* mean going faster, less step-by step, more in parallel, with more random access, among other things. (Prensky, 2001, p. 4)

Once the difference between digital natives and digital immigrants was clear to me, I understood that the practice of communications was changing, allowing students, and all those who had previously been considered receivers or consumers, to become "prosumers" —those who consume information and who can produce their messages using digital platforms.

Since Orihuela's 2010 lecture and the updating of the communication curriculum, the question of what digital natives expect from their teachers motivated me to redirect the activities and concepts of my classes, especially Communication Theory III for third-year students. In this class, students learned about the evolution of digital communication, how to use new media tools (blogs, social networks, and websites), and how to create communication strategies.

In 2011, the students in the class designed a campaign to promote the *Movimiento Libro Libre*, organized by the National Library of El Salvador, scheduled for October 17–29. There were 78 students in the class, working in project teams. The objective was to allow students to take their knowledge of communications and Web 2.0 to practice and create a social media campaign to promote the *Libro Libre* program. Since 2007, the official date of *Libro Libre* in El Salvador has been October 24, World Development Information Day. However, the campaign designed by the students lasted two weeks because its purpose was to inform citizens about this movement and to motivate them to "liberate" a book on the streets.

Digital Natives Recommend Reading Printed Books

A major challenge to the project was that the students who developed the campaign had the same characteristics as the target audience. Instead of thinking about the fact that they were digital natives, and therefore would not have an ingrained habit of reading, I decided to ask them about their reading preferences. I was surprised to learn that most of them liked to read and preferred a printed book to a digital one. Why was this element important for the development of the campaign? Because the students were trying to make Salvadoran youth recognize that by sharing used, printed books, they could increase their knowledge and discover new worlds. Moreover, if a communicator has a positive attitude about an issue, it is more likely that a connection will be forged between the audience and the message sent. The fact that the developers of the campaign (teacher and students) agreed with the idea of liberating or sharing their used books helped to create empathy with the audience. The educational objectives were to:

- allow the students to put their knowledge about communications and Web 2.0 into practice by creating a social media campaign to promote *Movimiento Libro Libre*;
- recognize that in El Salvador the use of traditional and new media is important to promote cultural activities; and
- identify the impact of the campaign based on the number of users who visited and followed the Twitter account and the Facebook fan page.

Why a digital campaign for Libro Libre?

Since 2005, social networking has become a common practice among Salvadorans. According to a research study (Analitika Marketing, 2010), social networking in 2010 increased among the 18–24 and 25–34 age groups. The study noted the growth of Facebook and Twitter: 42 percent of Salvadoran users in the 18–24 age group preferred Facebook to Twitter. In the second group (ages 25–34), almost the same percentage used both social networks (35 percent Facebook and 36 percent Twitter). The study was based on a statistical sample of 469 people. Two years later, research by Ilifebelt (2012) concluded that over a million Salvadorans (out of a population of six million) were connected to the Internet and that there were 1,257,520 active accounts on Facebook. At the same time, there is a national concern about reading habits among Salvadoran youth.

In 2010, Dr. José Matías Delgado University's School of Communication presented the results of research into the reading habits of young people living in urban areas of San Salvador, the capital. It was based on a survey of 2,500 students from high schools and universities (ages 15–23). The study showed that their interest in reading has declined in recent years and that most have a computer and are connected to the Internet (Dr. José Matías Delgado University, 2010).

Background

Movimiento Libro Libre was born in El Salvador in 2007. The idea was brought to the country by the vice director of the National Salvadoran libraries, Manuel Velasco, who had seen the results that it had achieved around the world, specifically in France, Spain, and Mexico. In its early years, the program included only students from two private universities—Universidad Centroamericana José Simeón Cañas (UCA), and Escuela Superior de Economía y Negocios (ESEN), both located in

San Salvador—but since 2009, anyone interested in sharing and increasing the habit of reading has been allowed to participate. The School of Communication at Dr. José Matías Delgado University has participated since 2009. In 2010, the Communication Theory III class created a blog in which students posted articles about the program and ways people could participate. Also, the class decided to participate in the movement, and devoted one day to placing books in coffee shops and malls in San Salvador, based on a survey of 2,500 students from high schools and universities (ages 15–23). In 2011, the students of Communication Theory III decided to create a social media campaign by creating a new blog, as well as accounts on Twitter and Facebook.

The students agreed to base their work on the model of communication proposed by José Luis Orihuela (2003), titled "eCommunication: the 10 Paradigms in the Digital Age." The model considers users—those who can produce, consume, and interchange knowledge created in cyberspace—as the center of communication. There is special interest in the content produced because, from this, the conversation is generated. Orihuela argues that this kind of conversation is the most important innovation of Web 2.0., moving away from the unidirectional model of communication toward a bidirectional one. These movements are: from audience to user, from media to content, from monomedia to multimedia, from periodicity to real time, from scarcity to abundance (users can get information anytime and anywhere from cyberspace), from editor-mediated to non-mediated, from distribution to access, from one way to interactive, from linear to hypertext, and from data to knowledge (Orihuela, 2003).

Once this model was understood, student teams began defining the profile of the users or target audiences. This definition was based on the categories that Frascara (1993) recommends to segment the public: demography; geography; socio-economic status; psychology (achievements, goals, security, adventure, success, etc.); and likes and preferences. This profile was fundamental because it would guide the teams in designing messages adapted to the principal characteristics of our public. The audience was defined as Salvadoran women and men from 18–23 years of age, living in the urban zone of San Salvador. In terms of socio-economic status, they were middle-class high school or university students who still lived with their nuclear family and received a monthly allowance to cover their expenses (university students tend to be more economically independent than high school students, and by their third year often have jobs and pay their academic expenses). These students have computers and are connected to the Internet either at home or at a cyber café.

According to the national survey of youth by the Instituto Universitario de Opinión Pública (University Institute for Public Opinion), IUDOP (2008), members of this target audience, especially those studying at university and those who have completed high school but have not gone to university, are expecting to get a job. By getting a good job they will achieve success and will be positively recognized by others. Besides, they look for affiliation, which means they like to be part of a group and share experiences. By 2008, 47.8 percent of the youth population (defined as from 15–24 years old) was part of a religious group as well as an academic one. They are sexually active and are worried about the social violence that has developed in the country since the peace agreements of 1992.[1]

These young people like to be informed through social networks; they enjoy watching videos on YouTube, as well as playing and downloading video games, music, and movies. They are used to searching for information on the Internet instead of at the library, and most are not used to critically analyzing the information they find. They want to find an answer as quickly as possible, just as they find information in any search. Most of them do not like to read. The National Youth Survey estimated that only two of 10 young people read a book in their leisure time. Consequently, they have serious problems in grammar as well as in analyzing information they have found. According to the survey, almost 63% of youth who live in rural or suburban areas have not read a book within the last year. They are encouraged to express their opinions, although they are not enthusiastic about being part of social organizations.

Designing the Campaign

After the target audience profile was outlined, five teams were created so that the students could concentrate on specific assignments. Teams were responsible for audiovisual and graphic design, traditional media (radio and television), social networks, blogging, and news reporting. Each team was formed by students with skills and knowledge in the specific field. Six students who had demonstrated to their teacher and classmates advanced skills in a specific area, as well as leadership abilities, were selected as team leaders. All the leaders had direct communication with the teacher, whose role was to guide or assist in the decisions made by the teams.

The audiovisual and graphic design team was the first to start work by proposing two options for the graphic image to represent *Movimiento Libro Libre*. They investigated the Bookcrossing programs in countries

such as Mexico, Uruguay, Argentina, Chile, and Spain. Two graphic designs were proposed: the first depicted a book that had been liberated from a birdcage, and the second a pair of hands liberating a book. At that time the Facebook fan page of Libro Libre SV had not been created because the team preferred to wait for the graphic image and the slogan. To decide which design would be accepted by the target audience, team members uploaded both images to their own Facebook profiles and allowed their friends, who were part of the target audience, to choose. The second option was picked on Facebook by approximately 250 users.

The slogan´s campaign was chosen by the student team. The options were: *Un libro es un amigo que merece volar* (A book is a friend that deserves to fly); *Un libro guardado es un libro en silencio* (A book not shared is a book in silence); *¡Leélo. Vívelo. Libéralo!* (Read it, live through it, set it free!) The last slogan was selected. With an institutional image and slogan, the next step was to produce a video to inform the target audience about the experiences and emotions that one person can live through a book, through the simple act of liberating or sharing it. The style of the video and its message were based on the psychological profiles and the likes and preferences of the target audience, including affiliation, use of technology, and interest in music and videos. After the video was edited, the team uploaded it to the blog and the social network team circulated it with messages encouraging people to join the movement and generate conversation around the meaning and activities of LibroLibre SV. The video was also uploaded to YouTube (www.youtube.com/watch?v=xONzcLzow78).

The social network team began its work by creating accounts on Facebook and Twitter. According to research by Analitika Marketing (2010), 42 percent of the public between the ages of 18–24 preferred Facebook to Twitter, because they were more familiar with it and found it easier to use. Besides, they thought that Facebook was a better medium to establish relationships, to find people, and to make new friends. Even though Twitter was less frequently used by young people, an account was created because survey respondents classified Twitter as the place where they could find a wide range of interesting content. That perception fit with two of the communication patterns proposed by Orihuela (from media to content and from distribution to access) and would allow the team to generate conversations between users.

The social network team posted and shared the video on LibroLibre SV's Facebook fan page (Moviemento Libro Libre) and the Twitter account (@LibroLibreSV) which immediately redirected them to YouTube, where they could find more information about *Libro Libre*. Other

efforts focused on establishing and sustaining conversations with their visitors and followers, and the benefits of reading. The team posted short interviews with students, teachers and professionals about the best book they had read and could recommend; the interview included the name of the book and author, a brief comment, and the reasons to read it. The team also posted famous quotes on Facebook and Twitter about the benefits of reading books from writers such as Mario Vargas Llosa, Marcel Prevost, and Jorge Luis Borges.

The team organized two online forums whose main themes were picked by followers of *Movimiento Libro Libre* on Facebook. The first (October 19) was about whether or not to liberate books. Most participants agreed with the idea of liberating them or sharing with other people, even when they did not know who would receive their books. This forum was also useful in understanding why it was important to liberate a book. The most perceptive answers were, "The act of liberating a book implies the act of transmitting knowledge, feelings, culture, and new

Figure 9.1 *Libro Libre* Slogan: Read it, live through it, set it free!

experiences," and, "To liberate a book contributes to fostering the habit of reading." The theme of the second forum (October 21) was discovering if the habit of reading among Salvadoran youth was considered an obligation or a passion. Most participants answered that reading was an obligation and that they learned that concept in high school because, in subjects such as language and literature, teachers almost never explained in any depth the themes and topics in books. This forum was also promoted on Twitter and, as a result, many followers made comments. Most agreed that education received within a family helped create the habit of reading and made it a passion. Many followers shared when and why they developed the passion for reading.

The strategy to promote *Movimiento Libro Libre* required three significant actions on the ten communications patterns identified by Orihuela (2010). First, to induce the contents to "go viral" (meaning all content is shared on other social media outlets) the following actions were taken:

- Short interviews by students and teachers were posted on Facebook and promoted on Twitter.
- The topics of the two forums on the fan page were announced on both social networks, as well as the dates when members of the traditional media team would visit radio and TV stations.
- The team shared the title and the general content of the news posted on the blog on Twitter and Facebook; additionally, their links were shared on those social networks and pictures of activities were uploaded on the fan page.
- On October 29, Twitter was the main social network used to inform people about the places where used books had been liberated.

Second, opinion leaders were identified, followed, and contacted opinion. To interest young people, it was decided to contact credible figures who had a Twitter account. The idea was to have them share what they knew about *Libro Libre*, to participate in conversations on posted topics, and to recommend their followers to liberate used books on October 29. The administrator of the accounts began following radio DJs. Max González from Radio Vox, Pencho Duque from Radio Fuego, and Jorge Bustamante from Radio Laser gave their points of view about whether the habit of reading in Salvadoran youth was considered an obligation or a passion. Musicians and TV or radio producers (Alex Oviedo and Guillermo Maldonado Jr.) and TV journalists (María Luisa Parker, Astrid Ávalos, and Romeo Lemus) also participated. The former Secretary of Culture, Héctor Samour, Vice Minister of Education since January 2012, showed his interest in *Libro Libre* by posting two pictures of the movement on his personal Facebook profile.

Lastly, the team appealed to the traditional media (radio, TV, and newspapers) by creating a buzz on the Internet through social media. The team compiled a list of radio and TV programs where they could talk about *Libro Libre* and its objectives, encourage people to liberate books, and help them appreciate the benefits of reading. Visits were made to Radio LPG, CH10, Radio Vox, Radio Qué buena, 107.7 Fuego, Radio La Femenina, Radio ECO, Radio Cool, Radio ABC, Radio Globo, CH 33, and AGAPE TV CH8.

A blog was created about Movimiento Libro Libre and its activities. The team began with articles explaining the program and the participation of the students, why young people should liberate a book, the knowledge people can find in books, why people should read, why a book was picked, and the enthusiasm felt by a person who set free the trilogy *The Lord of the Rings*. This team consisted of writers, photographers, and designers who edited the pictures and added the logo. The administrators of the social networks were also part of the work team, uploading edited pictures and text on Facebook and Twitter.

Challenges

Time and the weather were two factors working against us during the campaign. The campaign was created at the beginning of October when the Vice Director of the Salvadoran Libraries, Manuel Velasco, invited us to join the program. The students and I knew the project would be a huge challenge because we all had additional responsibilities. They had other classes and I was responsible for three more groups of students and other academic projects.

On October 13, El Salvador was hit by the storm E12. The storm increased in power over the next few days, causing huge human and material loss. Due to the weather, the Minister of Education suspended classes nationwide from October 16 to October 20. That delay prevented us from proceeding with planned activities on our calendar. We understood that people were interested in knowing about the storm and helping victims, which is why we decided to use our accounts to persuade people to donate food and clothing for the victims. Messages of support were posted almost every four hours for two days (October 15 and 16). The information related to *Libro Libre* dropped by about 40 percent, even though we kept in contact, especially with those who did not want to lose time slots obtained on TV or radio. By that time we had also organized our first forum (October 19). Mr. Velasco agreed to move the official date of *Libro Libre* (October 24) to Sunday, October 29, giving us one more week to undertake activities.

Assessment

By creating teams and choosing leaders, I was able to maintain continuous supervision of the campaign's development and stay informed on what the students were doing. Before any action was taken, a team leader sent me a proposal. Observations or suggestions were discussed immediately with the team leader. Once we agreed, he or she had to communicate with their team before the team could start working. Because the campaign had turned into the main academic activity for the students, their commitment was serious, which is why I decided to give them the opportunity to evaluate themselves. I designed a table with five criteria related to the performance of each student during the last two weeks of the campaign: aptitude to integrate knowledge acquired in assigned activities; level of participation and commitment to assigned tasks; aptitude to agree and do assigned tasks; level of pro-activity and proposition of ideas; and aptitude to work in a team and as a team. The values for each criterion were I (*insatisfactorio*/unsatisfactory); B (básico/basic); C (*competente*/competent); and D (*destacado*/outstanding). Numeric values were assigned: I (4), B (6), C (8) and D (10). This self-evaluation tool let the students assess their effort in an honest way, and they completed it with responsibility and maturity. Most evaluated their participation as basic and competent.

Campaign Achievements

The Libro Libre campaign resulted in the following:

- On October 29, more than 300 used books were liberated in San Salvador at such locations as the National Zoo, Paseo El Carmen Santa Tecla, national parks (Parque de la Familia, Santa Elena, and Daniel Hernández), and shopping malls (Metrocentro, Multiplaza, and Plaza Merliot).
- Along with the development of the campaign, from October 17 to October 29, approximately 300 users followed and commented on the activities and texts posted by the administrator of the Facebook fan page and the Twitter account.
- Campaign users were more interactive on Facebook than on Twitter. They liked to comment on the information posted on the fan page, but most were not interested in sharing their opinions in the forums.
- Users on Facebook were more interested in interacting with the administrator of the account when a picture or comment related to visits to the radio stations or TV channels was posted.

- Users on Twitter were more interested in interacting with the administrator when a famous quote or message related to reading was posted.
- Some of the comments of Twitter followers suggested ways Libro Libre SV could be improved and some suggestions were taken into account, such as the idea of using the twitcam to share more information.
- All users who were categorized as prescriptors (opinion leaders), and who were contacted through Twitter and Facebook, congratulated the administrators on the project. Only the Secretary of Culture posted two pictures on his Facebook profile.
- During the liberation day (October 29), Twitter was the social network that users preferred, asking questions about places where they could set free their used books. They also demonstrated more participation (by sending a tweet reporting the moment of their liberations) than did users on the fan page.
- Two Salvadoran radio stations promoted the activities On October 29: Radio Femenina, who invited members of the student teams to liberate books live on *"El club de los peques"* (a program for children), and Radio ECO, which mentioned @ItaloSiguenza on Twitter.
- The team used Twitter to report on the places where they were liberating books or to upload a picture of people who approached them to get a used book. They considered Twitter faster and easier than Facebook because comments and pictures could upload immediately.
- Most team members agreed that the experience of creating a campaign to promote the *Libro Libre* program allowed them to practice their knowledge and skills (writing news, coordinating appointments with the media, talking in front the cameras and microphones, taking pictures and editing video) and to incorporate new ones, especially the use of social networks and blogs.

Lessons Learned

The *Libro Libre* campaign offered lessons for future projects. Despite the short time to design and develop the campaign, and the storm E12, all the activities created to promote the program were accomplished. The concept and the messages created were useful in generating conversation on social networking sites and traditional media about the importance and benefits of reading, as well as the idea of liberating a book as a way of sharing knowledge and experiences. In terms of campaign design, we realized that it is necessary to start work a couple of months earlier to organize,

undertake activities that increase the interest of the target audience and media, and even create alliances with bookshops and enterprises.

To induce virality in cultural campaigns, it is important to share the content (messages) on social media networks that are most visited and used by the target audiences, in this case Twitter and Facebook. On the other hand, Salvadoran youth are not used to or attracted to comments on blogs, which are essentially a reading activity. None of the followers on Twitter and Facebook added comments to the blog posts. From the comments made by the followers, we learned that Twitter is preferred for real-time information, while Facebook is more appropriate for long chats, allowing people to make references to past events.

In terms of educational objectives, this activity allowed students to work in teams, to increase and share knowledge, to discover and develop skills, to interact with other people, to make decisions, and to solve real-life problems in real time.

Note

1 From 1980 to 1992, El Salvador was mired in civil war, a conflict between the military- led government and the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional (FMLN), a coalition of five left-wing guerrilla groups. This conflict ended with the signing of peace agreements in Chapultepec, México.

10

Case 8: India—ICTs and the Empowerment of Rural Women

Peddiboyina Vijaya Lakshmi

New Media and Women's Empowerment

Information and communication technologies (ICTs), such as computers, mobiles, the Internet, and social media, can empower women at the individual, household, and community levels. Empowerment is defined by Kabeer (2001) as "the expansion in peoples' ability to make strategic life choices in a context where this ability was previously denied to them." The World Bank describes empowerment as "a multidimensional, long-term process" with resources that include not only financial and productive assets, but opportunities, capabilities, social networks and other environmental factors, as well as the ability to act in one's own best interest (World Bank, 2001). Women represent 48 percent of India's population (2011 Census) and their participation in social, political, and economic life is essential to achieving India's development goals. Studies indicate that Indian society is largely stratified by gender, and that women's autonomy is constrained when it comes to decision-making, mobility, and access to and control over resources (Malhotra, 2002; Jejeebhoy, 2000). Despite various government programs, women continue to lag behind men in education and political empowerment (Gulati, 2011). The empowerment of women requires systemic transformation in those institutions that support social structures (Kabeer, 2001; Bisnath & Elson, 1999). An extra year of primary school increases the eventual wages of girls by between 10 and 20 percent, encourages girls to marry later and have fewer children, and makes them less likely to experience violence (The Chicago Council on Global Affairs, 2011). Educated women are more likely to be healthy, generate higher incomes, and have greater decision-making power within their households (FAO, IFAD, ILO, 2010).

Despite government programs providing access to information and employment opportunities, rural women face the challenges of low literacy, poor health care, low per-capita income, and inadequate infrastructure. In 2011, the literacy rate for Indian females was 65%, while the literacy rate for men was 82.1 percent. Women's health and safety concerns are an important factor in gauging their level of empowerment. Moreover, the nutrition of Indian women is not improving at the same pace as men's. Worldwide, India accounts for more than one-fifth of all maternal deaths from causes related to pregnancy and childbirth (Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, 2012). The official maternal mortality rate is 212 per 100,000 births, but some estimates claim that it may be as high as 450. The data discrepancy should not detract from the reality that too many Indian women die from pregnancy, childbirth, and unsafe abortions—a 2009 report says that one in 70 Indian women who reach reproductive age will die this way (Human Rights Watch, 2009). In rural areas home births remain common, with only 29 percent of deliveries taking place in a health facility (International Institute for Population Sciences and Macro International, 2007). Under the UN's fifth Millennium Development Goal (MDG), India has committed to reduce maternal mortality to 108 deaths per 100,000 live births by 2015. In 2012, the rural IMR (infant mortality rate) was 46 infant deaths per 1000 live births, while the urban rate was 28. Maternal and reproductive health is a social phenomenon as well as a medical event, where access to, and use of, maternal and reproductive health care services are influenced by contextual factors (Sanneving et al., 2013). However, statistics cannot adequately capture the low social status of women in terms of literacy, employment, mobility, decision making, and other areas.

Although the Indian constitution provides equal rights to women, women live a life of dependency due to a rigid patriarchal structure. A woman is expected to depend on her father before marriage, her husband after marriage, and her son in old age. Social norms limit women's mobility in public spaces, and constrain their economic opportunities by limiting their choice of work locations.

There are rural-urban disparities in the participation of women in the workforce. The female labor force participation rate (FLFPR) in India is low and concentrated in rural areas and the agricultural sector. The FLFPR in urban areas is below 25 percent, and while rural participation rates are almost twice as high as urban rates, they are still lagging significantly behind the world average (Bhalla and Kaur, 2011). Among employed women, 85 percent engage in vulnerable employment, including around two thirds who work in the agricultural sector (World Bank, 2013).

Women make up just over one-third (36.9 percent) of the elected representatives in local government (Panchayats). There is gender disparity in telephone subscribers (including mobiles) with 55 percent penetration among males and 37 percent among females nationwide (TRAI, 2013). By October 2013, there were 68 million Internet users in rural India (IAMAI Annual Report, 2012/2013). Among rural Indians, 40 percent use Common Service Centers and cyber cafes as their main points of online access.

The government has adopted budgeting polices that incorporate gender perspectives in identifying target groups, planning, allocation of resources, implementation, impact assessment, and reprioritization of resources (India Country Report, 2013). The Twelfth Five Year Plan (2012–17) emphasizes the responsibility of all ministries, departments, and state governments to adopt gender budgeting.

The UN Summit on Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) adopted a global action plan to promote gender equality and empower women as one of its eight antipoverty goals (United Nations, 2010). MDG8 emphasizes the benefits of new technologies, especially ICTs, to fight poverty. A World Bank report estimates that a 10 percent increase in high-speed Internet connections boosts economic growth by 1.3 percent. The report observed that "connectivity, whether the Internet or mobile phones, is increasingly bringing market information, financial services, and health services to remote areas, and is helping to change people's lives in unprecedented ways" (World Bank, 2009).

During the last two decades, there has been much interest in India realizing the potential of ICTs in its socio-economic development. It is acknowledged that women play a pivotal role in achieving development goals, such as reduced child malnutrition and mortality, and economic growth, and that the gender gap disadvantages not just women, but their families, communities, and countries. This has resulted in experimentation with ICT applications in areas such as agriculture, health, governance, financial services, education, and employment. The country has, over more than two decades, demonstrated many examples of good practice in the use of ICTs for women's empowerment.

Gender Transformative Strategies

In 1985, the Ministry of Human Resource Development established a department to drive the holistic development of women and children. In 2006, it became the Ministry for Women & Child Development, Vide Govt. notification dated 16.2.2006, with powers to formulate plans,

policies, and programs, enact or amend legislation, and coordinate the efforts of both governmental and nongovernmental organizations. Many e-Governance initiatives have been undertaken by state governments and central ministries to improve the delivery of public services and simplify access. The National e-Governance Plan (NeGP) attempts to integrate initiatives and develop a countrywide infrastructure, reaching down to the remotest of villages for large-scale digitization of records, and easy, reliable Internet access to services (Government of India, 2009). The government's National Skill Development Policy has set a target of providing skills for 500 million by the year 2022. The Department of Information Technology (DIT) is one of the agencies that will implement the skill development initiative in the IT sector. A network of over 100,000 Common Service Centres (CSCs) is being established to link villages to government services. The CSCs offer web-enabled services such as form downloads, certificates, and payments of electricity, telephone, water, and other utility bills. The government has also developed domestic software applications to provide information on weather, markets, health, and other needs.

The government's Universal Service Obligation Fund (USOF) launched schemes to promote access to affordable telephony and broadband services, including some gender-specific pilot schemes. Nine projects use mobiles to provide services in education, health, financial literacy, government programs, social issues, vocational training, and market information, tailored to the entrepreneurial activities of rural women. The project covers about 20,000 women in nine states, and focuses on technology as well as identifying women's content needs. Women are trained to access local-language content delivered through SMS and Integrated Voice Response Systems (IVRS). Studies indicate that some initiatives have contributed to the empowerment of rural women (Nath, 2001; Gurumurthy, 2006; Arun et al., 2004), although these initiatives still face a huge imbalance in ownership and access to many technologies (Sulaiman , Kalaivani & Nimisha Mittal, 2011).

Government ICT Initiatives and Experiences

Akshaya (Eternal)

This community-based project was initiated in 2002 by the state government of Kerala in Malappuram, a district with low socio-economic indicators. Akshaya aims to: bring the benefits of technology to households; promote e-literacy; and usher in e-governance (Gurumurthy, Swamy, Nuggehalli, & Vaidyanathan, 2008). The goal is to make at

least one person in every home computer literate. Through an application process, entrepreneurs were selected to independently run computer centers, with financial support from banks. Each center has five to ten computers with software, a printer, a scanner, and a webcam. The government provided training and materials to the entrepreneurs, who were expected to sell IT-based services such as electronic payments and faxes and copying, to create data-entry jobs for local people, and to offer computer courses. More than a half million people, around 65 percent of them women, have gained basic computer skills (Gurumurthy et al., 2005). The project has created income-generating opportunities for rural women, although some have had to struggle to run the centers. A study revealed that 70 percent of the female entrepreneurs agreed that social norms and customs limited their decision-making and mobility, and created some problems for them in opening or running the centers (Mukhopadhyay & Nandi, 2006). In-depth interviews indicated gender differences in the motivations for running centers. Men tended to prioritize financial benefits, while women seemed to be motivated by nonfinancial benefits, such as the opportunity for self expression and self fulfillment. In a study of Akshaya project, Kuriyan et al. (2008) argued that it is problematic to achieve the twin goals of commercial profitability and social development for those at the bottom of the pyramid.

eSeva (Electronic Service)

In Andhra Pradesh's West Godavari district, the eSeva project provides a single access point for government services. The project was implemented with 47 centers in all 46 villages of the district, with the hope that a significant number would be run by women or Self Help Group (SHG) women.[1] The startup cost—an average of US$2,300—is financed by a government loan that is paid back on a monthly basis, usually over a two-year period. The eSeva centers are equipped with computers, printers, a digital camera, a copy machine, a scanner, lamination machines, web cameras, and hand-held devices for reading electricity meters and issuing bills. The centers also offer Internet services on a payment basis, and issue land and birth certificates, caste certificates, the filing of complaints, and matrimonial services. Courses for children (and recently for SHG women) in e-literacy have been initiated. The centers also handle data entry for government household economic surveys. The entrepreneur earns a commission on each transaction and service.

As with other government-funded projects, the scope and success of eSeva depended on the support of the local authorities, particularly the Collector (the district administrative officer). In the first phase, a

grievance-reporting system was set up, enabling citizens to electronically file complaints for a small fee; the Collector reviewed the complaints and referred them to the appropriate officials. This ensured a quick and efficient process of grievance redress, and consequently many women came forward to register complaints related to land ownership and the availability of services. However, when a new Collector took over two years later, the service was discontinued (DST and Infosys Report, 2006). Another program, set up toward the end of the first Collector's tenure, supported women's SHGs by establishing marketing linkages using the eSeva centers as gateways to connect communities, and as spaces to display and sell goods. Efforts were made to brand select SHG products such as tea, leaf plates, honey, and *papadums*, and provide training on maintaining quality and standards (Veldanda & Jaju, 2005). However, this program, like the grievance reporting, was not sustained by the new district administration.

Studies suggest that citizens are able to save around US$0.10 per house as consumers of eSeva services, which would amount to district-level savings of over US$100,000 per month (US$1.4M per year) (Veldanda & Jaju, 2005). Gurumurthy et al. (2005) noted that it is not physical connectivity that matters in rooting ICT projects in rural areas; rather, there is a need for "building institutions, a social consciousness, a community culture and individual capacities required for delivering and receiving substantial values over the connectivity infrastructure." Because rural development projects, including those for women's empowerment, depend on the support of the district authorities, some do not survive when the officials who championed and established them are transferred. However, Parthasarathy and Srinivasan (2006) argue that while some ICT projects may not meet quantifiable measures for success because they fail to generate income or benefits, from an ethnographic perspective they may have a significant impact on women's lives. ICT projects create new roles and work, network with government officials, and support mechanisms for women outside their families. A gender analysis of ICT projects indicates that various parameters should be interwoven during the planning phase to gauge their impact—eSeva is a case in point. While it may not be considered successful in terms of financial viability, it contributed to women's empowerment: 30 to 40 percent of the online complaints were from women, and most concerned nondelivery of services by local government agencies and officials (Gurumurthy, Swamy, Nuggehalli, & Vaidyanathan, 2008). The grievance redress system exposed corrupt practices in government and helped to change the power equations. Women stood in elections and some were elected as Sarpanch (head of the Panchayat). If one looks beyond the financial benefits of ICT projects, it

is clear that they have the potential to change social relations and the status of women in the family, as well as in the community.

Sanchar Shakti (Transmission Power)

This program, launched by the federal government in March 2011, includes four categories of projects aimed at rural women's SHGs: subsidized mobile Value AdΩded Services (VAS) subscriptions with a service validity of at least one year; SHG-run mobile repair centers; SHG-run modem repair centers; and SHG-run, solar-based, mobile-charging centers (Universal Service Obligation Fund, 2010). SHG women who are already engaged in income-generating activities such as textiles, beekeeping, handicrafts, and livestock rearing are selected. Sellers from SHGs in southern India are connected to SHGs in northern India who market the products. Each SHG member is provided with a mobile, and receives text messages in the regional language on business, social topics, health, education, and government programs. Sanchar Shakti covered 13,000–15,000 SHG members in the states of Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Uttarakhand, and the Union Territory of Puducherry. The project helped increase the self-confidence and productivity of rural women and made them aware of their potential to earn and contribute to their families (Gulati, 2011). In addition to government services, the private mobile service provider Uninor launched Soochna Shakti, which delivered information, advice, and news alerts on health, education, employment, and finance on an interactive voice response (IVR) portal.

Jaankari (Awareness)

Under the 2005 Right to Information (RTI) Act, all citizens have the legal right to access information from public authorities through a written application process. In Bihar, the state government is using ICTs to overcome the literacy and digital divide to help citizens claim this right. The Jaankari program, set up in 2007, has a call center that offers a web-based RTI application, voice-recording hardware and software, and phone-in services, enabling people to generate online RTI applications and obtain information. It offers three call-in lines—one records the application on behalf of the citizen, the second line responds to queries, and the third records complaints of people who claim they were harassed for filing an application (Bihar Government, 2013). The call fee is Rs.10 (US$0.16), the same charge as for filing an in-person RTI application. A trained call-center operator helps the caller to articulate the problem, and records the application in digital format. A reference number is allotted to track the progress of the application. The request

for information is forwarded to the relevant Public Information Officer (PIO) and a copy sent to the citizen. The PIO ensures that the requested information is provided within 35 days. To ensure that applications are correctly drafted and forwarded, conversations are recorded and monitored by a retired government official. Jaankari was recently recognized as Best E-Governance Initiative by the Government of India.

A survey indicated that the number of women for whom someone else filed a request (30 percent of calls) is substantially higher than the number of women (2 percent) who themselves called the Jaankari call center (One World Foundation India, 2011). Despite its success, the system has limitations. People often have to make multiple calls to complete their application, because the service is available only through a government phone service.

Other E-Governance Projects

Indian central and state governments have introduced several e-governance schemes to improve efficiency, reduce corruption, and improve accountability. Under the Bhoomi (Earth) project, all of the 20 million land records of 6.7 million landowners in 176 taluks[2] in the state of Karnataka have been computerized. This system uses software designed by the National Informatics Center (NIC) in Bangalore.[3] Farmers can obtain copies of land records within 15 minutes by paying a fee of Rs.15 (US$0.24). The system saves time, reduces bureaucracy and corruption, and ensures online, real-time updating of all land transactions (Dhawan, 2004). Another project that aims to reduce corrupt practices among government officials is EShakti (electronic power). The Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA) was enacted in 2005. MGNREGA aims at enhancing the livelihood of rural people by guaranteeing 100 days of paid employment in a financial year to a rural household that volunteers for unskilled manual work (Ministry of Rural Development, 2013). It promises work within 15 days of a request, and payment of up to Rs. 100 per day (US $1.61). In Bihar, MGNREGA functions in 23 districts, with state funds used to support the scheme in an additional 15 districts. The embedded microchip in the GPS-enabled smart card stores biometric fingerprints to verify workers' attendance, and compiles muster rolls. The payment software then calculates entitlement, creates invoices, and directly credits wages to the workers' bank account. A toll-free number on the back of the smart card connects workers to the EShakti call center. Set up in October 2009, the center receives around 120 calls per day (Melhem, 2009).

ICTs and Health Care

The health care sector has witnessed significant growth, both in quality and in quantity. Rural health services were established with a Primary Health Unit (PHU) designated to serve a population of around 30,000. Trained nurse midwives were posted in hospitals or PHUs to provide maternal health services. Despite these efforts, healthcare facilities remain inadequate for citizens, particularly in rural areas, where the majority of the population live. The World Health Organization (WHO) estimates that of 536,000 maternal deaths occurring globally each year, 136,000 take place in India. Mobile technologies have been touted as a way to address this issue by creating awareness among rural populations.

Aarogyam (health), an ICT-based health service launched in 2008, addresses the vital issue of maternal and infant mortality in the state of Uttar Pradesh. It tracks information related to women's pregnancies and maintains a record of child immunizations. Under Aarogyam, a village-wide database of all beneficiaries (pregnant/lactating women, children up to five years) is collected and maintained. Aarogyam software sends automated voice calls and SMS in the local language to women, reminding them about pending antenatal or postnatal care and immunization appointments. These alerts are also sent to local health officials, to inform them about needed services. Aarogyam also offers a call center where beneficiaries can inquire about maternal- and infant-related health issues, and file grievances. So far, more than 175,000 automated calls and SMSs have been sent by the system (Government Knowledge Centre, 2013). Frontline health workers, such as Accredited Social Health Activists (ASHAs) and Auxiliary Nurse Midwives (ANMs), are linked to the system through mobiles. ASHAs and ANMs are mostly women who form an important link between the community and the public health system. The main responsibilities of ASHAs include "promoting utilization of antenatal and postpartum services, facilitating institutional deliveries, mobilizing children for routine immunization, distributing condoms and oral pills, and promoting healthy behaviour in the communities" (USAID India, 2008). Mobile phones allow ASHAs to communicate with women and reinforce health messages and practices. By improving communication between grassroots health workers and women, ICTs can help create awareness of preventative health practices.

In the Nalgonda district in Andhra Pradesh state, handheld computing devices (Personal Digital Assistants or PDAs) were provided to the ANMs who make house visits. ANMs record patient information directly

onto the PDAs, enabling them to follow up on specific cases of antenatal care or immunization. The project was financially supported by infoDev, a funding arm of the World Bank. The initiative facilitated data generation and transmission to higher levels where it could be used to help decide on resources to be allocated to specific areas. The system helped target beneficiaries for antenatal care and immunization, and identified high-risk groups for certain illnesses (Srivastava, 2009).

The WHO-supported Health InterNetwork (HIN) program was piloted in Orissa and Karnataka. Its key elements included the networking of libraries and medical colleges to exchange health information for research, and the provision of computers and Internet facilities to Primary Health Centers (PHCs) and Community Health Centers (CHCs) to maintain databases and conduct e-consultations (Ghosh, 2011).

Although the government has made huge budget outlays for ambitious social sector schemes, such as the National Rural Health Mission (NRHM), access to low-cost healthcare continues to elude many. More spatial data is needed to improve understanding of the links between people's health and where they live and work. In the health sector, ICTs can help increase the efficiency of inputs, optimize resources, help in decision making, reduce costs, and increase the effectiveness of delivery mechanisms. However, as Madon et al. (2007) argue, that there is often a disjuncture between macrolevel policy priorities and the microlevel implementation of health projects.

Despite a strong economy and its status as world's largest democracy, India faces challenges when it comes to gender equity. The country ranked 101 out of 136 countries in the Global Gender Gap ranking by the World Economic Forum (2013). Although ICTs provide access to new information and employment opportunities, studies have shown that women still face constraints in fully benefiting from the potential of ICTs. Realizing that the government alone is not able to meet the challenges of empowering rural women, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) are involved in activities at the national, regional, and local levels. Two case studies will illustrate the contribution of NGO ICT projects to women's empowerment.

SEWA—Community Learning Centers

The Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) was registered as a trade union in April 1972, and now has over 1.73 million members (SEWA Annual Report, 2012). It was established with the idea that the self-employed, like salaried employees, have a right to their wages, decent

working conditions, and protective labor laws. These self-employed women workers included hawkers, vendors, and home-based workers, such as weavers, potters, artisans, papadum rollers, and manual laborers, who have limited access to market information and are unaware of market strategies in selling their products. Realizing the potential of ICTs to facilitate capacity development, Community Learning Centres (CLCs) were established in several districts of Gujarat state. CLCs have become sources of power at the village level because of their role in disseminating information and knowledge, based on the needs of women members and the community (Gurumurthy et al, 2008). The CLC serves as a computer training center to upgrade occupational skills, and links with SEWA's rural product marketing organization, Gram Haat (village hand) to facilitate the sale of locally produced products branded under the name of Rudi (IT for Change, 2008). Rudi achieved a turnover of Rs. 25 million (US $464,000) in 2012 (SEWA Annual Report, 2012). The SEWA Trade Facilitation Centre (STFC) conducted e-commerce set up for women artisans and traders to provide better access to markets, better prices, and more efficient production systems.

Three product websites were established to market products globally. The e-commerce project has been a resounding success. STFC now exports products to the USA, Europe, South Africa, and Japan, and has an annual turnover of Rs. 50 million (US$928,000) (SEWA Annual Report, 2012). Rudi began its own community radio, *Rudi No Radio,* which airs 8 hours of programming every day and reaches 40 villages. Video programs on issues and experiences of SEWA members are produced and distributed widely among other members. SEWA recognizes that ICTs can work only if they are placed within the activities of larger collectives or groups, where women are trained not just in IT, but also in other, nontechnical areas. The CLC also arranges discussions on issues pertinent to women in the community. Participation in nontechnical training sessions led to women becoming more aware of health and educational issues and recognizing the roles of the Panchayats and the responsibilities of leadership positions. SEWA's CLC model synchronizes and harmonizes online technology platforms with offline community processes. SEWA is currently working in 14 Indian states, six South Asian nations, and in South Africa.

Village Knowledge Centers

The MS Swaminathan Research Foundation (MSSRF) is involved in implementing the "information village" project. The two core

components of the Village Knowledge Centre (VKC) model are locally relevant content, and appropriate network connectivity (Swindel, 2006). Each VKC has one or more computers with CD-ROM drives, printers, and scanners. These are networked to a hub center (Village Resource Centre) which provides links to external information sources. Each VKC is managed by one or two knowledge workers, who are village volunteers, mostly women, trained by MSSRF to operate the computer and use the Internet. In response to specific requests, the hub staff finds the appropriate information and, if needed, translates and reformats it. They provide information on a variety of issues including prices of seeds, fertilizers and pesticides, women's diseases, cattle diseases, sea wave heights, and prime fishing areas. Where connectivity is available, videoconferencing links have been set up so that villagers can ask questions directly to experts at the MSSRF. The MSSRF knowledge center staff work closely with partner organizations such as agricultural universities, human and animal health institutions, and research laboratories.

Because mere information or knowledge cannot lead to development, the centers provide assistance to the community in seeking employment, setting up self-help groups and microenterprises, and obtaining microcredit. Several homemakers have won distinction as "most respected and knowledgeable women" through their involvement as volunteers in MSSRF Knowledge Centers (Arundhathi, Nanda, & Arunachalam, 2009). In August 2007, this movement was renamed *Grameen Gyan Abhiyan* (Rural Knowledge Movement), a national, multistakeholder network to synergize and empower rural communities with the power of ICTs (M.S. Swaminathan Research Foundation, 2013).

Key Learning

The projects discussed here have been successful, but many ICT projects in India have failed to achieve their goals; some that were launched could not be sustained. It is also worth noting that there are few systematic comparisons between ICT projects, so that lessons learned in one project can be transferred to others. The digital divide between men and women, and the socio-economic milieu, constrain the proper utilization of ICTs among rural women. Incorporating a gender dimension in project design and implementation will help tackle these issues. As Warschauer (2002) states, ICTs cannot be considered as tools that are imposed externally into community settings to create results but are, in fact, "woven in a complex manner in social systems and processes."

Notes

1 The self-help group is used by the government and NGOs to organize poor or marginalized people to collectively solve their problems. The poor collect their savings and deposit them in banks. In return they receive easy access to loans with a small rate of interest to start a microenterprise. Groups are formed by women and these women are called SHG women. (Report of Planning Commission of India, 2008).
2 A subdivision of a district; a group of several villages organized for revenue purposes.
3 NIC provides network backbone and e-governance support to central, state, union territories, and districts.

Section III

Journalism Practice and Media Performance

11

Case 1: Ghana—The Politicization of Liberalized Media

Wilberforce S Dzisah

Ghana was an early beneficiary of media, journalism, and communication infrastructure in Africa. The country emerged out of colonialism as the first black African country south of the Sahara to achieve political independence in 1957. Its infrastructure, while it could not be equated to that of the developed world, provided the basis for the growth of a vibrant media sector. Contemporary issues and debates about media systems in Ghana, therefore, draw on both past and present experiences and practices.

As the Gold Coast, the British colony was a hub of media development in the West Africa subregion. The *Royal Gold Coast Gazette and Commercial Intelligencer*, established by the colonial governor, Sir Charles McCarthy, began publication on April 21, 1822 (Barton, 1979), but lasted only three years. The first indigenous newspaper, the *Accra Herald*, was established by Charles and Edmund Bannerman in 1857. Charles Bannerman, who edited in handwritten form, is acknowledged to be the first African editor of a newspaper. The paper was renamed the *West African Herald* in 1858. Records do not point to the Bannermans taking a political stand, but their role as watchdogs could be inferred from an extract from their editorial policy published on October 3, 1857:

> He who undertakes to hold the position of a public journalist must make up his mind fearlessly to speak the truth and boldly to encounter the enmity of the powerful. Everywhere a free journal will be an object of jealousy and dislike to rulers. Generally speaking a journal that enunciates its opinions without fear or favour is admired and respected by the public just in proposition as it is detested by the authorities whose faults its exposes. A public journal should be the public's friend—the friend of the people, and the friend of

> the authorities—the champion of order and liberty—the opposer of anarchy and despotism. In order to be respectable, a journal must be conducted in a spirit of rigid impartiality—with decorum but with boldness. … We sincerely respect the authorities, and for that reason we shall keep our eye on them, so that we may, whenever they slip from the right path, humbly endeavour to point out the road. If we sometimes boldly tell the government what is the public feeling on such or such a subject, the government should not be offended. It ought to rejoice. … (Jones-Quartey, 1975, pp. 74–75)

Ghana has experimented with various media systems, liberal and socialist. From 1957 to 1963, under president Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana's political system and institutions operated under a democratic model, and the media were relatively free. However, with the introduction of the one-party system in 1964, the Nkrumah regime adopted a development

Table 11.1 Ghana's Media Policies, 1957–present

Historical Period	Government	Media Policies Practiced
1957–1966	Convention People's Party (CPP)	Initially liberal, developmental and authoritarian
1966–1969	National Liberation Council (NLC)	Authoritarian
1969–1972	Progress Party (PP)	Liberal
1972–1979	National Redemption Council (NRC)/Supreme Military Council I & II (SMC)	Authoritarian
1979	Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC)	Authoritarian
1979–1981	People's National Party (PNP)	Liberal
1981–1992	Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC)	Authoritarian
1993–2000	National Democratic Congress (NDC)	Liberal
2001–2008	New Patriotic Party (NPP)	Liberal
2009–to–date	National Democratic Congress	Liberal

model under which the media were seen as a tool to serve national development policies, and thus were either controlled directly by the authorities, or made to toe the government line.

Ghana has adopted new concepts and institutions to adapt to the global environment and serve the needs of her people. According to democratic theory, the very survival of democracy depends on information and communication (Barber, 1999). The informed "consent of the governed" is a cherished principle of representative democracy (p. 582). Perhaps this is even more crucial in societies undergoing democratic transitions, as is Ghana. Since 1992, the country has witnessed six successful democratic elections resulting in the peaceful transfer of government between the two major parties. Without sufficient information, citizens may not adequately evaluate the alternatives, and the consequences of their actions. Barnett and Gaber (2001) identify the conveyor status of the media, as they report important concerns and problems that need attention of the rulers from "the ground to policy-making elites, governments and elected representatives; acting in other words, as tribunes of the people who can convey through the mass communication process the distilled consensus of the multitude to its representative law-makers" (p. 11).

Political ideology is fundamental to the kind of media system or journalism practice a country adopts. Ansah (1991) states that Ghanaian media have been "characterized by certain eclecticism with borrowings from various sources, including local traditional sources" (1991, p. 1). A shift in political structures and ideology was dictated by the collapse of the Soviet Union. Historically, the choice of one-party models, and in some cases socialist models, by countries such as Ghana, was often a direct result of the neglect and refusal of the West to either support or grant self-rule. The Soviet totalitarian system provided newly independent countries with an alternative political and economic model. Its collapse left Ghana and other countries that had allied with it, particularly in Africa, with more limited ideological choices.

The supremacy of the Western model is anchored in a carefully choreographed liberal idea of capitalism, which is premised on modernity, as opposed to traditional value systems. To be seen as part of the free world means that Ghana and African countries encumbered by poverty and underdevelopment need to transform their cultural and socio-political institutions from their perceived primitive traditional origins into the Western world's model of modernity. A plural media that encourages unfettered journalism practice, without manipulation by either the state, private sector, or any individual, has been presented as a panacea

for underdevelopment. Modernization Theory posits that when these societies are driven by good communication, the problems of poverty, disease, and squalor will be a thing of the past (Lerner, 1963, p. 350). According to Lerner (1963), modern communication acts as a catalyst in the transformation of "traditional societies into modernity as it helps to broaden their horizons" (p. 348). Indeed, not only is communication viewed as a tool to diffuse modern practices, but it is seen as a positive agent in the political process. The media, Lerner argues, wield a transformative power by informing and molding opinions and converting citizens into active participants in the political process. He contends that "the connection between mass media and political democracy is especially close" (p. 342).

The tradition and modernity argument is vital in understanding the media systems and political culture debate. As Curran and Myung (2000) explain, tradition (as discussed in modernization theory) is looked on as backward, defeatist, and conservative, and therefore has no place as a legitimate feature of civil society (p. 5). This characterization exposes the ignorance of some early theorists in the West as to the real democratic and communication imperative of what African—and in particular Ghanaian—diversity entails. Schramm (1963) argues that there appears to be an inherent weakness in tying underdeveloped countries to the same standard of measurement in communication development used in the West.

According to Drah (1996), when the Berlin Wall came down in 1989, at least 38 countries in Sub-Saharan Africa "were reeling under autocratic civilian single party and military regimes" (p. 69). The collapse of communism meant there was no ideological "godfather" on whom to lean for survival and support in the new geo-political arrangement. Ghana, like other countries under dictatorial rule, rejoined the democratic camp in January 1993. This followed sustained pressure for a return to multiparty democratic governance from within and outside the country, particularly from the international donor community. To this end, Ghana drew up an elaborate democratic constitution with safeguards for the freedom and independence of the media (Constitution of Ghana). Constitutional protection for media also opened the floodgates for some irresponsible and reckless journalism. To understand how and why this occurred, we need to examine provisions in chapter 12 of Ghana's Fourth Republican Constitution (1992), which confers legitimacy and independence on the media in Article 162:

1. Freedom and independence of the media are hereby guaranteed.
2. Subject to this constitution and any other law not inconsistent with this constitution, there shall be no censorship in Ghana.

3. There shall be no impediments to the establishment of private press or media, and in particular there shall be no law requiring any person to obtain a licence as a prerequisite to the establishment or operation of a newspaper, journal, or other media for mass communication or information.
4. Editors and publishers of newspapers and other institutions of mass media shall not be subject to control or interference by government, nor shall they be penalised or harassed for their editorial opinions, views, or the content of their publications.
5. All agencies of the mass media shall, at all times, be free to uphold the principles and objectives of this constitution and shall uphold the responsibility and accountability of government to the people of Ghana.

Article 167 mandates the National Media Commission (NMC) to appoint a board of directors to decide who manages the state-owned media. This provision finally closed the door on the arbitrary and capricious abuse by government of the appointment and dismissal of editors in state media.

Other provisions in the 1992 Constitution spelled out the functions of the NMC:

- To promote and ensure freedom and independence of the media for mass communication or information.
- To take all appropriate measures to ensure the establishment and maintenance of the highest journalistic standards in the mass media, including the investigation, mediation, and settlement of complaints made against or by the press or other mass media.
- To insulate the state-owned media from governmental control (1992, p. 114). Article 172 states: Except as otherwise provided by this Constitution or by any other law not inconsistent with this Constitution, the National Media Commission shall not be subject to the direction or control of any person or authority in the performance of its functions. (p. 115).

This notwithstanding, Article 173 provides that "subject to article 167 of this Constitution, the National Media Commission shall not exercise any control or direction over the professional functions of a person engaged in the production of newspapers or other means of communication."

While there are clear provisions to guarantee freedom and independence of the media, one of the most notable features is the insulation of state-owned media from governmental control. Until 1992, state media had been used to serve the interests of successive governments for repression and social control. In Ghana, private and state-owned media now

operate side-by-side without interference. In a nascent democracy which is fighting to eradicate poverty and to improve the quality of life of its people, it is recognized that state-owned media have an important role in development to articulate the problems of the country.

Despite the opening up of media following the 1992 constitution, it was not until 1995 that the first private FM radio station (JOY FM) was allowed—through an arrangement with the state broadcaster, Ghana Broadcasting Corporation (GBC)—to cede part of its spectrum allocation to new entrants to the industry. Suspicion that fringe elements would use this medium to subvert the state was a major reason for delays in granting licenses to private broadcasters (Dzisah, 2008). Before the establishment of the National Communications Authority (NCA 524, 1996)—the regulatory body that deals with spectrum allocation for cable, wire, radio, television, and mobile phones among others—the nation had only the state-owned Ghana Broadcasting Corporation (GBC), with one TV station, two national short wave networks, and three FM stations. However, there are now as many as 28 TV and 247 FM radio stations with broadcast authorization, according to the NCA (NCA Report, 2012).

While subtle methods could still be used by the ruling elite to gain some advantage in the state-owned media, the diversity and number of mostly private media outlets have reduced monopoly and manipulation. Political parties in Ghana own media, which they use to reflect their philosophies and policies, as well as to whip up sentiment against their opponents. This challenges the traditional watchdog role of the media as advanced by the liberal pluralist theory, which maintains that the role of the media is to maintain surveillance on the state and its agents. Whether Ghana's mixed system of state and private media is likely to serve this critical need of society is debatable. The emergence of the Internet and social media (Facebook and Twitter) has taken journalism practice beyond the traditional role of a "Fourth Power" into one of participation, media-entertainment, and engagement of the power-wielders.

Ownership, Control, and the State versus Private Debate

Ansah (1991) expresses disdain for the purely private ownership of the media, contending that it will keep the government out of the operation of any means of communication. In terms of control, then, there is only a shift in the locus of power from the political leadership, as in the authoritarian and Communist system, to the financial elite in the commercial arena. Ansah's position is that the libertarian approach allows

for control of the press by minority groups which decide on the interests they wish to promote in society, as it suits their political and financial agenda (1991, p. 18).

The question is important because Ghana's media sector is growing rapidly. Statistics from a study by the African Media Development Initiative (AMDI, 2007), a British Department for International Development (DFID) collaborative project, revealed a substantial increase in the number of newspapers in Ghana during the previous five years. The NMC documented a total of 106 newspapers, with 11 dailies, 67 weeklies, 23 bi-weeklies and 5 tri-weeklies (p. 21). Out of the 11 dailies, 2 were state-owned and the rest privately owned. However, in the next 3 years, the number of newspapers increased exponentially—from 106 in 2007 to 1,019 as of December 2010 (NMC, 2011).

Radio remains the most widespread and popular medium. According to audience research by the Media Foundation for West Africa (MFWA), 80 percent of those sampled listened to radio, with 69 percent listening at least once a day. Eighty-two percent of the population was able to receive FM radio (AMDI, 2007, p. 14). In terms of gender distribution, 52 percent of males listened to radio regularly compared with 48 percent of females. For television, 37 percent said they were regular viewers, while 30 percent read newspapers regularly (AMDI, 2007, p. 11).

While these statistics may be encouraging compared to other countries in Africa, there is more to be done if Ghana's journalism practice and media systems are to develop. McChesney (2000) calls for a more socially oriented media system capable of serving the interests of all. His call is for nonprofit and noncommercial media to promote the wellbeing of the people, rather than those with sectarian and purely financial motives (p. 6). Under the free-market doctrine, McChesney disputes that "society works best when business runs things and there is as little possibility of government interference with business as possible" (McChesney, 2006). From this standpoint, the noninvolvement of the state in the running of the media is an indirect marginalization of a majority of the population. McChesney (2006) considers the attempt to keep the people away from the operation of the media as decreasing the value of rational debate and argumentation. Similarly, Curran (1995) indicts the free market on the basis that it can undermine critical and rational debate. According to Curran, "market-oriented media tend to generate information that is simplified, personalized, de-contextualized, with an emphasis on action rather than process" (1995). By contrast, Ghana's mixed-media system (with state and privately owned media) offers a model that can potentially promote debate and participation.

The underlying question in the discussion of state-private media ownership is: Which group best serves the national interest? Who, then, defines the national interest? Is it the democratically elected government, or is it the media mogul or the editor of a newspaper? If private media owners have the right to inform and shape public opinion, what about the government, which has been mandated by the citizens to protect and seek their welfare? It has been acknowledged that while government control of the press can be debilitating and even crowd out dissent, private media are neither free from manipulation nor absolved from dictatorial practices. The power of advertisers, for example, has affected the normative role of the press (Ansah, 1991).

Hasty (2005), in her ethnographic study of journalism practice in Ghana, reveals what happens in the state-owned media. She argues that the *Daily Graphic*, a state-owned newspaper, encourages suppression of dissent and of opposition voices under the guise of what the newspaper terms the "house style" (p. 47). What this really means is a lack of criticism in the state-owned media. As Hasty has argued, political legitimacy is conferred on the ruling officials by the *Daily Graphic,* by virtue of its being state-owned, using "state accumulation, populist morality, and benevolent patronage." Hasty has a point but fails to contextualize the editorial position of the *Daily Graphic* in the postcolonial era in terms of its use by the ruling class to attain political legitimacy. The state-ownership argument places much emphasis on the "personality centered coverage and benevolent patronage" (Hasty, 2005, p. 47) of Ghanaian leaders. This cannot be wholly a Ghanaian situation. In Western democracies, the "who leads" is also commonly used in media narratives. The coverage of celebrities and presidents gives them pre-eminent status.

Ansah (1991) insists that the government has the right to establish communication channels for information dissemination to its citizens, and not just serve as a facilitator, as argued by market-led theorists (p. 20). He advocates a system whereby governments, like other groups, enjoy the same rights and privileges to establish their own media outlets while allowing private sector media to operate without let or hindrance. Pluralism, in Ansah's opinion, does not necessarily promote diversity. There is every indication that a variety of sources intended to reflect plurality of opinion could actually be advocating the same viewpoint. This position is supported by Chomsky (1989), when he questions whether the debates on media and democracy truly address critical questions of fact and value. What Chomsky argues is fundamental to the whole debate over state/private ownership imperatives. The media in Ghana are viewed as tilting towards the rich and the powerful in society.

Barnett and Gaber (2001) argue that "the vital function of independent and critical political reporting is being progressively undermined to the benefit of those in power" (p. 1). They, however, contend that in spite of the concerns raised about media gravitating towards the powerful, media have not wholly neglected the normative functions of providing information which the "citizens require in order to make informed judgments about their political leaders and participate effectively in the proper functioning of the state" (Barnett & Gaber, 2001). They argue that Walter Lippmann's metaphor of the media being the "beam of a searchlight that moves restlessly about, bringing one episode and then another out of darkness into vision" is preserved, but within the context of those the media considers vulnerable (p. 2).

Since 1992, the media in Ghana have arguably influenced citizens' assessments of the government and political parties. Both traditional and new media provide platforms for contending interests to present their points of view, reflecting the dominant liberal ideology of freedom of expression (Siebert et al., 1963, p. 6). Ghana's media system presents a panoramic view of an emerging democracy trying hard to imitate the West in its practice of journalism and the institutionalization of a well-defined political culture. In the process, Ghanaian media are gradually abandoning the traditional function of providing accurate, balanced, and objective information to help citizens make informed choices.

Ghana's political and media system must reconnect with its values and cultural underpinnings, and not blindly copy and imitate what pertains in the Western world. My position is that the media in Ghana ought to pay critical attention to cultural dynamics. This is not to say that they should be encumbered by outmoded traditional cultural beliefs and practices. However, the country's collective cultural and value systems must define its own moral and social cohesion so as to help it grow and sustain the democratic path of changing governments through free, fair, and transparent elections.

The media have a tendency to enter into the political arena and play the role of active participants instead of being vehicles for carrying opinions from the political establishment to the citizens, and vice versa. Instead of reporting on socio-economic and political processes—one of the media's fundamental roles—journalists have become active participants in the political manipulation process. This assertion is supported by a confession by Ato Sam (a.k.a. Baby Ansaba) the editor of the *New Punch* newspaper. He claimed to fabricate stories to assist the political party/candidate of his choice. Ato Sam, who had worked for Ghanaian private newspapers, including the *Free Press* and the *Daily Guide*,

concedes that most of his stories about the health of the late President John Evans Atta Mills ahead of the 2008 elections were fabricated for political expediency. The motive was to make him look unattractive in the eyes of the electorate, and to pave the way for Ato's preferred candidate, Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo Addo. The journalist also confessed to manipulating stories to shore up the political fortunes of the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and its candidate and later President, John Agyekum Kufuor. Later, he openly apologized to President Mills (Joy FM, 2010).

A similar manipulation for political opportunism was the confession of Ebenezer Josiah, then the editor of the *National Democrat*. A month before the presidential and parliamentary elections of 2004, Josiah got front-page treatment in the state-owned *Daily Graphic*, with the claim that opposition leaders of the National Democratic Congress (NDC) were behind the politically explosive stories he had published against the NPP and President Kufuor, who was then seeking re-election. In a press release, Ebenezer stated that beside the stories carrying his bylines, the stories were normally written by faceless people whom he named as key political figures in the NDC. Such political manipulations compelled the then Vice-President (currently President) of the Ghana Journalist Association (GJA), Affail Monney to state "our attitude to each other—especially those we perceive as political enemies—stinks, to say the least, and the exceedingly bad political odor is reflected in the emotional overdrive with which issues are discussed and comments made on the airwaves and in the private newspapers" (Monney, 2010).

Such conduct raises ethical, moral, and responsibility issues. It is my position that media practitioners have innate political instincts; they are clothed with fundamental freedoms of speech and constitutional freedoms of expression to shape opinions on issues; they are a part of society and share relationships; they have a stake in society but are not an island unto themselves. The greatest concern is the level of covert and overt participation in the political process. These developments call for a rethinking of the media, democratic arrangements, and the public sphere in Ghana.

The Legal and Political Economy of the Media

Since the return to multiparty democracy in 1992, the Ghanaian media, which suffered from years of political inertia, have regained some balance. With a whole chapter in the constitution devoted to freedom and its critical independence, media have become a major power in the socio-political discourse. The legal system has also played a key part

in shaping the media system. Having inherited from the British the criminal law system as part of the common law, independent Ghana maintained and added to a system that criminalized free speech and expression. This resulted in numerous criminal libel cases being brought against Ghanaian journalists, particularly those from the privately-owned media engaged in adversarial journalism.

Clearly, the legal framework that was in place until 2001 reveals the mindset of the political establishment at the time. Emerging from military dictatorship, which had a high-handed attitude toward news media practice, the successor government of the National Democratic Congress (NDC) continued to view the media as potential trouble makers who must be caged. The 1992 constitution did not spell out the legal consequences of defamation. The Criminal Code (Act 29 of 1960) remains the legal statute on which to prosecute journalists for various offenses in relation to defamation.

Because the state is the sole initiator of criminal proceedings, those who are accused are quickly arraigned before the courts. After the 1992 election, the new NDC government (which was re-elected in 1996) continued to use the law to attack journalists working in private media. Until 2001, when the NDC left power, over 100 criminal libel cases were filed against media houses (NMC, 2001, pp. 2–5). In the 2000 election, the main opposition party, the New Patriotic Party (NPP), campaigned on the platform of repealing the criminal libel law. Its victory could be said to have changed the face of Ghana's media with regard to the criminalization of speech.

Since 2001, the legal environment improved with parliament's repeal of the criminal libel law and the sedition laws, with Act 602 (AMDI, 2007, p. 7). Hostility toward the media, and the hauling of journalists into court for the slightest infraction of the law, have abated. However, the subtle use of civil libel by functionaries of the New Patriotic Party (NPP), and those associated with the sitting President, has raised eyebrows. The damages imposed on media are deemed excessive. For example, in a civil libel suit brought against the *Ghana Palaver* newspaper—regarded as sympathetic to the NDC—by the former Minister of Water Resources, Works and Housing in the NPP government, the court slapped $165,000 damages on the newspaper. While the media continue to indulge in sensationalism spiced with unsubstantiated rumors, the conduct of government officials in exploiting the courts for huge damages has rekindled the debate about the independence of the judiciary. In a few instances, it has been established that the huge sums were intended to be more than punitive. The aim, according to the NMC, was to drive these papers out of business.

> In spite of the NMC's efforts at promoting standards, the print media field is still weak, with journalists often sensationalizing issues and making unsubstantiated allegations. Many print journalists have been taken to court to face civil libel suits, with large damages imposed on their papers. This has led some to worry that the former danger of journalist imprisonment under the Criminal Libel Law has been replaced by the danger of a newspaper's financial collapse due to a large civil libel award. (AMDI, 2007, p. 23)

Despite these concerns, the media in Ghana, acting under the constitutional mandate to be the "Fourth Power," are demanding accountability from the political and economic elite by exposing corruption and other abuses in the system. This contributes to politics being "cut down to size" (Blumler & Gurevitch, 2000, p. 163) and affords citizens the opportunity to look at their leaders as public servants whom they can (and do) hold accountable. This has fostered a political culture which recognizes the central role of communication in a democracy. It is allowing what Lee (1995) calls "constant interaction with all the people, accessibility at all levels, a public ethos which allows conflicting ideas to contend" (p. 7). But, as argued by Nyamnjoh (2005), we must be mindful of the creeping tendency for the media to become a vehicle for "uncritical assumptions, beliefs, stereotypes, ideologies and orthodoxies that blunt critical awareness and make participatory democracy difficult" (p. 20).

The NMC has a vital role to ensure the independence of the media. Independent media in a democracy, according to Keane (1994), are "justified by their ability to maximize freedom in the sense of individual or group autonomy" in that a free press remains the only bulwark or antidote against the incipient abuse of power by those who wield and exercise it (p. 175). The capacity to arrive at rational and intelligent decisions is influenced by the quality of information available, and access to various sources of opinion (Keane, 1994). What this means is that the media have the onerous responsibility as an "agency of information and debate that facilitates the functioning of democracy" (Curran, 2005, p. 129).

Conclusion

Ghana provides a case study for an analysis of the dynamics of state-private media ownership in a developing country. While the media arguably still function as a dominant power in the public sphere in a liberal democracy, their manipulative power through ownership, control, and ideological imperatives—as well as the shift toward the preservation of

the interests of the more powerful—could undermine their perceived role in society. Since the restoration of multiparty democracy in 1992, Ghana's media system has embodied the normative ideals postulated by traditional liberal theory. The uniqueness of the Ghanaian media, which is characterized by deep partisanship and diversity, has been the combination of two different models of media ownership contributing to the building of democracy. The rapid growth of Ghana's media is likely to continue. As the economy is experiencing growth with the discovery and production of crude oil in commercial quantities, Ghana is becoming more attractive to investors. They will need information, which can only be guaranteed by a liberal environment where the media are free and robust.

12

Case 2: Colombia—An Ethnographic Study of Digital Journalistic Practices

Silvia Montaña

For Colombia and Latin America, online journalism has the potential to become a powerful alternative to the news coming from corporate conglomerates and family owned media, as well as a platform to build democracy and the free press. Some organizations dedicated to protecting and monitoring free expression in Latin America see possibilities for investigative, independent journalism and civic movements in the online boom (Farah, 2011).

Over the last decade, research has reflected upon the potential of digital journalism, and what the new environment and tools provide to journalists in terms of language and interaction with users. Researchers have also begun to examine the communicative process from the perspective of users—that is, the intertwining relationship citizens and social movements have with online media in the configuration of a public sphere.

Digital Journalism in Colombia

Studies differ in how they define and examine the changes and innovations introduced by digital technologies to mass media, and to the new landscape of emerging media. Part of the problem is the many terms used, which include "multimedia journalism," "cyber journalism," "participative journalism," "collaborative journalism," "Journalism 2.0," "interactive media," and "citizen journalism." Carlos Scolari (2008) argues that theoretical discourses about interactive digital communication come from different places—the academy, information enterprises, marketing, journalism and others—each of which is seeking

to dominate. Suffixes or adjectives privilege particular interests or perspectives. Scolari maintains that theories of digital content production and appropriation should consider hypermedia and hypermediations. Hypermediation does not "refer to a product or a medium but a symbolic exchange, production and consumption process developed in a scope characterized by multiple actors, media, narratives interconnected in a reticulated way among them"(Scolari, 2008).

Theoretical and terminological debates make it difficult to define what is happening not only in Colombian journalism, but around the globe. Spanish and Latin American researchers who have debated the typologies have come to a consensus, distinguishing between two media types: media digital versions refer to mass media that had to migrate and adapt to the new environment; native digital media is a term that applies Prensky's category[1] to those media originating from the web, which have abandoned the industrial models that require an expensive infrastructure of printing and broadcasting. The term also applies to media or web projects that are looking for sustainable means to monetize their work (Castellanos Díaz, 2011; Díaz-Noci, 2010).

Two alternative ways of mapping the literature about digital journalism in Colombia are proposed here. The first is to focus on those studies where Colombian media, news content, and news work practices are the main concern. I call this approach the domestic perspective. The second centers on studies where the same topics are studied in a wider geographical context, contrasting journalistic cultures from a comparative perspective (international or regional).

A different trend in domestic research is the migration from traditional media to Internet media, and the role of emerging new media in Colombian digital journalism. This approach not only considers content, but publics and sustainability (Rey & Huertas, 2010). Their study examines a variety of media, and the different migrations of community radio, TV, and print, describing this process as a "big bang." It also raises the question of the economic sustainability of digital news. Here, the Colombian journalism scene is lively and full of transformation. This study is one the first attempts to go beyond discourse and text analysis, using ethnographic research to document the experiences of adapting digital technologies to journalistic routines in the case of Lasillavacia.com.

Although interactivity is considered in terms of hypertext content, research has moved slowly toward disentangling this issue, and others, that have derived from the growing audience capability for generating information, participation, blogging, and the relation between social

media and journalism (Acosta, 2008; Zuluaga y León, 2010; Rojas, 2010; Calderín et al., 2012; Acebedo, 2010, 2012; Gutiérrez-Coba et al., 2012; Montaña et al., 2012; Velasquez, 2012). The interest here is to consider the roles of users in digital media, and is linked to the literature on the digital public sphere and democracy. In several studies (Acebedo, 2010, 2012; Velasquez, 2012), Lasillavacia.com is presented as a case study of an "online political community" where the dynamics of participation between authors, bloggers, and registered members of the community are explored. This set of studies seeks to analyze the bridges that online journalism builds with the participation of citizens from the social media and the blogosphere. The researchers also question whether bloggers in Colombia can be perceived as an active community that forms a part of journalism, and how they contribute to form a digital pubic sphere.

On the other hand, comparative perspective research, most of which is quantitative, focuses on how the mass media deal with innovations, and the ways in which they have struggled to open the gates to user participation. Colombian digital news media development is examined within an international context (Franco & Guzmán, 2004; Palomo, 2008; Said, 2010; Said & Arcila, 2011; Fondevila Gascón & Segura Jiménez, 2012; Hernández Soto, 2012; García de Torres, 2012) primarily by taking into account Latin American, American, and European digital news media (including Spain, because of its cultural proximity). Comparative studies consider not only the development of web 2.0 journalism, and journalists in the blogosphere, but also how journalism faculties and departments, and other journalistic organizations, have incorporated technological innovations in updating their undergraduate, postgraduate, or other educational curricula (Franco, 2009; Said Hung, 2010; Hernandez Soto, 2012). This comparative perspective presents Colombian online journalism in a positive light when compared with other Latin American digital media. A comparison with online newspapers in Spain exhibits, however, lesser levels of the uses of hypertextuality (Fondevila Gascón & Segura Jiménez, 2012).

One of the first major studies in 2004 was based on surveys of more than 20 Latin American newspapers. It showed the incipient conditions of "online operations" and "staff" in the newsrooms of Latin American newspapers, and the challenges that the new breed of digital journalists faced, such as age, low pay, integration within traditional newsrooms, and a lack of training. It also revealed the gap and tensions between journalistic generations. It offered a picture of a news industry in transition, "highly depending on what the offline newsroom's staff produced" (Franco & Guzman, 2004). There was no emphasis on producing content

specifically for online media. Three years later, in a followup study, the situation had not changed (Franco & Guzman, 2007).

More recent comparative research based on content samples indicates a substantial change when compared with the 2000–2005 period. These studies tend to emphasize content and new forms of narrating, rather than the underlying structures and routines of news making. Said et al. (2010, 2011) constructed indicators to measure the level of development of cyber journalism in Latin America by examining 18 digital media outlets, one Spanish, and one American. Compared with other countries in the region, Colombia's digital newspapers, along with Mexico's, showed the best indicators for accessibility, visibility, popularity, in-depth information, interactivity tools, customization, and impact in the social media. The level of user participation was still low, but Colombia exhibited the highest ranking in this category (Said & Arcila, 2011).

Lasillavacia.com: Theoretical Approach and Methodology[2]

Within journalism studies, research by Tuchman (1978), Fishman (1980), and Gans (1979) provided insights to understand media and news from a socio-cultural perspective. News was not merely an artifact resulting from the industrialization of the media, but a social construct produced by particular actors in social structures who gave meaning to an event. "News are windows to the world" was the metaphor applied by Tuchman. An alternative paradigm to understand news is offered by ethnographic research in communication studies. For some social researchers, ethnography is thought to eliminate objectivity in the search for scientific knowledge, because the necessary distance between what is studied (forms of thinking, acting and interrelating within a group of people), and the researcher is blurred in the act of observation.

As one of the main compilations of media ethnographies has noted (Domingo & Patterson, 2008, 2011), ethnographic research methods are not commonly used to study the professional realm of journalism, and Colombia is no exception. In Colombia, what is in the minds of journalists and their journalistic culture (that is, the set of conceptions, ideals, traditions, routines and processes to make news) is examined through surveys and interviews, and sometimes anecdotes or personal testimonies from journalists, which gives the closest portrait of what is happening in the newsrooms (Alzate, 2008).

It is clear that research about the socio-cultural characteristics of the profession is needed. Few studies have been conducted because of limited time for research, lack of funding for prolonged periods of observation,

and, ultimately, the natural distrust of media organizations to open their doors to an outside observer. We found that even when observing the most public processes in a journalistic organization, observers are usually seen as intruders, and gaining trust takes a long time. Despite the openness of Lasillavacia.com—where researchers were allowed to share the general aspects of newsroom production, and vital organizational information—it was difficult to get access to other kinds of material such as internal conversations and memos. Many internal communications (or even the way journalists gather information) remain hidden in mails, chats, or mobile conversations, and are not available to the researcher.

The following areas were taken into account in the analysis: editorial policies, updating cycles, space and production dynamics, control and interrelation with sources, and participation of bloggers and users in news construction through participative tools and social media.

Lasillavacia.com as an Experimental Newsroom in the Digital Era

Since 2009, Lasillavacia.com (literally "the empty chair") has presented itself to the public and users as "digital media that narrates how power is exercised in Colombia,". According to the head of the project, Juanita Leon, as well as the website, there were two main motivations for founding Lasillavacia.com: the first was to gain independence from traditional media, not only politically and economically, but also in formats and ways of telling stories; the second was to reframe politics after the constitutional change in Colombia in 1991. León's goal was to open this participative space in order to read and analyze Colombian political reality and power, (J León, personal communication June 19, 2012). Lasillavacia.com is a suitable case study because of its hybrid character, blending journalism and the online citizen community.

Although the web project has been referred to as an online political community (Velasquez, 2012), both the director and creative editor, in different scenarios and public interviews, have said that its purpose is independent journalism. The core teams in the newsroom (those receiving salaries) are in charge of producing the stories (not "news," as specified by the creative editor, Olga Lozano) and moderating participation. From interviews with bloggers, it is clear that they have a role as collaborators, yet they do not receive payment of any kind. There are more collaborators (about 15) than staff members in the newsroom.

Before starting this project, the two current heads of Lasillavacia.com, León and journalist Olga Lozano, made popular the digital

version of Semana.com, one of the most important Colombian online weekly magazines. Both were in charge of editing and coordination of the website. Although, during the interviews, they never referred to Semana.com as a model for Lasillavacia.com, they did describe it as its chief competitor.

Professionals in the newsroom come from diverse backgrounds: law, literature, engineering, finance, and journalism. The team is in charge of updating the website's main sections: "Portada," which focuses on main stories; "Movida," which includes texts from subscribed opinion leaders; "Blogueo," the space for bloggers from academic and public life; "La butaca," the section for ironic commentaries on politics; "Quién es quién," a growing database about the lives and public performance of politicians and state officials; "Usuarios," which promotes circles of debate on specific political issues; "Querido diario," which provides confidential information on power movements; and special projects, such as Proyecto Rosa, that focus on female social leaders of Colombian victims of violence.

The internal newswork, or organizational specialization, as a method of assigning journalists according to Tuchman's categories (1978), is divided into three main areas: central government, local government, and regional government. Topic specializations, such as corruption, victims of violence, problems of land concentration and distribution, and the database of politicians in Colombia, are all distributed among the staff. The most important devices for reporting are mobile phones and laptops.

In terms of staffing, lawyers outnumber journalists. The director of Lasillavacia.com has what she calls a personal bias, which in fact serves as a criterion for hiring:

> Lasillavacia does not have an economic group behind it nor a partisan interest or story. Its credibility and reputation have been built because of the people working here. They are people with solid academic bases. Sometimes journalists lack these. The communicators are more focused on techniques and are better trained for immediacy and less for analysis. Our sources speak because they trust the people to whom they are talking to and sources know they understand these issues. I am good at training in journalism. But for example, for me it is difficult to train the other way around, to have a journalist that does not understand the differences between the state and government. (Juanita León, personal communication, June 20, 2012)

This study focuses on four innovative aspects (that is, those ideas, practices, or methods that are different from the institutional routines): 1) modernity as a choice; 2) permanent editorial meetings as result of workspace and actors; 3) battles against journalistic formulas; and 4) "intelligent participation."

Modernity as a Choice

Lasillavacia.com wants to be seen as a medium for modern people in postmodern times. Throughout Colombian media history, the industrial model of news making has progressively blurred the boundaries between partisan journalism and a more commercial and corporate scheme in producing news. In this context, Lasillavacia.com wants to be—and the staff think of themselves as—the leading medium for understanding the constitutional configuration of the nation, and its modernity. In explaining this choice, the director of Lasillavacía.com says,

> Modern people are the people who understand the values of the Constitution of 1991: those who want to discuss and be informed according to those standards. We don't aspire to be read by rich people either. Once during the past elections, I traveled to Chocó[3] and a group of young guys printed Lasillavacia.com to be informed about Mockus' campaign.[4] That was so cool, I realized I wanted to be read by people who wanted to be connected to the world. We don't want to modify our page to be read [by] everybody. I am at [the] front of a media I really would like to read myself. We are not interested in writing stories for the average citizen, but for people that want to understand the complexity of power and politics (J León, personal communication June 20, 2012).

For the staff, "modern" also implies those ready to be introduced to a higher sphere of political discussion. This notion battles with the business imperative as, slowly, Lasillavacia.com has been profiling its users to improve publicity strategies. When faced with a choice between traffic and influence, interviews with the staff clearly reveal that they consider influence more important. Although traffic is not considered as essential for the team as its reputation, figures since 2009 show an important increase and consolidation of the website.

According to the survey by Cifras & Conceptos (2011, 2012), the website ranks fourth among online media when people want to know about

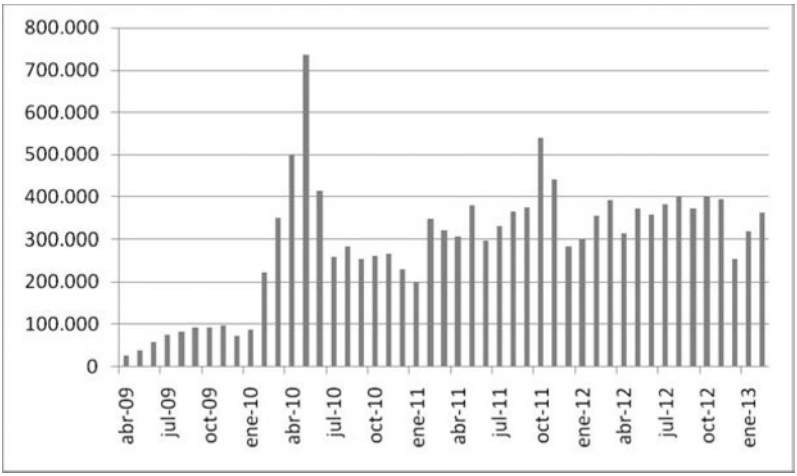

Figure 12.1 Lasillavacia.com: Traffic Since 2009, Measured by Number of Hits
Data provided by Lasillavacia

Colombian politics. This ranking is significant, given the fact that Lasillavacia.com has been providing this kind of information only since 2009, and is competing against newspapers that have done it for almost a century.

"Modern" is also a niche. Other internal research[5] profiling users showed that Lasillavacia.com is addressed to highly educated people who already have information and are interested in political power issues. According to Leon, a commissioned survey found that "around 84 per cent of our followers went to university, and 44 per cent wanted to learn another language and keep studying. To know our audience has served to improve advertising strategies. For example, we are focusing mainly on universities as the main target [for] advertisers."

Lasillavacia's funding comes from several sources. The main ones are cooperation agencies (such as Open Society and the Ford Foundation), which support and finance story proposals from the staff. Consultancies and workshops by staff for organizations and companies that need advice about digital communication have also improved income. Following these sources are advertisements, "although with the rule that ads don't interfere with the interactions and ways proposed by our stories," says León. Lastly, money comes from users who want the media to investigate specific stories. "This is an alternative that is going to be imposed gradually. In 2011 we gathered 23 million Colombian pesos (around US $12,500) from user donations to make a story about the

leaders of conflict victims in Colombia. We have created a community of Lasillavacia's friends, who are the people who voluntarily donate money to support us," Leon said (personal communication June 20, 2012). The most recent Friends campaign in 2012 collected double that amount.

Permanent Editorial Meetings as Result of Workspace and Actors

A common element of study in newsroom ethnographies is the physical organization that shapes the processes, and results in making news (Iglesias García, 2012, 2009; Robinson, 2011). For some studies on newsroom integration and convergent media, spatial organization provides understanding of whether or how innovation and collaboration exist for the production of cross-media stories, and for the transformation of organizational structures (Bechman, 2011). However, spatial arrangement is not the only determinant. There is also a network of interests and actors that shape the production.

> Would it then be more fruitful in the shifting (networked) media landscape and in the cross media news production to leave the idea of physical proximity behind and bring production process closer together by actually being apart in a more distributed structure? What defines the production process network is access to certain central persons who have the power to set the inclusion and exclusion rules. (Bechman, 2011. p.28)

Spatial conditions, as well as specific actors, play a role in generating a continuous dynamic of collaboration and collective storytelling. Lasillavacia.com is produced and managed from a master room of approximately 70 square meters (see Figure 12.2), a small physical space compared to the large and fragmented newsrooms of national media companies. Within this space, administrative and journalistic tasks are mixed. Instead of a central desk or separated offices, there are common tables where laptops, PCs, and some printers are placed, and where staff members face each other to be open to constant conversation. The dimensions of the room allow for permanent interaction among members of the team, but especially with the director, who is situated in one of the corners. The director constantly poses questions about the premise of the stories. Although there is an editorial meeting once a week where two stories per day are scheduled, planned, and discussed, constant conversations occur about new, emerging stories and about how

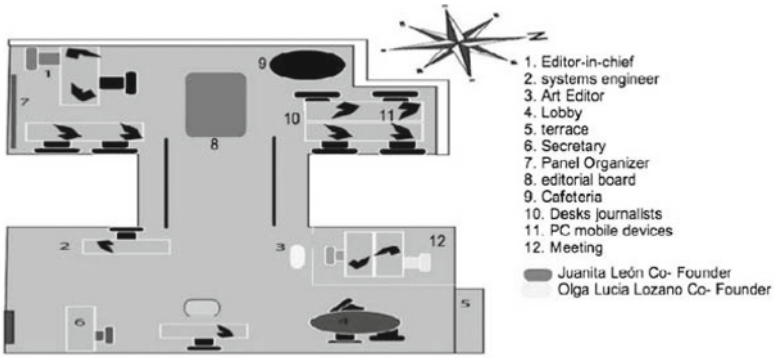

Figure 12.2 Office Layout of Lasillavacia.com

to refocus stories from the original idea. The initial focus of the story can change because new information can be provided in conversations, chats, continuous questions, and contacts with sources through mobile phones. There is continuous followup by the director and creative editor.

The director and creative editor insist that press conferences and news bulletins are not places to gather information. For that reason the director is concerned about confirmation from informed and reliable sources,[6] whereas the creative editor works with the designer in order to find a graphic and multimedia solution for the story. Although the news space contributes to collaboration, and people in charge of a story can ask for support from others, each story is ultimately approved by the director.

Battle against Journalistic Formulas

How can the process of storytelling in Lasillavacia be described? How does this group of journalists decide to use all possibilities and tools at hand? In the interviews, team members stressed that the middle man function of the journalist is vanishing as the raw information is available on the web. In that sense, ways of framing events become detached from the mainstream media agenda. When they are covering the same topic as traditional media, staff offer a more analytical treatment.

Scoops for Lasillavacia.com go beyond unpredictable or unexpected news. By applying analytical tools to ongoing political stories, staff focus on the consequences of political events, rather than the events themselves. Using this approach, they have been able to anticipate future developments in the stories they cover. In 2010, by analyzing

the legal addresses of the judges from the Constitutional Court and additionally confirming government sources, Lasillavacia anticipated the court's decision disapproving the Referendum Act, which was going to give power to former president Alvaro Uribe Vélez, and give him the right to reform the constitution and run for a third term as president.

In another story about a controversial reform to the Justice Act that was quickly approved by a group of congressmen in June 2012, Lasillavacia staff focused on the changes made to the act rather than the congressmen involved in the approval. A comparison between the two versions was presented as the main topic, and reporting consisted of a detailed text analysis of the changes made and their political consequences, of which the most important abolished privileges that presidents and former presidents have when facing legal investigations.

Another aspect in storytelling is curation or aggregation. Content generated by opinion leaders, media, and organizations is gathered in order to present the most recent political events. Lasillavacia.com sees the Internet as a tool that makes intermediaries between journalistic sources and readers unnecessary. However, curation is the answer to the proliferation of information and works as a new form of intermediation. This aspect of storytelling has become very important, as evidenced by the continuous updating of the section created for this purpose. A window that selects contents from Twitter accounts of more of 400 citizens, media, politicians, and national and international institutions, is published and presented in the section "Tiempo real." Here, the creative editor, Olga Lozano, justifies the selection in terms of artistic curation, and less so from the gatekeeping model.

> Finding raw information from different media, people, and institutions works similarly under the principles of art. A curator selects and titles a set of *oeuvres* under the interest criteria. This is not new in journalism. Before, journalists incorporated this raw information into the stories. Nowadays they have to do differently. Why should we tell a story that is already told? There are hundreds of stories told by hundreds of users. So journalists are more than ever [curators] in the way they can organize this information transparently. Before, it was an act of faith. (O Lozano, personal communication, June 19, 2012)

Regarding experimentation with different storytelling formats, Lasillavacia.com mostly uses interactive infographics with free software. Audio and video are not as commonly used as alternative forms

of storytelling. Combining multimedia, crowdsourcing, and research to obtain access to institutional and governmental data, Lasillavacia has built databases that have generated major investigative stories about land concentration, the political ties and influence of controversial public figures, and the executive boards of the largest corporations and their links to political power. One of these stories gathered information from 20 users (no identification was provided), combined with information from other media and the Center of Law, Justice and Society, Dejusticia.

Intelligent Participation

Beyond power and politics, one of the fundamental goals in the minds of the founders was to create a space for "intelligent participation," meaning that any form of participation should contribute to debates and news making. Interactivity is promoted through active participation at different levels (opinion and debate, story ideas, and collaborative stories), and with different actors (bloggers and the user community). On one hand, bloggers are a strong community of experts, and are primarily commentators with backgrounds in the academy or in public office. They generally post their opinions and analyses when they consider a topic important, unless the director asks for a special view on a particular issue. The bloggers interviewed stated that their most important contribution was to raise issues that were not discussed in the mainstream media, and to act as columnists and opinion leaders as in the traditional newspapers:

> As a blogger I tend to have a documented opinion on public matters that are forgotten. My intention is to remember, to form opinion on the issues that are generally not remembered [es]specially in relation to the political power. There are matters in this country that cannot be put aside. My best ally for this is the Internet, newspapers from other countries, and chats with friends, experts on certain issues. I do not do reporting to write my posts. I have never had any form of censorship. Writing at Lasillavacia is a free activity and voluntary. (Lucas Ospina, personal communication, May 22, 2012)

León argues that the user community is self-regulated, and that intelligent participation is attained through high moderation. In contrast to other media, comments and opinions are taken seriously and are answered carefully and directly. Those who insult other users are banned from the community if they don't follow the basic rules of civility

(twelve users have been banned since 2009). According to Leon, users are considered editors and they are treated as such when participating as citizen journalists.

> Although we should not call it audience, users are at center of our newsroom, they are at heart of this project. We take into account their opinions and suggestions and stories. Around 30 percent of our stories are suggested by them. The ideas come from them and usually one member of the staff is in charge of making the story: the stories of the political influence of chosen diplomats, the Meta Audit Office case. They send data and we were in charge of reporting in depth to verify the data. If one of the most challenging tasks of the editor is to propose story ideas, we consider users can help us a lot with this. (personal communication, June 20, 2012)

The community has grown over the last four years, reaching 29,000 registered (identified) users who are entitled to propose stories according to the same rules applying to newsroom staff. Users should abide by the rules regarding collaborations: avoid opinions and provide facts, documents, and verified information for any story they want published. The number of readers grows every day and this is reflected throughout social media accounts. The three Twitter accounts show variations as everyone performs a distinctive function. By January 2014, @lasillavacia had more than 200,000 followers on its new Twitter account, while @lasillaenvivo, which covers live events, had about 120,000 followers and Lasillavacia had about 27,500 fans on its Facebook page.

Conclusion

Most research on Colombian digital journalism has focused on the migration of newspaper-based journalism toward digital platforms. Results from this study are critical to understanding how Colombian digital media imitate the structure and content of the press. How can digital media, in two decades, be expected to rid itself of a tradition that spans more than two centuries?

This supports encouragement of research on native digital media, since they do not belong to the industrial tradition. Understanding how these media follow the postindustrial dynamics of news production, and how they take advantage of the new opportunities for digital journalism, is a key step toward a full comprehension of the digital media landscape.

It is also important to do research on the advocacy groups that support these new media, both financially and operationally.

Hypertextuality has been the predominant focus of narrative construction research, but lately studies have concentrated more on participation rather than on how true citizen journalism can be generated. Media are yet to open their gates to citizen participation at other levels, such as the coproduction of content.

It is clear that just a handful of media have been truly innovative, with most still trying to catch up as they explore the possibilities of the new technologies. When comparing the performance of Colombian digital media to other Latin American countries, research has shown that the country occupies a leading position, particularly regarding innovation.

Lasillavacia.com demonstrates how experimental projects can be accomplished with user involvement. The medium has built a community that, while small, has strengthened its business model and opened more creative and interactive participation spaces. For example, the community has funded particular stories to be covered, or has suggested particular subjects. Many of the subjects covered by Lasillavacia.com have generated debates, rather than simply informing users about a particular issue. It is also interesting to see how this medium has explored the boundaries between art and journalism and used open software tools for graphic experimentation.

Still, there are challenges to be faced. Multimedia, such as audio and video, are relatively scarce as compared with infographics and interactive stories. Finally, this study did not explore the relationship between Lasillavacia.com and social networks such as Facebook or Twitter. Further research must explore this area, since these relationships are made more complex by different levels of interactivity proposed by Lasillavacia.

Notes

1 Based on the Mark Prensky category (2001) in the educational field, in which there is a dichotomy between digital migrants and digital natives. Díaz-Castellanos (2011) applies the same to the new media ecosystem.

2 Three undergraduate students of journalism at the Externado University (Diego Ruiz Cangrejo, David Jauregui and Diejo Bojacá) contributed as assistant researchers in the observational journeys and in the analysis of this information. The observation took place between June and December 2012. The weeks of observation were distributed throughout the semester so as to appreciate different modes of newsgathering and decision making in the newsroom in different political circumstances.

3 Chocó is one of the poorest departments in Colombia, located in the northeast of the country.
4 Antanas Mockus is a former major of Bogotá, the capital city. He presented himself as a candidate in the 2010 presidential campaign.
5 This research was not provided, but it was mentioned in an interview with León, and by her in a program on Caracol Radio Network. Research was retrieved from http://www.caracol.com.co/programas/gran-debate-sobre-periodismo-digital-y-redes-sociales/20120801/nota/1733862.aspx
6 Léon always focuses on contacting experts such as close advisors, academicians, former public officials, or government officials. Press bureaus are consulted only for obtaining pictures. On the other hand, press conferences are not considered important as they impose a thematic frame. The theme that counts for Lasillavacía is the one discussed within the newsroom by its staff members.

13

Case 3: Taiwan—Journalism Education and Media Performance

Huei Lan Wang

How do journalism educators assess journalistic practice and media performance in Taiwan's highly competitive media market? For this study, four journalism professors and four of their former students, currently working as journalists, were interviewed. Two professors and two journalists were from Chengchi University in northern Taiwan, ranked number one in journalism in the country; the others were from Nanhua University, a private institution in south Taiwan. The study sought to identify correlations between their opinions of journalism education, media performance, and journalistic practice. Taking up James Carey's challenge to more precisely locate the object of study in research (Carey, 1998), the study maintains that journalism education must be regarded as an institutional practice that represents the perspectives of educators on historical, political, economic, and cultural conditions. The journalism curriculum must, therefore, not only equip students with a skill set and broad social knowledge, but instill public service, news values, and ethics. This study suggests that the attitudes and opinions of an individual educator can have a major impact on students' views of the profession and its role in society.

Journalism in Taiwan's Media Environment

With its rapid industrialization from the 1960s to the 1990s, Taiwan emerged as one of the "Asian Tigers," achieving a GDP per capita (PPP) of US$38,500 by 2012, along with the world's sixth largest holding of foreign exchange reserves (CIA World Factbook, 2013). Taiwan's media environment changed dramatically after martial law was lifted in 1988. With rising prosperity, the media market expanded rapidly, offering more choices to consumers. Taiwan has one of the most competitive

media markets in the world, with 282 TV channels available by satellite, 170 radio stations, 2,100 newspapers, and 8,100 magazines, along with a wide array of online news and entertainment services, all competing for the attention of its 23 million people (Wikipedia, 2013). Seven TV channels report live news 24 hours a day, seven days a week. By contrast, Japan has two 24-hour news channels (NNN24 and JNN) while another Asian Tiger, South Korea, has one (YTN). Additionally, there are 82 satellite newsgathering units in daily operation, reflecting the intensity of professional journalistic activity.

As ever more journalists are needed to meet the demands of the market, the quality of journalism has become a topic of increasing debate. Some have argued that the role of education "is of central importance in establishing and maintaining professional status" (Colin and Slavko, 1989).

Taiwan is now a fully industrialized country, and its political and cultural liberalization has transformed its media environment. It is now grappling with the free-press problems faced by other developed countries in the digital age, including an oversaturation of questionable content. Taiwan's average, per-person media consumption is 0.3 hours per day for print newspapers and magazines, 2.3 hours for the Internet, and 3.7 hours for TV (Educational Fubon Fund, 2009; Hiroshi Advertising Yearbook, 2010). The debate over news content, both among the general public and in academia, focuses largely on how media monopolies have resulted in less variety in content and a drop in professional journalism standards. Although Reporters Without Borders currently ranks Taiwan 47th in its World Press Freedom Index of 179 countries (Reporters

Media Profile	
Radio stations	171
Terrestrial (wireless) television stations	5
Cable television system operators	62
TV and radio program production/distribution companies	7,160
Audio (compact disc, etc.) production companies	10,098
Satellite broadcasting program providers (281 channels)	107
Satellite broadcasting service operators	9
Newspapers	2,156
Magazines	8,122
Book publishers	13,257
Foreign media with correspondents in Taiwan	61

Note: Figures are as of June 2011.
Sources: Government Information Office; National Communications Commission

Figure 13.1 Taiwan's Media Profile

Without Borders, 2013), only one percent of Taiwanese express trust in their media (Xu, 2006). Due to intense competition for ratings, news is often reported without adequate research or sources, and is often influenced by politics and profits.

A 2006 survey of journalists revealed shocking statistics: only 5 percent felt their reporting was reaching their intended audience, a mere 0.9 percent said their news was reported objectively, 69 percent believed they were reporting issues of insignificance to society; and 50 percent said they experienced the heavy hand of political influence in their reporting (Wikipedia, 2013) Such statistics shed light on the contradictions, dilemmas, and challenges educators face.

The Definition of a Professional Journalist

Defining what constitutes a professional journalist, as well as the journalism profession itself, has been argued for many years (Dennis & Merrill, 1991; Barber, 1963). Singletary (1985), Greenwood (1957) and Wilensky (1964) identified these key features: professional knowledge, professional independence, professional self-regulation, and professional ethics. Many researchers have cited the criteria proposed by McLeod and Hawley, which places emphasis on service, intellectual activity, autonomy, and influence (McLeod & Hawley, 1964, p. 530). The Taiwanese scholar Lo stated that the standard should be centered on fulfillment of the professional journalist's role (Lo, 1997). In a nationwide US survey, Johnstone, Slawski, and Bowman (1976) addressed journalists' beliefs regarding their professional roles in news gathering and reporting. They found that some journalists were neutral role proponents, seeing themselves as simply an "immaterial transmission link dispensing information to the public." They also conceived of and proposed three professional role categories for journalists: interpretive, disseminator, and adversarial (David, 1986). Others, such as Weaver and Wilhoit (1998), used factor analysis to identify four attitudinal clusters—interpretive/investigative, disseminator, adversarial, and populist mobilizer. This study argues that defining the journalist's role should focus on the profession's core values, even as existing journalism conventions are being challenged by changes in communication technologies. These conventions are premised on critical principles: report the facts, show the truth, provide neutral and objective reporting in the public interest, and be a voice for disadvantaged people.

To pursue the public's right to know, the media—often considered the Fourth Estate of society—bear a heavy responsibility: monitoring

government and those in power, defending freedom of speech, highlighting democratic values, and presenting diverse views on controversial issues. Performing these duties requires establishing clear standards for professional journalists, and adapting to new media technologies. At the same time, professional journalists face the age-old challenge of sifting through sources to verify information; determining what is real and what is of news value to the public. The role of the journalist is to meet this challenge, regardless of the country's cultural climate and political influences.

University-Based Journalism Education in Taiwan

In Taiwan's higher-education system, journalism departments should be distinguished from media, film, and communication departments, even though in practice the curricular and disciplinary divisions are often unclear. In a 2001 study of academic departments, 23 described themselves as "mass communication" departments; new communication technology ranked second with 13 departments, journalism third with 12 departments, with 6 other departments offering some communication courses (Weng, 2001). Because the lines that distinguish journalism and communication majors in Taiwan are somewhat blurred, similar training, tools, and technologies are increasingly incorporated into the curricula of both areas (Cushion, 2007).

Government higher-education policy has made a college education available to more Taiwanese. In 2010 and 2012, 94.8 percent and 88 percent, respectively, of all applicants were accepted into university (NPF, 2012). As a result, journalism education has become more popular. In 1991, only 11 university departments offered journalism; 53 departments did by 2012. This indicates the extent to which journalism education has become essential for preparing Taiwan's cadre of professional journalists. Many media organizations, while preferring a formal degree in journalism, do not require it, and some look for graduates with more diverse educational backgrounds in fields such as finance, economics, or politics.

It is important to assess how journalism educators view current trends, and whether their perspectives properly prepare the next generation of journalists to work in the converged digital media environment (Chung, Kim, Trammel, & Porter, 2007). Still, the very concept of professionalism can be controversial. Journalism education that emphasizes professionalism and advocates neutrality and objectivity above all else is a Western concept; such concepts are not applied to the same degree in

Taiwan because of differences in culture, politics, and the media system. For example, an analysis of curricula at 37 departments in the United States indicated that while some had a universal core, others offered a specialty core, or no core at all (Blanchard & Christ, 1985, p. 29). In Taiwan, there is a greater emphasis on core subjects such as news reporting and writing, the history of journalism, news editing, journalism law, communication statistics, ethics, photography, journalism English, and media management (Lo, Pan, & Ku, 1996, pp. 88–99).

As in the United States, journalism and communication studies are taught in both public and private universities. National Chengchi University and Shih Hsin University, as pioneering journalism schools, provided the initial academic and curricular templates for other universities. Many universities now offer four-year undergraduate journalism programs and have adopted Western standards. One of the reasons is that many Taiwanese scholars were educated in the US. From 1950 to 1970, when Taiwan had few media outlets or newspapers, scholars such as Ho-Gig Wang and Ra-Tzu Shih studied journalism and its social impact at the University of Missouri. These two scholars subsequently founded the journalism departments at National Chengchi and Shih Hsin universities. Thanks to their efforts, journalism education rapidly expanded from the early 1970s to the 1990s.

In general, curricula view journalism as an institutional practice of representation with its own historical, political, economic, and cultural conditions. Each university sets its own curriculum because no standard curriculum is set by Taiwan's Ministry of Education. Because National Chengchi University is rated as Taiwan's top journalism school, many Taiwanese universities follow Chengchi's curriculum.

Curriculum Design for Professional Journalism

The curriculum of National Chengchi focuses on journalism training for different media. By contrast, the curriculum of the communication department at Nanhua University is more diverse, spanning and integrating elements of several areas including communication, media, and culture. Chengchi and Nanhua do not limit their curricula to journalism practice; rather, both integrate communications courses, because recent changes in the media environment require a broader range of skills. As a result, more universities in Taiwan are preparing their students with a wide array of skills. This is in contrast to media, film, and communication programs in some Western countries, which tend to be either strictly academic or to provide some mix of media-production

training, along with modules examining the role and impact of communications in society (Cushion, 2007). Journalism educators in Taiwan believe that being a journalist requires broad knowledge of civil liberties, literacy, language, writing, and interpersonal skills. Taiwan's approach combines academic aspects with practical vocational training; internships are now the norm at most universities and departments support student-managed media centers, newspapers, and websites, all geared toward practical training. Teachers are also experimenting in creatively achieving learning objectives through media internships (Hung, 2002). Teachers have a high degree of autonomy to develop curricula and students have freedom to select subjects—both of which can positively and negatively impact learning and professional performance.

Most university teachers have experience in journalism and departments in major urban centers tend to hire current practicing journalists. Although most teachers at rural universities also have a journalism background, many are not currently practicing journalists. Teachers at rural or urban universities who are not practicing journalists generally do not have the same level of first-hand knowledge or information as their journalist peers, despite having overall teaching competency. Such differences in teacher training and background undoubtedly impact both the curriculum and the level of student motivation.

Impact of Education/Educator on Taiwanese Journalism Professionals

Despite Deuze's (2006) belief that journalism educators across the world face similar issues and challenges, the types of courses examined at Chengchi and Nanhua suggest little agreement. Two areas are considered in defining professional journalism. The first focuses on theory and ethics based on professional values and public responsibilities. The second consists of technical skills such as writing and reporting. This study focuses primarily on the first area—news values and ethics.

Three of the four journalists interviewed agreed that their concept of news was impacted by their teacher's attitudes and opinions. "My university teacher influenced me a lot on ideology-related questions and concepts," said Mary, a graduate of National Chengchi University and a journalist at ELTA TV (personal communication, October 31, 2012)

> I see many journalists today writing articles without thinking about questions of ideology, but I always think about such questions and concepts when deciding what I need to give my audience and what

> issues I need to sort out…these are concepts I learned from my teachers. Put the audience as your central focus, not others. I learned this from my teachers and will remember it when reporting any story.

Vivian, who teaches TV news reporting and writing at National Chengchi University, agreed.

> Whatever topic a journalist picks up, he/she has to first learn how to think critically because a media organization won't teach their journalists how to think. I believe a professional journalist should not just convey a story, but most importantly must organize the story to build mutual communication with the audience. (personal communication, October 31, 2012)

Some, however, believe that the media environment exerts a greater impact than education or educators. "I don't think educators' opinions and attitudes have much effect on journalists' performance," said Elaine, a Nanhua graduate who works as a reporter for Hakka TV. "Rather, I believe the character of the media organization itself has a far greater impact" (personal communication, November 7, 2012).

Because of Taiwan's highly competitive media market, promoting professional values and ethics is regarded as crucial in journalism education. A frequent criticism is that while students learn about ethics and values, they downplay such considerations when faced with the real-world pressures of intense political influence and fierce business competition. "As a journalist, I'm not really empowered to decide news values, and just obey my editor's decisions even if our opinions are different," said Elaine (personal communication, November 7, 2012).

Editors face daily business pressures unrelated to news values. Journalists need to develop interpersonal skills to challenge their supervisors. "Although my teachers had always taught me to stand up and fight with the boss, I don't want to put my students at risk of losing their jobs because of a poor working relationship," said educator Vivian. "Instead, I teach them to be soft, smart, and flexible in managing their bosses. Try to use soft persuasion—rather than divisive dissuasion—to win over your boss" (personal communication, October 31, 2012). Susan, who teaches reporting, writing, and electronic news at Chengchi, uses role-play exercises to teach students how to negotiate with colleagues and supervisors. She urges them to reflect seriously on the topic. "What is the news value? What does this news mean? Why do you need this news?" (personal communication, October 31, 2012).

Proponents of higher professional standards often fail to consider the industry's profit orientation. Critics have pointed out that journalism education often fails to equip students with the tools to analyze the balance of power between journalists and their employers (Macdonald, 2006). The position and perspectives of university students and working journalists are drastically different. In school, critical literacy concepts and public service perceptions are mainly shaped by teachers; in the workplace, however, such concepts are often reshaped by supervisors and corporate culture. Despite these challenges, journalism educators try to instill news values that serve the public interest. "A reporter must always remember that serving the public is the journalism profession's sacred duty," said educator Susan (personal communication, October 31, 2012).

> One of my students was doing news reporting in New Zealand when a major earthquake happened suddenly in Taiwan; so she used her iPhone 3G to upload her reporting of this news instead of her originally assigned topic. This shows a clear dedication and concept in her mind to report news that serves the public interest.

As electronic journalist Mary put it, "Being a good journalist by definition means benefiting society. I don't want my newspaper to serve mainly as a place mat for putting lunch boxes; I expect it to have a more important purpose for serving the public" (personal communication, October 31, 2012).

Business and political influences, and the competitive media market, have increased scrutiny of credibility and professional standards. The phrase "No evidence, no truth, no objectivity" has often been used to describe Taiwan's media. Criticisms include survey manipulation by politicians, advertising seeping into news, judgmental rather than objective reporting, undue business influence on reporting of public issues, excessive coverage of sex and violence, distortion of facts, pervasive political influence, and media as judge, jury and executioner.

Jenny, who teaches broadcast news reporting at Nanhua University, believes journalism education must integrate media literacy and ethical training. "Ethical issues are very important; news sources must be treated ethically … most journalism students have been exposed to ethics training, so hopefully they are mentally prepared to maintain high ethical standards throughout their careers" (personal communication, November 7, 2012). TV news journalist Mary agrees:

> Ethical issues must be taught in schools to properly prepare journalists for the many ethical challenges they will inevitably face in the workplace—for example the systematic seeping of advertising into news. The ethics training I received in school provided me with the critical thinking skills necessary to navigate the myriad ethical landmines all professional journalists invariably face and must judge for themselves. (personal communication, October 31, 2012)

In his teaching of ethics at Nanhua University, educator John used the case study of *Apple Daily's*[1] "pernicious practice of publishing explicit photographs of accident fatalities [often graphically showing dismembered and naked bodies] in total disregard of the emotional impact on victims' families—and [often] without even verifying the actual facts. This lack of respect and discretion is a double blow to the victims' families. Such exploitative news reporting mainly harms weaker members of society who lack the power and resources to sue for redress of emotional injury; this is just not fair ... I especially emphasize these emotional points in my class" (personal communication, October 26, 2012).

Educator Vivian noted that ethics "depends not only on the individual journalist's judgment but also on a media organization's policies pertaining to its journalism practices" (personal communication, October 31, 2012). Many media organizations are driven by market forces to focus on delivering larger and larger audiences to more and more advertisers. This can undermine newsroom employees' sense of autonomy and independence.

The Impact of Education/Curriculum on Professional Performance

Journalism education in Taiwan focuses mainly on practical skills, with most universities hiring working journalists. The experiential, or case-study, method is often cited as an effective way of instilling knowledge and educating students. "I always use case studies for spurring student discussions and soliciting their critical views," said educator Susan. "I find that the case study method works best for sharpening students' critical thinking skills" (personal communication, October 31, 2012). Critical thinking opens the eyes of students to the (often harsh) reality of real-world news reporting. As educator Vivian describes it,

> Some teachers work in media industries, and they know the darker side of the media business, i.e., what's really going on behind the

> scenes: probing into people's privacy to get whatever juicy, tantalizing details are necessary to sell "meaningless" stories and capture larger audiences for corporate advertisers; this is the harsh reality of today's very competitive media environment and students should understand it sooner rather than later. (personal communication, October 31, 2012)

Educator Susan found that students idolize instructors who are still working in the field, and are more inclined to trust their opinions. Full-time journalism teachers are frequently faced with students who are skeptical of their expertise on key issues. Many teachers are trying to improve their methods and materials while departments offer campus media and professional internships (personal communication, October 31, 2012).

"I participated in a print newspaper internship and remember with great pride getting my first business card as a student journalist," recalled electronic news journalist Janet, a Chengchi graduate.

> I immediately became active in local affairs—socializing within the community, interviewing people, and reporting their news. This experience was a very important step in building the confidence necessary to become a journalist; I learned many essential interpersonal and social skills. (personal communication, October 31, 2012)

The Power of Attitudes and Opinions to Motivate Students

The journalists interviewed all said that, as students, their perceptions of the profession, its mission and responsibilities, were shaped by the ability of their teachers to relate classroom activities to the real world. "My teachers stressed prioritizing local community needs above commercial interests," said TV news journalist Mary. "I really think it is important to exemplify this guiding principle in one's professional performance even if implementation is not always possible." She recalls how her teacher helped her gain experience and confidence.

> I remember that my teacher assigned us lots of practical projects, and how much I learned from them. Every interview conducted and every story written was a new educational experience. Just following my teacher's instructions on how to gather news, interview people, and write stories provided excellent training. (personal communication, October 31, 2012)

Conclusion

This study has examined the role of journalism educators in shaping media performance and practice. Educators and working journalists agree that while the attitudes and opinions of educators are certainly influential, political and business interests, and the competitiveness of the media market, may have a greater impact. As a result, journalism educators often focus on teaching practical subjects, as well as the communication skills needed, to influence supervisors.

Journalism practice is often reshaped by an organization's corporate and supervisory culture. Educators are thus challenged to instill ethical and professional values that will sustain journalism integrity and independence, and to balance the public service mission of journalism against the forces of the market and commercialism.

The hiring of professional journalists as instructors and the use of the case study method have proved effective in teaching practical skills. Many universities now prepare students through on and offcampus internship programs that provide not only skills training tools, but also connect campus classroom learning to the real media world.

Undeniably, education still plays a crucial role in teaching students the basic concepts of professional journalism. All the journalists interviewed credited their teachers with relating classroom activities to the real world and shaping their perceptions of the profession, its mission, and responsibilities. However, the daily working environment and organizational culture limit the extent to which journalists can uphold the values they learned in school.

Note

1 Apple Daily (Taiwan), first published on May 2, 2003, is the first newspaper in Taiwan to be published 365 days a year and the only newspaper subject to the circulation audit of the Audit Bureau of Circulations (ROC).

14

Case 4: Guyana—The Rebirth of Journalism Education with Project Phoenix

Carolyn Walcott

Since September 2007, the University of Guyana's Centre for Communication Studies (UGCCS), the country's only media education institution, has undertaken an effort to connect education to the practical world of media, and bring media professionals into the classroom. The process began with consultations with external stakeholders, and a review of the existing curriculum. Respondents, including media managers, felt that the UGCCS curriculum was overly theoretical and outdated, and needed to incorporate areas such as investigative reporting and online journalism, as well as practical skills in print and electronic media (UGCCS Baseline Media Survey, 2008). The review noted that a significant number of graduates did not enter the media industry because of lack of jobs and poor pay. While some went into public relations and corporate communications, others emigrated, mainly to other Caribbean countries.

In September 2009, with support from UNESCO, UGCCS introduced a new curriculum for its two-year diploma and four-year degree programs. The curriculum, while retaining the theory courses central to critical and analytical reasoning, integrated practice with theory.

During the summers of 2009 and 2010, UGCCS collaborated with faculty from Ohio University (US) to train over 70 television media professionals. The main outcome of the 2010 workshop was the production of 12 video documentary vignettes.

Country Context

Guyana is the only English-speaking country in South America, and its history makes it distinctly and experientially Caribbean. With a

population of almost 750,000, the country has a land area of 83,000 square miles, and is bordered by Brazil to the south, Venezuela to the southwest, and Suriname to the east. A former colony of Britain known as British Guiana (1831–1966), the country's two dominant ethnic groups are African and East Indian, the descendants of laborers imported to work on the sugar plantations.

In the colonial period, media were used to secure and maintain political control (Jagan, 1972). Jagan's own political career, recorded in his book, *The West on Trial*, included the establishment in 1950 of the country's first mass political party, the People's Progressive Party (PPP), which found support among working class Guyanese. A split in the PPP, and the formation of a second political party, the People's National Congress (PNC), forever changed the course of race and politics in Guyana. While the PPP drew its support from Guyanese of East Indian descent, the PNC secured a following of civil servants, most of whom were of African descent. These divisions have fostered ethnic and media polarization in Guyana. US and British intervention in Guyana's preindependence struggles and postcolonial political power struggles encouraged racial and class conflicts (Jagan, 1972; Rabe, 2005; Rodney, 1981; Garner, 2008). The country's fragile socio-economic and political environment, particularly in the last three decades, has hindered the development of the media sector as well as professional standards in journalism.

Media Development in Guyana

The history of mass media in Guyana reveals a close association between ownership and political interests. As noted by Mohamed (2003), the establishment of the British Public Information Bulletin (BPI) in 1945, under the control of the British Guiana Bureau of Public Information, marked the beginning of a "press under the direct control of the British colonial government" (p. 259).

In 1955, the *PPP Thunder* was introduced as the official organ of the PPP while, in 1957, the *New Nation* (1957) emerged as the official organ of the PNC. In 1962, the Public Affairs Committee (PAC), the forerunner of the PPP, introduced the *Mirror* to serve the party's political interests. In the preindependence era, politics were particularly volatile as the *New Nation*, *Mirror,* and both parties vied for support using ethnic appeals.

Following independence in 1966, other political organs arose to challenge the dominant political voices of the PNC and PPP publications. These included *Day Clean* (1974), representing the Working People's

Alliance (WPA) party, and *Challenge (*1980), the organ of the Guyana Working People's Vanguard Party (GWPVP) (Mohamed, 2003).

Historically, Guyana's media system has also reflected a mix of government and private ownership. As Thomas (1990) points out, the government discouraged private ownership, believing it countered the national socio-cultural development agenda. In 1971, the government purchased the *Daily Chronicle*, and bought the *Graphic* three years later, thus exerting significant control over the print media (Thomas, 1990). From 1964 to 1992, the PNC was in power and adopted a socialist model to advance its development goals. The administration declared in 1974 that:

> [G]overnment has a right to own sections of the media, and the government has a right as a final arbiter of things national; to formulate a policy for the media so that the media can play a much more important part than it has played in the past in mobilizing the people of the country for the development of the country. (Thomas, 1990, p. 75)

This led Granger (2001) to draw a parallel between state-media control exerted by the British during the 1950s, and the current democratic regime. He even noted that successive post-colonial governments used the Government Information Service (GIS) to leverage their access to the press, including the PNC's rural development information dissemination campaign (Granger, 2000). The current PPP/Civic administration has sought to achieve this same level of support for government policies and initiatives with the establishment of the Government Information Agency (GINA). However, GINA's role has not altered from that of the British and the PNC's Public Communications Agency, which were dedicated to the promotion of government information.

Media in the postindependence era, as under colonial rule, developed in an authoritarian environment. Guyana's broadcast media landscape today consists of a mix of private- and state-owned media with most of the country's approximately 26 television stations privately owned. With the exception of the state-run National Communications Network (NCN), which also transmits foreign programs and few packaged Caribbean broadcasts via satellite, most stations record programs via satellite for retransmission, without payment to the satellite distributors. One may argue that NCN's capacity to reach most of the country, in addition to its access to state resources, places it at an advantage and distinguishes it from the other stations. However, the lack of variety on locally owned stations has created a market for cable television services, which

offer a variety of content but do not address issues of national development. Foreign television content, mainly from the US has become the preferred source of entertainment for Guyanese.

The government, through the Guyana National Frequency Management Unit (NFMU), allocates frequencies and issues broadcast licenses. Currently, the president holds the portfolio for information, but in 2013 a National Broadcast Commission was established, suggesting a possible step toward the introduction of broadcast legislation. Political and civil society groups have repeatedly called for government to enact broadcast and Freedom of Information (FOI) legislation that would enable the free flow of information in a plural broadcast media environment.

Journalism and Media Education in Guyana

The UGCCS was established in 1975 on the Turkeyen Campus of the University of Guyana, six miles outside Georgetown. Discussions on the establishment of a journalism training school began in 1972 (Brown, 1989). The objectives were to "upgrade the skills and education of practicing journalists, and to prepare media professionals to articulate government's development thrust" (Brown, 1989, p. 3). Most trainees were drawn from the state media, and included print and broadcast professionals, and public relations specialists. According to A.B. Poole, a graduate of the first cohort of about 16 professionals, trainees were considered conduits for the government's core ideas of social and economic transformation (personal communication, July 20, 2010). These ideas were grounded in Guyana's socialist and nonaligned orientation, based on national self-sufficiency (Rodney, 1981). The structure of education and training offered little room for investigative journalism, because trainees were being taught to function in a top-down political environment (Granger, 2009). The theory-based curriculum was designed to strengthen government information.

The UGCCS began by offering a one-year Diploma in Public Communication. In 1979, a two-year program was introduced and, in 1987, a four-year bachelor's degree in Communication. In 1989, the Centre received equipment and a transmitter from UNESCO to set up a campus radio station to provide practical experience, but because of the regulatory environment, it was not granted a license to broadcast. During the 1980s, the UGCCS continued to attract media practitioners, but by the 1990s students with little media experience began enrolling in the diploma and degree programs. Many did not find the field financially attractive, and moved into corporate communications in Guyana

and abroad. Efforts to provide media training and student exchanges in the Caribbean, and farther afield, proved financially unsustainable. In a review of the UGCCS curriculum, Brown (1989) highlighted the scarcity of teaching resources and staff, and the outdated curriculum. Brown's review was commissioned by UNESCO, and aspects appear to have been incorporated into the new curriculum introduced in 2009.

Table 14.1 Old versus New Curriculum

Old Courses	**New and Substitute Courses**
Introduction to Communications Theory	No change
Development Support Communication	Reporting and Writing 3: Specialized Journalism (Development, Health and Environment)
Introduction to Microeconomics / Macroeconomics	Substitute: Foundations of Journalism: National and International Institutions
Communications Research Project 1	Foundations of Journalism: Logic, Evidence and Research
Print Journalism Principles	Foundations of Journalism: Writing
Broadcast Journalism: Radio	Broadcasting- Introduction to Radio
Print Journalism Practice	Reporting and Writing: In depth Journalism
Broadcast Journalism: Television	Broadcasting 2: Introduction to Television
Advanced Print Journalism Principles	Advanced Print–Photography, Layout and Design
Advanced Communications Research Project 1	Introduction to Communications Research
Public Relations Practice	Integrated Marketing Communication 1) Media Management: Television, Radio, Print
Advanced Broadcast Journalism: Radio	Advanced Broadcasting 1–Radio Production
Advanced Broadcast Journalism: Television	Advanced Broadcasting 2–Television Production.
Advanced Communications Research Project 2	Applied Communications Research
Not previously offered	Media Ethics and Law
Not previously offered	Online/Multimedia Journalism

Although UGCCS recruited some experienced adjunct professors during this period, it lacked both human resources and infrastructure.

In 2005, the radio-television studio suffered significant damage due to flooding. The UGCCS continued to look for options to ensure that its students received basic practical training, and many final-year degree students completed media internships. In 2006, the UGCCS faced its most difficult year. With a single faculty member to staff the facility, coupled with inadequate facilities, the UGCCS placed a hold on student enrolment for the academic year 2006–2007. The crisis attracted media attention and responses from a number of agencies, as well as international support.

In October 2007, with the addition of new faculty, the UGCCS launched a planning process to upgrade its physical and teaching facilities. The new vision was articulated in a strategic document titled Project Phoenix. The project received funding from international agencies, including the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) through Higher Education for Development (HED), and UNESCO. Specifically, support from HED helped build capacity by providing scholarships for three faculty to undertake master's degree programs at Ohio University. USAID also funded radio and television equipment, providing the infrastructure and technical capacity for teaching and practicums. At the same time, the UGCCS began a process of participatory communication with media organizations to re-evaluate the training outcomes for its graduates. The results of the baseline research were utilized to inform aspects of the new curriculum.

Models for Blending Theory and Practice from the US and Caribbean

Many two and four-year colleges in the US offer production courses in television and radio while maintaining an emphasis on engaging theory with practice. The Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communications (ACEJMC) identifies professional values and competencies as curricular inputs and indicators, respectively. Students are expected to "understand concepts and apply theories in the use and presentation of images and information, and apply current tools and technologies appropriate for the communications professions in which they work, and to understand the digital world" (ACEJMC, May 6, 2013).

In the Caribbean region, models for blending theory and practice are offered by institutions such as the Caribbean Institute of Media and Communication (CARIMAC). CARIMAC was established in 1974 at the

University of the West Indies Mona Campus, Jamaica, as the Caribbean's first media education institute. Its main goal was to provide Caribbean-oriented training for practicing journalists who received a one-year diploma (CARIMAC, April 20, 2010). Commencing with a cohort of 30, CARIMAC's subsequent expansion included the introduction of a three-year degree program that offered both general and specialized training in mass media. In 2013, the curriculum was changed to offer degrees in Digital Media Production and Journalism. These trends appear consistent with the need to maintain a general media degree, while integrating new media and technologies. Cambridge (1996) emphasized the need for improved coordination among tertiary institutions, such as CARIMAC and the UGCCS, in order to prepare their students to function in an ever-advancing technological era.

How the Study was Conducted

What are the essential elements of capacity development in media education? This study examined the curriculum and experiences of one US (Ohio University) and one regional institution (CARIMAC). Data were collected from February to November 2010. Qualitative data included ten indepth interviews, three semistructured online interviews, two student focus groups, observation, and document analyses. Interviews were conducted with faculty and administrators at Ohio University, administrators at the University of Guyana, Guyana media professionals, the director of CARIMAC, and CARIMAC alumni.

Six UGCCS students participated in a focus group discussion; because the university was on summer recess the participants represented a convenience sample. Eight Ohio University students—again a convenience sample due to the examination period—participated in a focus group in September 2010. Questions were framed around academic goals and experiences, and were analyzed for emerging themes, differences, and similarities. Each focus group session lasted about two hours.

Observation was conducted in the Athens MidDay newsroom of Ohio University to understand the teaching and learning environment of a daily student-produced TV newscast, and strategies for evaluating student performance. Newsroom dynamics, such as teamwork, meeting deadlines and live on-air performance, and the general work ethic among students were the observed behaviors. The observations provided the basis for the subsequent focus group discussions.

Analysis of capacity development is usually interpreted at three levels—organizational, institutional, and individual (JICA, 2004; UNDP,

1998). Capacity development at the individual level includes knowledge and skills, and is considered the most important element (JICA, 2004). It is seen as foundational for organizational capacity, and refers to the will and ability of individuals to set objectives and to achieve them using their own knowledge and skills (JICA, 2004). Capacity at the organizational level is also a determinant of how individual capacities are utilized and strengthened. Capacity refers to factors, such as human and technical resources, that will influence an organization's performance (JICA, 2004). These principles suggest a correlation between institutional capacity (the University of Guyana and the media), organizational capacity (the UGCCS), and individual capacity (UGCCS faculty, students, and media practitioners).

The relationship between organizational and individual capacity means that capacity development should function at both levels to influence the wider system or institutions in society. Development of capacity in Guyana's media sector is dependent on the capacity of UGCCS faculty and their application of technical resources—radio, television, and online facilities. At the individual level, UGCCS faculty, students, and media professionals are at the center of engagement. However, they are also products of an outer ring—in this context, the UGCCS—at the institutional level. In addition UGCCS functions within a wider society characterized by its own socio-political and economic dynamics. Consequently, the UGCCS has charted a new course to prepare faculty, students, and media professionals with the core skills necessary to function in the wider Guyanese society.

Capacity Development at Ohio University and CARIMAC

The indepth and semistructured interviews with CARIMAC's director and alumni revealed that the institute recorded successes in providing specialized media training with the guidance of fulltime staff and experienced media professionals serving as adjunct faculty. Surveys of Caribbean media by CARIMAC from the 1990s and until 2007 revealed an increasing pattern of media convergence. "Fewer discrete radio, television, or newspaper media now exist with many digital facilities," says CARIMACs director Canute James (personal communication, June 12, 2010). He and his team felt that this placed the institute's graduates at a growing disadvantage.

> What we realized about three to four years ago was that producing graduates in that system was not very efficient because of what was

> happening in media and communication; that the move toward convergence in media and communication was requiring a different type of graduate. We are phasing in the new programs progressively and withdrawing the current program. We are doing this in the hope that we will be producing graduates who are immediately relevant to the dynamic nature of media and communication professional discipline. (personal communication, June 12, 2010)

Despite its emphasis on area specializations, CARIMAC students receive a full year's teaching in foundation media courses in the first of their three years of study. Thus, two semesters are dedicated to exploring theory and other topics aimed at imparting critical and analytical knowledge. James noted that preparing a university student for the global or regional media industry requires holistic education.

> Because we [CARIMAC] are part of a university, we balance [practical specializations] with content in teaching to create a graduate with an education that is worthy of a university degree. In addition to being great media editors, artists for newspapers or magazines, or wonderful corporate communication professionals, we seek to ensure that they [students] are also able to think critically and analytically and be problem solvers. (personal communication, June 12, 2010)

A CARIMAC alumna, Dorrett Campbell, specialized in television and public relations from 1988 to 1991.

> The quality of education at the time was in keeping with international standards. Lecturers were experienced in the field of mass communication; some were practitioners, and were reasonably qualified, at least three up to the Ph.D. level. The Institute practiced industry furlough, hence students had at least one cumulative year of attachment to varying communications entities based on their area of specialization. Class size was very small, hence there was scope for mentorship, peer review and personal coaching. However at the time the curricula offerings might have been limited. (personal communication, July 16, 2010)

Capacity development at Ohio University appeared relatively more practical than at CARIMAC, but this could be attributed to the more extensive resources of a university in the developed world. Mary Rogus, Associate Professor in the E. W. Scripps School of Journalism, who supervised the Athens MidDay TV newscast, said:

> I felt like I could teach students in such a way that I could create people that I would want to hire. Now it's time for me to give back and the way I give back is by producing people who would be good journalists to kind of carry on for the next generation. (personal communication, May 8, 2010)

Broadcast journalism students at Ohio University are taught the fundamentals of news writing, shooting video, editing, and using multiple platforms to produce their stories. An upper-level, required course, Online Journalism, includes computer training, writing for the web, blogging 101, and web ethics. As part of their integration into newsroom practice, students are also taught to meet deadlines, as Rogus explains:

> That's the toughest thing for the students and we really stress the deadlines. If they don't get a package or a story done by deadline, and it doesn't make air, they fail for the day. It doesn't matter how good that package was, how much time they put into shooting, writing, and editing it. If it doesn't make air, it's an F for the day. That's looming over their heads and they know that. After their first deadline failure, students get it correct the next time. (personal communication, May 8, 2010)

Rogus noted that media professionals who cross over to the classroom face challenges in adapting. "Educators who come directly out of the business," she said, "tend to forget how they learned how to do it. They just know how to get to the final point, so you really have to think about how to break it down."

The role of faculty in taking students beyond the classroom experience is emphasized in programs such as those at Ohio University. The Mid-Day newsroom also appeared to shape general skills, including how to work in teams, and how to be professional. All tasks were rotated to provide each student with core skills including news reporting, video editing, weather reporting, television anchoring, shooting, and directing.

Following the observation, a focus group session was conducted with six Ohio students; the focus group session with UGCCS students had been conducted a month earlier. In both focus groups, the main themes that emerged were broadcast skills, practical experiences, self-efficacy, and career aspirations. Subthemes included faculty training and corporate networking.

Most Ohio focus group participants entered the program with a passion for various aspects of broadcast, specifically television. Although

radio production was also offered as a specialization, not many opted for it because they did not perceive it to be as glamorous as television. The UGCCS students reported a mix of interests in broadcast, including radio, and cited the potential for employment as the main factor for enrolling in the diploma or degree program.

Most Ohio participants felt that the Athens MidDay newscast instilled professionalism, complemented their classroom experience, and prepared them for the media industry. By contrast, some UGCCS focus group participants were dissatisfied with the level of practical immersion. As one put it: "More emphasis should have been placed on practical teaching to make us more marketable. Courses such as online journalism should have been introduced earlier" (male participant, August 6, 2010). Another participant disagreed, saying that the UGCCS had made significant progress in acquiring cameras to enable students to film and edit their own videos. Responses to the question of how the UGCCS could enhance its delivery ranged from the need for more technical equipment to an integrated pedagogical approach to teaching. Some pointed out that the program had the potential to prepare students for careers outside mainstream journalism. As one put it:

> When people hear about communication they automatically think journalism, but this program is just not limited to journalism. … Doing my degree in communication has made me a better person overall … it has made me a better communicator. … It has made me realize that I love … creating and advertising. … It has made me more confident. I would love to get into advertising. (female participant, August 6, 2010)

This comment not only reflects the scope of the UGCCS program, but indicates that many graduates are seeking opportunities outside broadcast journalism where jobs are limited. Similarly, two Ohio broadcast students said that Athens MidDay had put them ahead of peers at other universities, making them competitive for paid internships. Some UGCCS participants felt that the lack of adequate facilities undermined their ability to reach their professional potential. One felt that the program should incorporate technical training for first year students to allow specialization. Although one Ohio student felt that the classroom offered a balanced mix of theory with practice, both focus groups agreed on the need for more practical emphasis. However, Ohio students were more positive about the opportunities available to gain hands-on skills. As one noted:

> What we are taught in class is complemented by WOUB [the university public television station]. Every time there's a new piece of technology I try to figure out how to learn and master it. I would definitely go into the broadcast news media. I've got the advantage once I leave here (male participant, September 27, 2010).

UGCCS students felt that the program does not offer adequate training in studio and field production. "Technical training is what I crave," said one participant. "I came to learn the trade but there is a lack of scope at UGCCS for techies like me."

Lessons from CARIMAC and Ohio University

In 2013, the UGCCS had a staff of seven fulltime lecturers. However, the increased student intake (95 freshmen in the academic year 2012–2013, in addition to 85 continuing in their second year, 65 in their third year, and 25 final year students) posed a challenge for faculty mentorship on the individual student level. The need for practicums suggests that the UGCCS would benefit from hiring adjuncts, including alumni and professionals from Guyana and abroad. However, this would require funding to attract teachers with graduate degrees. Low remuneration, around US$800 monthly for an entry-level faculty with a master's degree, remains a disincentive. Nonetheless this teaching capacity is needed if UGCCS is to maintain academic standards, and meet its goal of providing specialized media and communication training and graduate studies by 2014.

By 2012, the UGCCS had significantly increased its capacity to deliver practical training to its students through productions mainly conceived by students and guided by faculty. However, as WOUB Director of Student Professional Development M. Rodriguez noted, the availability of resources does not mean that every student takes advantage of hands-on training. Rodriguez notes that each student reacts differently to the rigor associated with training. He found that the time students invested often determined the benefits they derived. Rodriguez also said that there was a strong association between work ethic and professional competencies among students (personal communication, February 17, 2010).

Although some students may not cope well with pressure, Rodriguez offered that their prior exposure to new media may impose limits on their ability to be challenged beyond the existing new media because:

> …they're just exposed to so much early, and with social media driving a lot of that new technology, they know a lot when they get here, so

> sometimes, academics and even practical experience here at WOUB, it's very easy for them to learn, so they feel challenged but they also feel restricted too. (personal communication, February 17, 2010)

Two UGCCS focus group members expressed dismay over their comparatively late introduction to technical equipment compared to their peers at Ohio University. Two others expressed dissatisfaction with the knowledge gap that existed when they entered the media industry, a disconnect between what they learned and their ability to put it into practice. Most UGCCS focus group members felt that, based on the range of teaching, they were prepared adequately for jobs as entry-level television producers and they displayed a high level of optimism. Despite the comparative advantage of Ohio students, both groups had common professional aspirations and expectations. One newly registered student said:

> I've been able to sharpen my skills and to better understand what it is that I was doing all the time. I've actually been able to put names to ideas and concepts that I've been practicing without even knowing that it was a "concept" or theory that was used in the field of communications. [However] I don't think the program is quite ready to exclusively train technical people (UGCCS focus group participant, August 6, 2010).

Proposals for Enhancing Media Education in Guyana

UGCCS is considering the following options, based on individual and institutional/organizational capacity development:

Individual Capacity Development

Enhancing media education for students and faculty includes:

- Directed Caribbean and international-media internships for advanced diploma and degree students.
- Faculty and student collaboration with CARIMAC, Ohio University, and other media education institutions from Asia, Africa, Europe, Latin America, and other parts of the Caribbean, to share pedagogical practices.
- Faculty upgrade to PhDs to secure at least two research scholars capable of guiding the undergraduate research process for degree and media industry requests.

- Introduction of UGCCS Online—an interactive audio and audiovisual platform featuring student documentaries, news, and views from the campus and neighboring communities to enhance student multimedia skills and media entrepreneurship.

Media Practitioners

Media practioners would receive enhanced education through:

- Creation of a UGCCS summer institute for media practitioners. An evaluation of 37 state and private media journalists trained in summer 2013 in television and political reporting, among other areas, indicated an associative value between their training and their professional development. Most described the quality of training as very good, while over 80 percent found it informative.
- The establishment of a one-year diploma program for media professionals.
- The design of an interactive online training module to deliver theoretical courses to practicing journalists who are unable to enroll as fulltime students of the UGCCS.
- On-the-job training for media practitioners based on requests.

Organizational/Institutional Capacity Development

Organizational/institutional capacity development would be achieved through:

- Radio-television licensing of the UGCCS studios by the Guyana National Frequency Management Unit to provide practical broadcast spaces for students.
- Recruitment of two additional fulltime faculty as broadcast production student trainers/mentors.
- Recruitment of senior media practitioners as adjunct professors in multimedia, radio, and television production.
- An annual program of visiting professors/media professionals from the Caribbean and other regions to enrich students' exposure.
- Biennial baseline surveys to assess the impact of the 2007 curricular revision, and opportunities for revisions and the introduction of new courses.
- Creation of an option of two years of specialization in broadcast and multimedia production, thus increasing students' marketability and entrepreneurial capabilities.

- A scholarship fund for students to pursue graduate research and production of broadcast and online content that highlights issues of national importance such as domestic violence, HIV, AIDS, and social cohesion.
- Collaboration with other university departments, such as the Arts department, to train broadcast students in the use of voice, drama, and poetry.
- The creation of a network of UGCCS alumni, members of the local private sector, overseas communication studies chapters, and other schools of communication to build human and technical resources for the Centre over the long term.

15

Case 5: Yemen—Presidential Political Discourse During the Revolution

Murad Alazzany

Yemenis were inspired by the revolutionary movements in Tunisia and Egypt in early 2011. On the evening of February 11, the day of Hosni Mubarak's resignation, thousands of joyful youths converged on Sanaa's Liberation Square chanting the same slogans of the Tunisian and Egyptian revolutions: "Irhal" (out) and "Alsha'abe Yureed Isqat al-Nizam" (the public wants the regime down) (Rosen, 2011). The slogans were directed at President Saleh, who had ruled the country for three decades. The protests were ignited by poverty, corruption, inequality, and a deep sense that the long-entrenched regime could not meet their aspirations as a new, educated generation.

Although the grievances and motivations were similar to those that led to the overthrow of Bin Ali of Tunisia and Mubarak of Egypt, Yemen's revolutionary movement had its own scenario and developments. Notably, its duration was longer than the Tunisian and the Egyptian revolutions. This can be attributed to many social and political factors, most notably divisions between opponents and supporters of the regime. In fact, the Yemeni revolution took an unexpected direction following the deal proposed by the Gulf States. In exchange for immunity from prosecution, Saleh had to sign an agreement to exit from power. It took a year to complete the agreement, providing Saleh with more time to counter the revolutionary wave through political discourse.

This study offers a critical discourse analysis of Saleh's political speeches between February 3 and May 22, 2011. As the timeline below shows, these dates mark milestones in the development of the Yemeni revolution—from the first street protests to the abandonment of mediation efforts by the Gulf Co-operation Council.

Table 15.1 Timeline for the Events of the Yemeni Revolution, 2011–2012

Date	Event
February 3	20,000 people protested against the government in Sana'a, while others protested in the southern seaport city of Aden in a "Day of Rage" called for by youth activists.
February 4	First speech delivered by Saleh in which he announced he would not run for re-election in 2013, and that he would not pass power to his son.
February 18	A "Friday of Anger" in which tens of thousands of Yemenis took part in antigovernment demonstrations in Taiz, Sana'a, and Aden.
March 11	A "Friday of No Return" day in which protestors called for Saleh's ousting in Sana'a, where three people were killed. More protests were held in other cities, including Al Mukalla, where one person was killed.
March 18	The most critical day in the Yemeni revolution. Protesters in Sana'a Change Square were fired upon, resulting in 52 deaths.
March 21	The defection of Maj. Gen. Ali Mohsen al-Ahmar, a long time commander of the army's powerful 1st Armored Division. That was followed by the defections of several commanders, who rallied behind General Mohsen, among them the head of Omran area, the head of the eastern division, head of brigade 121, and and the adviser of the Yemeni supreme leader of the army.
April 27	Saleh agreed to a Gulf Co-operation Council (GCC)-brokered deal only to back away hours before the scheduled signing three times.
May 22	The GCC declared it was suspending its efforts to mediate in Yemen.
June 3	A bombing at the presidential palace left Saleh injured and seven other top government officials wounded.
June 4	Vice President Abd al-Rab Mansur al-Hadi took over as acting president while Saleh flew to Saudi Arabia for treatment.
November 23	Saleh signed a power transfer agreement brokered by the GCC in Riyadh, under which he would transfer his power to his vice president within 30 days and leave his post as president by February 2012, in exchange for immunity from prosecution.
February 21, 2012	A presidential election was held in Yemen. Abd Rabbuh Mansur al-Hadi took the oath of office in Yemen's parliament on February 25, 2012.

Saleh's speeches were delivered publicly at various events. They were broadcast live on state TV and radio, controlled by Saleh's General Congress Party. They were also broadcast on independent and politically partisan TV stations, but not always live. Usually, speeches were featured in newspapers two days after they were delivered. While government newspapers provided the full texts with no changes, independent and politically partisan newspapers decided not to publish some speeches and edited others selectively, according to their political perspectives. The speeches were gathered from the *Saba News Agency,* a public Arabic language media outlet.

The wide coverage Saleh's speeches received from media outlets reflected his political power as president and head of the ruling party. Social and political power is usually evaluated through an individual's access to or control over social resources, especially public discourse in the mass media (van Dijk, 1996). Whoever controls public discourse has the potential to control people's minds or affect their views. That is why van Dijk regards the analysis of such control as a form of critical discourse analysis. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has been mainly used by scholars to reveal the ideologies and goals of politicians. Political discourse is a medium of domination and social force (Wodak & Meyer, 2001, p. 2). Thus, CDA can reveal how power and dominance structures are legitimized, reproduced, or challenged in society (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 271).

Analysis of Saleh's Speeches

Fearing mass-revolutionary protest, Saleh delivered his first public speech at the parliament on February 4. Yemen has a bicameral legislature, with an elected 301-seat House of Representatives, and an appointed 111-member Shoura Council. The choice of the parliament was meant to give his inaugural public address weight and significance, and also to represent Yemen as a country ruled by democratic principles and institutions.

The rhetoric of Saleh's speeches was intended to serve his political goal of preventing youth protests from picking up momentum. His speeches featured themes that were believed to have a cultural and social resonance in Yemeni political culture. Several propositions and implicatures can be drawn from these themes and the general political discourse. Besides, Saleh used a number of linguistic structures and discursive strategies to perpetuate ideological structures. The employment of themes

and propositions does not mean that Yemenis were duped by Saleh, but that he carefully crafted imagery to support his position.

Themes in Saleh's Political Discourse

Politicians always attempt to use different discourses to control public behavior, and often to orient their values toward their goals. In this revolutionary context, Saleh referred to significant topics that were political in nature, yet deemed acceptable by the public. According to social judgment theory, politicians address themes within the latitude of public acceptance to produce a favorable attitude change (O'Keefe, 1990). Thus, politicians attempt by their discourse to involve the public with topics that have a resonance in their political culture, and to advocate for views which assimilate with theirs (Silberstein, 2003).

Saleh employed themes such as legitimacy and patriotism to induce attitudes that served his political intentions. His public discourse located these themes within Yemeni culture to build consensus around his political goals. The three main themes are those of patriotism, legitimacy, and democracy.

The Theme of Patriotism

Politics is defined by Chilton (2004, p. 3) as a struggle for power between those who seek to assert and maintain their power, and those who seek to resist it. On the other hand, Miller (1980, p. 390) views any political process as involving persuasion and maneuvering. He regards language as the center of any political process, and that discourse is used to produce authority, legitimacy, consensus, and other structures intrinsic to politics. Most of Saleh's speeches during the revolution must be seen within the context of the power struggle and the legitimacy of his rule. Saleh needed to mollify the protestors and quell their enthusiasm, and patriotism was the first theme he deployed. His linguistic choices, particularly grammatical choices, included the pronoun "we" to create a sense of one nation. Wilson (1990) refers to "a pronominal window into the thinking and attitude" of a political leader. Sometimes, the referents for the pronouns "we" and "you" were ambiguous, but Saleh's plural pronoun "we" indicated his effort to avoid more division, and to create consensus around his stand against the revolution.

Saleh's appeal to patriotism is a classic example of making reference to the benefits for the nation or the people. However, to consolidate his stand, Saleh used public rhetoric that evoked different themes of

patriotism, including development and security. This is clear from his first speech, in which Saleh urged the public to protect the "deeds" or achievements of the past decades (during his rule). The inference to be drawn is that joining the youth in protest would destroy this progress and development.

> The country has gone through great difficulties over the past four years … between the various political parties and we are trying by all means to address and overcome these difficulties. I understand the demands of the people and we will work hard to fulfill them. We do not need destruction, we do not [need] sabotage. We have to show love and concern for this country which is suffering a lot. (February 3, 2011, Parliament House)

Saleh urged the public to protect the country from falling into the chaos that would ensue from the fall of the regime. He deployed the concept of security to represent the protest movement as a threat to stability, although he adopted a conciliatory tone.

> The protest of the youth may make the situation even worse. The public is led by certain powers to an unknown fate, similar to what is happening in Egypt and has happened in Tunisia. In the end, this will lead to chaos. Why should we destroy what we have accomplished during the last 50 years? Let's preserve it, talk and reach an understanding about the country. I emphasize the call for dialogue and the resumption of dialogue. I will present some of the points so that we can work to heal this rift and restore cohesion, understanding and national reconciliation. (February 3, 2011, Parliament House)

However, within the context of patriotism, Saleh frequently accused and stereotyped the protestors. In his February 26 meeting with the army generals, Saleh described the protests as chaotic and destructive actions committed by mercenaries. He portrayed the youth as an enemy of the state, challenging its stability and threatening its unity. He called on the generals to fulfill the pledge they took to protect the country from those who destroy it.

> The sit-ins and marches are guaranteed by the Constitution and the law. But some acts by the youth are against the constitution. They are creating chaos, committing banditry, and destroying and sabotaging everything. These are the kinds of vandalism committed by

> mercenaries against the constitution. They are now destroying every good thing in the capital, Taiz and Aden, for nothing but selfishness and remnants of colonialism. The military institution bears full responsibility for maintaining the security, unity, freedom and democracy. The military institution is the hard power, and all foreign plots and agendas are shattered on its rock. (February 26, 2011, Ministry of Defense)

At the same time, Saleh used the concepts of heroism and loyalty to encourage the army and security units to take a firm stand.

> You have to protect the unity, stability, and security of Yemen, and you have to confront whoever tries to tamper with the security and stability. You are the country's army. You are the country's security. There is no security but you. The security is the crowds who have the real interest in the revolution, unity, and freedom. (February 26, 2011, Ministry of Defense)

In a speech delivered in Al-sabaeen square, Saleh praised the army units for their bravery, endurance, and loyalty, particularly those who had lost their lives in confrontations with demonstrators, using the term "heroes of the nation" to describe them.

> I salute the heroic military institution and the brave security personnel for their endurance and for taking on their duties. They did not believe those outlaws, and did not answer their call to deviate from constitutional legitimacy. I salute the military and security institutions everywhere. Once again, I salute you for these abundant sentiments; our loyalty is mutual and this is our message to the whole world. (April 15, 2011, Al-sabaeen Square)

The concepts of heroism, loyalty and constitutional legitimacy indicate how Saleh defined the concept of "patriotism." Essentially, he reduced the meaning of these concepts into himself. As such, protecting and securing his regime was represented as equivalent to protecting and securing the country itself. Saleh claimed to show that the concessions and promises he made in public embodied patriotism.

> I will sacrifice my blood and soul for the sake of this great people. I would sacrifice with all what is precious for the sake of the great Yemeni people. I will not respond to any person but I hope that their

> speech, the opposition, be prudent and without irresponsible utterances. (April 15, 2011, Al-sabaeen Square)

The Theme of Legitimacy

Saleh took many initiatives in an attempt to end the revolutionary protest. However, when security units left about 30 people dead in the second month of the protest, the demands of the youth and the opposition rose. Saleh's initiatives were rejected, mostly because they were viewed as too late and not meeting the demands of protesters. In reaction, Saleh's speeches became inflammatory rather than conciliatory, and he resorted to the theme of legitimacy. Legitimacy here refers to the same notion Kalyango (2008, p. 83) applied in his study of African media and democratization. Kalyango defined legitimacy as attaining popular consent and validation of social trust by those who are custodians of the people's rights and wellbeing.

The legitimacy theme was prominent in the speeches Saleh delivered in front of crowds of supporters in Al-sabaeen square after Friday prayers on March 26, 2011. In his first speech there, Saleh described the gathered crowd as "supporters of the constitutional legitimacy."

> Great people of Yemen, you have come here from all areas out of your free will. No party has mobilized you, no chieftain has ordered you, and no governor or political force has asked you to come to Al-sabaeen Square. Out of free will and a sense of patriotic responsibility by our people, mass crowds have flocked from all governorates on this great day, the Friday of tolerance, peace, security, and stability. (March 26, 2011, Al-sabaeen Square)

In fact, the gathering was not initiated by Saleh and his party. Rather, the crowds were mobilized by regime supporters as a reaction to the opposition protests, initially held in the Square of Change and later in Al-Seteen Street. As a political activity, the gatherings were interpreted as a measure of the power each side had on the ground. The wider the public support each side could attain, the more legitimate its activities became. Thus, when Saleh and his party chose to compete with the opposition in gathering crowds, Yemeni streets turned into rallying points. The competition reached its peak on Fridays. That was when thousands of people, both supporters and opponents, poured into the streets across the country in what became a weekly standoff event.

Prayers were not performed in mosques as usual, but on the streets and main squares in cities. As the opposition swelled, the regime faced steadily growing pressure and, over time, became more isolated and burdened with new challenges and problems. Cracks developed as several party members resigned and declared their solidarity with the opposition. Saleh's concessions could neither quell the youth protests nor mollify the opposition.

Saleh wanted to show that he enjoyed wider support than the opposition. Thus, in the March 26 speech, he used negative interrogative statements to suggest that most Yemenis supported him of their own free will: "No party has mobilized you? No chieftain has ordered you? And no governor of political force has asked you to come to Al-sabaeen square?" By using this linguistic device, Saleh appeared to be talking directly to the supporters, expecting them to answer his questions with "no." This implied that the supporters had come to the square of their own volition, and countered accusations by the opposition that Saleh exploited power and public wealth and his power to gather supporters. The tone of the speech was generally cordial and amicable, with Saleh praising the efforts of his supporters, whom he described as "great people." Saleh did not attribute their motives to their love of his person but to the country itself—to their patriotic responsibility and concern for national stability.

> This is the Friday of security and stability. Yes, yes, yes, to security and stability. No to chaos and no to sabotage. No to constructive chaos. No to looting properties. No to attacking government institutions. No to plundering state camps. This is a referendum for constitutional legitimacy. The crowds in Sanaa, Ta'izz, Hadramawt, Ibb, Al-Hudaydah, Hajjah, Amran, Raymah, Dhamar, Al-Bayda, Lahij, Abyan, and Shabwah are saying yes to constitutional legitimacy. These are our crowds in Al-Dali, in the proud Al-Mahwit Governorate, Sa'dah, Ma'rib, Al-Jawf, and everywhere. They support freedom, security, and stability, and reject chaos, the blocking of roads, and the killing of innocent people. (March 26, 2011, Al-sabaeen Square)

At the first level of the political organization of power, Saleh presented himself as a president who enjoyed legitimacy. By implication, therefore, public support for legitimacy was equivalent to support for him. Describing the political activity of gathering supporters as a referendum on constitutional legitimacy reduced its meaning to his own figure.

Saleh employed various arguments to promote his legitimacy proposition. Primarily, he employed the concept of "democracy" to underline

the legitimacy of his regime and to label a revolutionary protest as a rebellion against legitimacy. The proposition embedded in this legitimacy discourse is that any protest against a legitimate regime is not a revolution but a rebellion.

The Theme of Democracy

From the beginning of the revolution until he was attacked and seriously injured, Saleh used the word "democracy" more than 70 times. However, the word was not used in his first speeches when Saleh's tone was still conciliatory. When the protests started to gain momentum and his regime came under increasing pressure, Saleh resorted to the concept of democracy. By then, his tone had become inflammatory and he used democracy to emphasize the legitimacy of his rule.

Initially, this emerged through the strategy of the "ideological square of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation" (van Dijk, 2006) by which Saleh systematically opposed the standpoints of the political "others" and defended his political in-group ("us"). To solidify his argument, Saleh compared Yemen and its political system to Tunisia and Egypt. Yemen had a democratic system while the "other" countries did not, and consequently two dictators were toppled. The implication was that Saleh was the legitimate president and his regime democratic. It further implied that a protest against a democratic system and elected, legitimate regime cannot be judged as a revolutionary act, but rather as a rebellious one.

The strategy of self-glorification was employed by Saleh to represent his standpoint as altruistic, and the standpoint of his opponents as egotistical. That is, each argumentative move followed the overall principle of the ideological square of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. Such moves have become so politically standardized that they seem obligatory in the argumentative strategies of political debate (Billig, 1995; van Dijk, 1993). This strategy is evident in Saleh's early description of a demonstration as an unnecessary mimicry of what was happening in Tunisia and Egypt, and later when he described it as a kind of anarchy.

According to Esposito and Voll (1997), the discourse of democracy has become, in most societies, the dominant discourse of politics. It is why even the most authoritarian of dictators now must speak the language of democracy. The concept of democracy and its use as a strategy to generate legitimacy was shown clearly when Saleh chaired a meeting with generals of the armed forces on February 26 at the Ministry of Defense.

Saleh described his regime as a democratic regime and himself as a president elected by democratic means.

> We said that the freedom to express one's opinion falls within the framework of democracy. Our political system is democratic. It is based on partisan political pluralism, freedom of the press, respect for human rights, and the constitution guarantees the right of peaceful expression without hurting others. This is what we have chosen after 22 May 1990 when we raised the flag of the Republic of Yemen. (March 29, 2011, Ruling General People's Congress Party)

Here Saleh deployed democracy as a strategy to promote and produce legitimacy. He argued that Yemen was a country ruled by a democratic system which guaranteed the public the right to elect their leader, to express their opinions freely, and ensure a peaceful transfer of power. Through this discourse Saleh implicitly presented himself as a legitimate leader who reached power through democratic means. In turn, a protest against an elected leader was a rebellion against legitimacy and contradicted the spirit of democracy. This discourse also served to threaten the protesting youths because it implied the possibility of using force against rebels. Saleh reminded the generals of their duty to protect democracy and legitimacy, which were again reduced to his person.

> The military institution is a safety valve for the country and is not owned by anyone but the nation. We hold you as armed forces leaders fully responsible for maintaining the security, unity, freedom, and democracy in Yemen. You have to continue doing your duties in your units. You have to protect democracy, stability, and security of Yemen, and you have to confront whoever tries to tamper with the security and stability. You are the country's army. You are the country's security. There is no security but you. (March 22, 2011, Ministry of Defense)

In fact, the military forces had been the main security for Saleh's rule and one of the pillars he relied on to perpetuate his power. The army had backed Saleh in many difficult situations and crises, most notably in 1994 when Ali Salem al-Baidh, who was a vice president, announced South Yemen's secession from the union. The military's top commanders supported Saleh and prosecuted a war against the South, inflicting a crushing defeat on the military forces of al-Baidh (Middle East Political Science Report, 2011).

Two cognitive concepts are revealed from the argumentative discourse. First, Saleh's understanding of the concept of democracy was different from that of the protesting youths and many others. He claimed the protestors did not understand democracy, and thus could not distinguish between what was legitimate and illegitimate, or realize where democracy ends and vandalism begins. For him, the political activity of demonstrating was legitimate, but sitting in the streets was not legitimate or democratic but an act of anarchy and vandalism. Therefore, he reminded the army that its role was to protect those demonstrators whose acts were congruent with the president's understanding of democracy, and to defend the people from those whose acts were a kind of vandalism.

> We are trying all means to address and overcome these difficulties through democratic means but to no avail, although the political leadership provided a package of reforms. Democracy means that people breathe and talk reasonably within national principles. This is not democracy. Democracy is dialogue. Democracy is programs, not the forbidden act of murder and blocking of roads. (March 22, 2011, Ministry of Defense)

Saleh contradicted his earlier speech on two points. While earlier he described the protest as an imitation of what had happened in Tunisia and Egypt, here he attributed the current protest to some crisis in the previous four years, suggesting that the opposition was behind the protests. Some observers wondered how Saleh could speak of a democratic system when it was widely known that the structures necessary for real democracy were not well-established (Al-Karoui, 2011). In fact, when Saleh talked about democracy, he pointed to the parliamentary election held every four years, and to the general and most recent presidential election held in 2006. While no proof had been found of widespread irregularities in that election, the question is: how can Yemen be described as a true democracy when, according to reports by local and Western experts, the regime is based upon tribal alliances and military might? In reality, this is inconsistent with the fact that democracies cannot be based on the support of tribal groups. Democracy cannot develop in a state whose structure and support rely on forces that run contrary to a modern understanding of the state.

Besides, the election about which Saleh boasted had been held five years previously, in 2006. Since that time Yemen's democracy had been interrogated by its people, who took to the streets chanting for the fall

of the regime, and demanding the ouster of Saleh (who officially won 72 percent of the vote) (Al-Karoui, 2011). If such things can take place in a democracy, then what would be the case had Saleh been as bereft of popular endorsement as Ben Ali, Mubarak, Libya's Moammar Gaddafi, or others like them for all those years?

In fact, the regime created the appearance of democracy, rather than its substance. This is to say, democratization was "defensive and managed" (Hamid, 2011). It was meant to grant the regime legitimacy and to prevent the emergence of forces which might threaten its rule. This resulted in an autocratic system engaged in piecemeal reform, but did little to change the underlying power structure. Within this autocracy, opposition parties found themselves ensnared in what political scientist Daniel Brumberg (2003) called an "endless transition." If a transition is promised and never comes, people are bound to grow impatient.

Saleh's Speech Acts

Faced with the prospect of mass antigovernment protests, Saleh produced speeches that permit one to follow the political process in the country and trace the ideological structures he intended to convey. The category of mechanical causality in explanations of ideological phenomena can most easily be analyzed on the basis of linguistic structure (Searle, 1969). Some of Saleh's ideological concepts are represented by speech acts, including apologies, promises, threats, and warnings. These acts did not usually occur in isolation; rather, they came in sequences while Saleh was engaged in a political activity. Speech acts in sequences are normally related to one another, while sharing a different status in the flow of the speaker's action (Ferrara, 1980).

Speech acts were employed by Saleh to modalize the political topics he addressed. Modality choices not only have a political function as part of speech acts that underlie some actions in the future (such as promises, threats, or warnings), but also have a more general persuasive function (Chaiken & Eagly, 1976). For instance, the speech act of apology was used by Saleh to target the whole public of Yemen as he apologized for the mistakes he committed in the course of his presidency. The act of apology is a positive strategy where a person shows his humanitarian goodwill, or as a strategy of positive self-presentation revealing individual awareness of the problem, accompanied by humbleness (van Dijk, 1993c). The act of apology is linked with that of confession, by which Saleh publicly acknowledged his rule to be neither perfect nor free of faults. He justified it by confessing that he was simply a human who

was fallible, while pledging to begin a new era. In that respect, Saleh appeared not to seem defiant. The desired effect of apologizing shows readiness to not repeat faults in order to invoke feelings of reconciliation and tolerance. The expressed psychological state of a speech act is "belief"—Saleh believes the expressed proposition and also wants the listener to believe it. In this connection, we are presented with an assertive speech act.

Saleh made extensive use of speech acts to strengthen his position and future plans, including a series of promises concerning political reforms in the country, and his future plans. He promised not to seek another term in 2013 when his presidency ended, not to get his son elected after him, and to delay the parliamentary election. He also made an offer to the opposition of a unity government. These promises, as well as other economic promises, were designed to address the protests which, it was believed, were ignited by widespread poverty, unemployment, and the loss of hope (Noueihed & Warren, 2012). Saleh believed that by addressing these economic and social problems he could pacify the youth and quell their protests.

As the opposition and protestors dismissed his earlier promise not to seek re-election, Saleh proposed a new initiative—a unity government. He promised that a new constitution separating legislative and executive powers and moving from a presidential to a parliamentary system would be drafted by the end of 2011. He urged the opposition to join him in a unity government to draw up the new constitution, on which a referendum was to be held before the end of 2011. These concessions were represented in a new set of speech acts which referred to future actions in a positive way.

Another Somalia or Iraq

As Saleh's promises and concessions—particularly his vow not to run for another term and not to pass power to his son—were rejected by the youth protestors and opposition, he tried another strategy. In this discourse, he played the fear and warning cards: frightening Yemenis that by their protest, their country would risk becoming another Iraq or Somalia.

What is clear from this speech is his increasing fear following the opposition's decision to join the protest movement. According to some observers, at the beginning the Yemeni revolution was close to being a nebulous movement due to the absence of a coherent leadership (Al-Karoui, 2011). Thus, the revolution entered a new and critical phase

when the opposition joined it. This forced Saleh to seek other discursive strategies. One was *classification,* which he used to formulate a distinction between two categories of protesting youths: politicized youths and non-politicized ones. Politicized youth were portrayed as controlled by, or in alliance with, the opposition. Their acts were described as illegitimate, contradictory to the principles of democracy, immoral, and uncivilized. Saleh described the other category of youths as pure, clean, and non-politicized. These were youths not politically controlled by the opposition, or there to fulfill its agenda. Thus, Saleh utilized this to create a division between youth and the opposition, accusing the latter of exploiting youth enthusiasm to reach power.

Finally, Saleh resorted to the strategy of blaming shadowy foreign powers. Saleh, for the first time, in front of students and academicians in Sana'a University, vehemently accused the United States and Israel of conspiring to cause unrest and uprisings in Yemen and other Arab nations. However, the gamble of blaming foreign powers appeared comical and implausible to the public, who knew that for years before the uprising Saleh had worked with Washington, especially in trying to suppress al-Qaida cells using Yemen as a base to launch terrorist attacks. Saleh also referred to the foreign aid promised to Yemen at a London conference in 2006. He said the aid was not received from the donor countries, implying that the problems facing the country were not political but economic, and beyond the president's control. However, by highlighting this theme, Saleh was also attempting to dispel rumors that the government had received the aid and squandered the money on new cars and furniture.

Conclusion

This study has offered a critical discourse analysis of Saleh's political speeches between February 3 and May 22, 2011, the period in which most of the developments of the Yemeni revolution took place. This study has shown how political discourse can function as a political tool that can be exploited by political leaders to achieve their political goals and intentions, and how political leaders act in a time of crisis—such as those created by revolutionary events—to counter increasing pressure.

16

Case 6: Suriname—The Land Rights Issue and Media Performance

Rachael van der Kooye

Over the past two decades, media in Suriname have regularly covered land rights conflicts between forest peoples and the government. This study focuses on how the conflicts have been reported in the media, and what journalism educators think about media performance and journalism practice. Themes in land rights reports from the online versions of the two oldest daily newspapers in Suriname, *De West* (The West) and *De Ware Tijd* (The True Time), were analyzed for the period from January 2012 to April 2013. As a newspaper reporter from 1994 to 1996, I had covered this topic. I began studying how the media covered land rights in 1997 when I analyzed reports from these newspapers for the period of 1994 to 1997. Data from this study provided a basis for comparison with recent coverage, particularly on the issue of sourcing, and to seek the opinions of educators on media performance and journalism practice.

Background

Suriname (163,820 square kilometers) is the smallest independent country in South America. It is situated on the Atlantic coast north of Brazil between French Guiana and Guyana. The country is a former colony of the Netherlands, and received its independence on November 25, 1975. In 1980, the military leader Desiré Bouterse seized power in a coup. His rule was challenged in a six-year civil war (1986–1992), which ended in elections in June 1992. In 1982, during Bouterse's dictatorship, the army killed 5 journalists and burned down 2 radio stations (Radio ABC and Radio Radika) as well as the popular, 22-year-old newspaper *De Vrije Stem* (The Free Voice). The military regime imposed censorship while journalists, fearing for their lives and jobs, adopted self-censorship on sensitive

issues. Some journalists fled to the Netherlands (Sumter et al., 2008). After the 1992 elections, democracy slowly returned.

What is the extent of press freedom in Suriname today? It depends on which organization is doing the assessment. In 2011–2012, Reporters Without Borders (RSF) ranked Suriname 22nd on the World Press Freedom Index, up 13 places since the 2009/2010 survey. Although only one journalist completed the RSF questionnaire for 2011–2012, RSF justified the ranking by stating that in 2011, there were no press freedom violations worth mentioning, and no physical violence against journalists. The Suriname Union of Journalists (SVJ) did not agree. "SVJ as a guardian of press freedom in Suriname has never been consulted about press freedom by Reporters Without Borders," said its chair, Wilfred Leeuwin, adding that in 2011, relations between the government and the press deteriorated.

> Two daily newspapers, *De West* and *Dagblad Suriname,* were hampered and restricted in the exercise of their work by the government. In 2011 the government encouraged the creation of a media council. The last time there was a media council was in the eighties, during the military regime. In 2011, verbal harassment against journalists increased. (Suriname Union of Journalists, 2012)

According to *Star Nieuws*, RSF apologized for its incorrect ranking. In a letter to SVJ, Benoit Hervieu, the Americas RSF head, admitted that the ranking was not based on correct and complete information. RSF has decided never again to rely on information from a single local journalist. In a separate email to SVJ chair Leeuwin, RSF information director Director Gilles Lordet promised that SVJ can count on a more correct representation in the future ("RSF Apologizes," 2012).

The Dutch colonial authorities introduced media to Suriname with the first newspaper, established in 1774 (Sumter et al., 2009). Today, the country has a robust media sector. Apart from several periodicals there are four daily newspapers, each with an online news site (three are copies of the newspaper; only *De Ware Tijd* has a different online version). There are 34 radio stations, including the government-owned Stichting Radio Omroep Suriname (SRS), 17 television stations, including 2 state-owned television stations, Suriname Television Foundation (STVS) and General Television Care (ATV), as well as 4 online news sites. The newspapers are privately owned, and published in either Dutch or English. Two are owned by politicians. The political party Pertjajah Luhur owns one TV and one radio station, and the National Democratic

Party owns one radio station. Chinese investment has recently surged, resulting in an upgrade of the state television network. Additionally, the growing Chinese community has created 2 daily newspapers and a new Mandarin-language television station. There is a news agency, the National Information Service (NVD), and recently the government established the National Information and Communication Network (NICN), a limited liability company, to produce and distribute television and radio programs for NVD. Approximately 32 percent of the population accessed the Internet in 2011. The country has 2 Internet service providers (ISPs), and there are no restrictions on access.

Suriname is rich in natural resources such as minerals, forests, fresh water, fish and shrimp, and fertile agricultural land. Economist Anthony Caram of the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) told *De Ware Tijd* that because the prices of several minerals and raw materials are low, Suriname is fortunate to have oil and gold reserves ("Suriname lucky," 2012) Gold and oil prices either remained stable or increased in 2012, while Suriname's GDP grew by 4 per cent. The country has a culturally and ethnically diverse population of over half a million people (ABS, 2011), composed of Javanese, Hindustani, Chinese, Lebanese, Jews, Dutch, Creoles, Maroons, and indigenous peoples. During the last 10 years, Haitian and Brazilian groups have joined them. Approximately 90 per ent of Suriname's population lives on the coast, which covers approximately 10 percent of the land area (ABS, 2013, data from 2010). The remaining 90 percent consists of a sparsely populated and minimally impacted tropical rainforest, with a population density of between 0.3 and 1.9 persons per square kilometer (ABS, 2011). The rainforest is inhabited by indigenous peoples and Maroons[1] (10 percent of the population), referred to as forest people (Kambel & MacKay, 1999). Currently, they are in conflict with the government and corporate logging and mining interests.

According to Article 41 of Suriname's Constitutional Law of 1987 (last amended in 1992), "natural riches and resources are property of the Nation and shall be used to promote economic, social, and cultural development. The Nation shall have the unalienable right to take complete possession of the natural resources in order to apply them to the needs of the economic, social, and cultural development of Suriname" (Constitutional Law, 1987).

According to the unwritten customary law of forest peoples, the land they have inhabited for centuries—as well as all that is in it and on it—belongs to them (Kanhai, I. & Nelson, J., 1993; Kambel & MacKay, 1999). Using the written law, the government has issued logging and

mining permits in areas populated by forest peoples, without consulting them or obtaining their agreement. Both indigenous people and Maroons have a strong relationship with the forest, rivers, and creeks they have traditionally owned for centuries, a relationship which is both economic—providing them with basic necessities such as food, drink, housing, and transport—as well as cultural and spiritual. Indeed, their relationships with their traditional territories are a fundamental part of their identity and security (Kemble, 2006).

Analysis of Newspapers

A newspaper analysis shows that after many petitions, reports, resolutions, letters—and even a hunger strike to call for attention to their customary law—forest peoples are now filing lawsuits against the government. The Saramacca tribe won a case against the government in 2006. Amnesty International (2010) stated that the judgment of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights (IACHR) of the Organization of American States established that the state violated, to the detriment of the members of the Saramacca people, the right to property. According to the IACHR, the government is required to recognize the collective land rights of the Saramacca clans, draft legislation that complies with international treaties, and establish a development fund of SR 1,680,000 (US $600,000). Other groups followed the Saramacca tribe, filing claims at the IAHCR (Price, 2011). Despite binding judgments by the IAHCR since 2007, Suriname has yet to recognize the rights of forest peoples.

In April 1994, the media began to report on land rights. In that year, the Canadian gold exploration company Golden Star Resources Ltd. (GSR) concluded a mineral agreement with the government, granting it exclusive rights to explore the Gross Rosebel concession. The Maroon village of Nieuw Koffiekamp, with a population of 500–800, is located centrally in the company's 17,000 hectare concession. At first, GSR wanted the entire village removed because it was too close to the planned mine location. Officials said they were concerned that exploitation activities would threaten the safety of villagers. The villagers feared and refused relocation, in part because they still were experiencing trauma from a previous relocation in 1965, when their villages were flooded to make way for a dam to generate electricity. Ironically, the villagers were relocated onto a large seam of gold, which became the Gross Rosebel concession. Currently, the rights to explore and exploit the concession are held by the Canadian gold mine company, Iamgold (Heemskerk & Van Der Kooye, 2003).

In 1994, when I was working as a freelance journalist for the daily newspaper *De West*, rumors of a gold rush in the interior reached the newsroom. I traveled to the gold mining areas—Benzdorp at the Lawa River on the border with French Guiana, and Gross Rosebel in the Brokopondo District—to investigate these rumors. The land rights conflicts pitted local miners—the so-called "porcknockers," who believed that, as forest peoples, they had the right to exploit mineral resources—against the multinational mining companies and the government that had granted them mining concessions. At Royal Hill, a gold-bearing mountain in the Golden Star concession, I spent three months observing gold mining activities and their impact on the environment and the health of the miners and local people There were about 2,000 gold miners on Koolhoven, another of the 7 gold-bearing hills in Gross Rosebel, and Golden Star wanted them to move, but the miners did not want to go without getting another mining site. From April 1994 until September 1995, *De West* ran reports on the land rights conflict based on my interviews, observations, and research. When the government and the National Assembly read the reports they visited the gold miners. The government offered them another mining site, and the 2,000 miners left. However, the miners of Nieuw Koffiekamp stayed behind, because they had nowhere to go.

For my journalism thesis, I examined the research and presentation of the reports in *De West* and in *De Ware Tijd*. The coverage in *De West* from April 1994 to September 1995 consisted of 1 feature, 2 interviews, and 24 news reports. Seventy-nine percent of the reports on gold mining were published on the front page, and the rest on the inside pages. Of the news reports, 23 were front page news. Most of the news on gold mining on the front page focused on the land rights issue.

Most news stories were investigative—one was an interview, and one a feature. The reports covered all sides of the issue. The company, Golden Star, the government, the villagers, and the gold miners all had their say. The reports in *De West* brought the land rights issue to national and international attention. Stakeholders, including indigenous and Maroon organizations, the National Assembly, the Surinamese and US governments, trade unions, the Central Bank of Suriname, and the World Council of Churches, all took action.

After *De West* broke the story of the resistance of Nieuw Koffiekamp, and followed up on gold mining and land rights issues, other media such as *De Ware Tijd* strengthened their coverage. *De Ware Tijd* published 13 news stories on gold mining, 4 of them on land rights.

Land-rights issues remain high on the media agenda in Suriname, but the way in which they are reported has changed. In the period from

January 1 to April 30, 2013, the online version of *De Ware Tijd,* dwtonline.com, published 27 articles on land rights, and *De West* 20 articles. The story genres were interviews, press conferences, and comments. Dwtonline also carried reports on parliamentary deliberations about land rights. Most of the stories were interviews with only one source, with other perspectives not reported.

The interview topics included: the judgment of the IAHCR on land right claims of indigenous peoples; a meeting of forest peoples to examine border overlaps; a sociologist who argued that the award of gold mining concessions to multinationals does not necessarily restrict land rights; and the resignation of the director of the Ministry of Regional Development following a campaign by forest peoples. The interviews were mostly conducted at events organized by NGOs and government agencies.

Of the 27 stories in dwtonline, 22 were interviews, 1 reported on a press conference, 1 parliamentary deliberations, 2 the positions of international bodies, and 1 was a commentary. Of the 22 reports with interviews, 14 were with 1 source, 4 with 2 sources, 2 with 3 sources, and 1 with 4 sources. Of the 20 reports on land rights in *De West,* 9 were interviews, 10 were commentaries, and 1 a report on a government plan for the municipality of Coeroenie in the district of Sipaliwini, with one of the priorities to guarantee recognition of land rights.[2] Of the 9 interviews, 6 were with 1 source, 2 with 2 sources, and 1 with 3 sources.

In the case of *De West* and dwtonline, the predominance of stories based on a single interview source indicates that journalists did not provide balanced perspectives. Significantly, the only report to use 4 sources, published in dwtonline on December 3, 2012, does not provide balance because the sources quoted do not appear to be offer different opinions on the issue. It focuses on the sixth indigenous peoples' conference, where a new board of the NGO Union of Indigenous Village Leaders (VIDS) was installed. The board's most important task was to inform social groups about the land rights challenge. According to the new chairman of VIDS, "We often are accused that we want to create a state in a state, but that is a lie. We will provide clarification about these rights by giving presentations to organizations such as trade unions, companies, and religious groups." A member of the National Assembly, Marinus Bee, also gave his opinion. "What VIDS want[s] to do is fine, because if something is unknown, people do not love it." The Minister of Regional Development, Stanley Betterson, made a similar point: "The right interpretation has to be given to the land rights issue." Between those opinions, the journalist gave a brief background on the land rights

issue, and referred to the conference on land rights organized by the Ministry of Regional Development in October 2011. He also mentioned youth and women's organizations represented at the conference, and the goal they set (together with VIDS) to solve the land-rights problem within 5 years. Although the story quoted 4 sources, all were attendees at the conference, expressing similar views on the role of VIDS.

An example of a single-source report, published in dwtonline on July 5, 2012, quoted the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Winston Lackin, at a press conference on the participation of President Bouterse in a heads-of-states conference of the Union of South American States (Unasur). Lackin said that in the Caribbean Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC) and Unasur, there was a growing criticism of how countries are condemned by international courts and organizations for violations of land and human rights. "At this time, there is a discussion on the South American continent about what democratization means, whose democracy is violated, and who defines what," said Lackin. "There are a lot of negative remarks about the role of the Inter American Court of Human Rights, and the United Nations in Washington [sic], who indicate how people should look at human and land rights." He said that NGOs were too quick to appeal to those organizations for a solution, and that the real social circumstances were not examined. The dwtonline report did not seek perspectives on Lackin's comments from sources such as CELAC, Unasur, IAHCR, and NGOs.

Perspectives of Journalism Educators

None of the stories in *De West* and dwtonline on land rights in the period from January 1 to April 30, 2013 can be classified as investigative stories. Most were based on the opinion of a single source. So what does the coverage of the land rights issue tell us about the state of journalism and media performance in Suriname? Four journalism educators were interviewed: Indra Toolsie, Indra Dwarkasingh, Nita Ramcharan, and Jane Kolf-Bergraaf from the School of Journalism at the Academy for Higher Arts and Cultural Education (AHKCO). This institution is one of only two providing basic professional journalism training in the country. The other is the Foundation for the Promotion of Journalism in Suriname (SBJS), which established a journalism practical training center on May 14, 2008.

According to Toolsie, Dwarkasingh and Ramcharan, ethical standards in Suriname have been declining. They state that journalism is threatened by political and commercial interests, media ownership, and

unprofessional conduct. Dwarkasingh said journalists do little research, and some occasionally practice self-censorship. "The main reason for the lack of research is lack of time. Journalists have to write a minimum of 3 news stories a day and therefore do not have time to do research or to practice investigative journalism." Dwarkasingh said that several news outlets are affiliated with particular political parties, which discourage journalists from reporting on some issues (personal communication, January 29, 2013).

According to the 2011 Country Report on Human Rights Practices by the UN refugee agency UNHCR:

> …little investigative journalism takes place, and some journalists practice self-censorship due to pressure and intimidation from government officials. The self-censorship is due to a history of intimidation and reprisals by elements of the former military leadership or in response to pressure by senior government officials and important community leaders on journalists who publish negative stories about the administration. Coverage of certain issues, such as drug trafficking and the human rights abuses that took place under the Bouterse dictatorship in the 1980s, are also discouraged. (UNHCR, 2011).

UNHCR noted that although Bouterse continues to face charges for the murders of 5 journalists in 1982, legal proceedings have been suspended for the duration of his presidency. According to SVJ, relations between the Bouterse government and independent media worsened in 2011, and the government occasionally restricted the work of journalists (UNHCR, 2011).

Toolsie says the current government tried to silence journalists, and co-opts independent journalists by offering them a much higher salary (personal communication, January 25, 2013). Dwarkasingh thinks journalists are political loyalists and hustlers. In general they are poorly paid (approximately US$500 a month), use their skills for other jobs such as public relations and advertising, and lose their credibility along the way (personal communication, January 29, 2013).

Dwarkasingh, a television and radio journalism professor, says that the purpose of the media in Suriname is first to make profit and second to inform people. The news is seen as a profit center, but the media are not competitive, and all stations broadcast similar stories. Television news broadcasts are sponsored by companies, and therefore "no negative news is reported." Dwarkasingh gives two examples. At Rasonic TV, the news anchor's background features a large logo of the station's

leading sponsor, the Royal Bank of Trinidad and Tobago (RBTT). On March 14, 2013, the Central Bank of Trinidad and Tobago stated in a press release that the merger between RBTT and the Royal Bank of Canada had created inflation worries. This was not reported on Rasonic TV. However, said Dwarkasingh, people in Suriname need to know this information because, in 2000, RBTT acquired all of ABN AMRO Bank's branches in the country. Another example Dwarkasingh gave is the newscast of the national television station STVS, which is sponsored by Suriname Airways, the national carrier. Often flights are delayed and passengers stranded, but STVS never reports on these delays, the consequences for passengers, and their grievances (personal communication, January 29, 2013).

Toolsie thinks the media lack objectivity, but Dwarkasingh says that the country has so many political parties (20) and ethnic groups that it is difficult for media outlets to be objective, because they are afraid of offending interest groups (Toolsie, personal communication, January 25, 2013; Dwarkasingh, personal communication, January 29, 2013). In general, media owners are more loyal than objective, because they have their own political policy. Some journalists are unable to obtain interviews from certain authorities because they work for a media organization opposed to the government. The owner of ABC Radio and Television, the late Johnny Kamperveen, said in public that the president of Suriname will never be heard on his stations. He said so because the president is charged with the murder of 16 journalists, lawyers, trade union leaders, academics, and politicians in 1982. Andre Kamperveen, the father of the media owner and founder of ABC Radio, was one of the journalists murdered (Dwakrasingh, personal communication, January 29, 2013).

Ramcharan, who is also director of the online news site starnieuws.com, mentions plagiarism in the news. Some media do not have an editorial staff, so they just read the news from other media, sometimes without mentioning the source (Ramcharan, personal communication, January 26, 2013). Toolsie goes further.

> When a media outlet makes an error in its reporting and rectifies it, broadcast media that are relaying the same news often fail to provide the correction. For example, a radio station took over a report from an online news agency that Chris van Lierop, a swimming coach, was dead, while he was not dead yet. The radio station never rectified this report, but Van Lierop died shortly after the news of his death was published. (personal communication, January 25, 2013)

Ramcharan says that the meaning of plagiarism is not well understood, and that legal penalties are not enforced. Toolsie agrees: "Plagiarism is often committed. There you can see the decay of ethical norms and values. Even BBC and Al Jazeera mention their sources" (personal communication, January 25, 2013). The issue of plagiarism was discussed during a journalism week organized by SVJ in January 2013, where the chief of police, Humphrey Tjin Liep Shie, said that plagiarism is punishable. He asked SVJ to record all cases of plagiarism and give him the list. The discussion on plagiarism was widely reported by radio, television, newspapers, and online news sites. According to Ramcharan, "Joyce Abdoelakhan, a journalist from Sangeetmala Radio and Television who used to commit plagiarism, was so angry that she claimed in her news program that news is common property, but she passed over the fact that the source has to be mentioned in news reports" (Ramcharan, personal communication, January 26, 2013). The online news site GFC News reported that Abdoelakhan said in her television and radio program: "News is news and it is from everybody. So if I have something news worthy to report I may not? News is not the property of one person or some person. Let it be clearly told. The whole discussion on plagiarism is absurd. Do some people want to have autocracy in the news? The period of monopoly is past, people should have to live with that" (GFC, 2013).

Dwarkasingh thinks journalists are not trained to specialize in topics such as the environment or the economy. Often their information is second-hand. They write news stories after attending press conferences, meetings, seminars, and workshops organized by government, institutions, and NGOs and ask few questions because they do not have the time to research the background. The result is that all media have the same news and the stories simply reproduce the press conference (Dwarkasingh, personal communication, January 29, 2013).

Ramcharan and Dwarkasingh criticize single-source news stories. "There are too many opinions in the news and too few facts. Journalists quickly settle for what someone thinks or says. Then the truth remains in the middle. It is never clear what the topic is," said Ramcharan (personal communication, January 26, 2013). According to Dwarkasingh, journalists work in a hurry. Often their news stories have only one source and one angle, while news must be looked at from different angles. Follow up stories are scarce. For example, when the Canadian gold mining company IAMGold built a factory for women to fabricate stones for the building of houses, it invited the press to the building's first stonelaying. The press did not report what happened to the building after six months or whether the stones were fabricated or not. Journalists simply went on

to report the next activity by IAMGold—the building of a police post in the village of Klaas Creek (Dwarkasingh, personal communication, January 29, 2013).

In December 2012 there was complete confusion in the media. The union representing retired public service staff believed that during a meeting President Bouterse promised senior citizens a 10 percent raise in their pensions. After some weeks, the president contradicted his promise, saying that senior citizens had been mistaken about what he said. Journalists were at that meeting but none was able to produce footage or audio of what the president actually said (Dwarkasingh, personal communication, January 29, 2013).

According to Dwarkasingh, news stories also lack human interest, and few citizens are given a voice to describe how they experience events. Ramcharan says that in general, journalists are not persistent in their news gathering. If they have to verify information and they cannot speak with an official, they just say in the news that they cannot reach such an authority and leave it at that. They make no effort to search for another source. Ramcharan says that the government is aware of poor journalism practice, and government information departments often refuse to talk to journalists.

> They just send their press releases to the news rooms and the journalists are happy, because then they have a story to write about, but they cannot ask questions. Therefore the information function of the media has been reduced to relaying the government line. Press releases are not processed. They are used exactly as they enter the editing room, but it is very difficult to gather public information. The government has a deliberate policy to keep out journalists and not give them the information they look for. The government does not have a spokesman. You cannot ask or drop questions. When a journalist asks critical questions he does not get an invitation for press conferences and it is difficult for him to find public information, because there is no freedom of information act. When the government came to power in 2010 it said that it would be transparent, but it has not kept its promise. When a minister or the president is at an activity or in talks, only their friends among the journalists are tipped and the rest do not know. (Ramcharan, personal communication, January 26, 2013)

According to Ramcharan, journalists alone cannot be blamed for poor practice, "because that is what the media accept. Most media are just

looking for quantity, not quality, so journalists are delivering quantity and not quality. Many of them have no formal journalism education" (personal communication, January 26, 2013). According to Jane Kolf-Bergraaf, a journalism professor and coordinator of the School of Journalism at AHKCO, several journalism students currently working in media are more qualified than the journalists who do not have a journalism education.

> But it is a difficult situation because the profession talks negatively about journalism study. Journalists think formal study is not needed. They think that they do not have to be educated as a journalist and that a training session or a workshop is enough to practice journalism. They discourage students from studying the profession. Many media owners also do not know what journalism is about. (personal communication, January 28, 2013)

Journalism educators believe poor media performance and bad journalism practice have consequences for society. According to Kolf-Bergraaf, the first is that students do not choose to work in the media after they graduate. Instead they choose a job in government, an NGO, or the private sector or establish their own company (personal communication, January 28, 2013). According to Ramcharan, a second consequence is that people are not well informed, so they make choices and form opinions based on lack of information or misleading information (personal communication, January 26, 2013). Kolf-Bergraaf says professional internships sometimes do not benefit students:

> When they intern they do not get the proper guidance, because their supervisors do not know the profession. Most media do not meet the conditions to supervise a student. Therefore students already have to know how to produce journalism products when they intern, because they will not learn that at the media. If they intern at a media organization where there is censorship, they will learn nothing. So they have to learn at school. (personal communication, January 28, 2013)

Conclusion

Future research on journalism and media in Suriname could fruitfully focus on such topics as: political ties and ownership structure; commercial influence on news; self-censorship by journalists; access to

information, election coverage; the influence of newsroom culture on journalism practice; and the impact of media coverage on the public agenda. By revealing the challenges that Suriname's media face, further research may help to improve performance, practice, and professional standards.

Notes

1 Maroons are descendants of escaped African slaves who fought for and won their freedom from the Dutch colonial administration in the 18th century. Their freedom from slavery and rights to territorial and political autonomy were recognized by treaties concluded with the Dutch in the 18th and 19th centuries, and by two centuries of colonial administrative practice. They succeeded in establishing viable communities along the major rivers of the rainforest interior, and have maintained a distinct culture based primarily upon an amalgamation of African and Amerindian traditions. Maroons consider themselves, and are perceived to be, culturally distinct from other sectors of Surinamese society and regulate themselves according to their own laws and customs. Consequently, they qualify as tribal peoples according to international definitional criteria and enjoy the same rights as indigenous peoples under international law (Kambel & MacKay, 1999, pp. 16–17).
2 Suriname consists of districts, and the districts are divided into "ressorten" (municipalities).

17

Case 7: Kyrgyzstan—Challenges for Environmental Journalism

Gulnura Toralieva

The Political, Social, and Economic Context

Kyrgyzstan, a nation of 5.5 million people in Central Asia, has suffered political and social turmoil for almost a decade. The first president, Askar Akayer, took over the country's leadership in October 1990 after the collapse of the Soviet Union. In 2005, he fled the country following popular demonstrations in which he was accused of corruption, nepotism, unfair distribution of financial resources, and violations of human rights.

After the 2005 revolution, Kurmanbek Bakiyev became president, but popular resentment over rising utility costs, official corruption and continued government repression continued (Tyn, Toktogulov, & Dreazen, 2010). In April 2010 armed clashes between government troops and opposition supporters led to a second revolution, toppling Bakiyev's regime and leaving 85 people dead and more than 1,500 wounded (Ministry of Health, 2010). The upheaval was followed in June by clashes between ethnic Kyrgyz and Uzbeks in the south; hundreds of people were killed, thousands injured, and some 2,600 homes destroyed. An estimated 100,000 ethnic Uzbeks temporarily fled across the border to Uzbekistan (Human Rights Watch, 2010).

In this volatile situation, journalists have focused on political issues, and environmental problems have received little coverage. "The environment is covered well by media in developed countries with better living conditions," said Marat Tokoyev, chairman of the Public Association of Journalists, a journalists' union. "Here in Kyrgyzstan there are more important problems to deal with" (personal communication, April 15, 2010).

The Constitution of 2011 established a parliamentary system, shifting power from the executive to the legislature. However, media expert

Aleksandr Kulinsky believes that political instability has generated even more self-censorship among journalists than before the 2010 revolution. "Today journalists must think a thousand times before publishing something," he said. "One awkward step and the publication may cause a war; it may provoke ethnic conflicts. They have a great responsibility now" (personal communication, May 12, 2010). Kulinsky is not alone in his assessment. Many in the profession believe that self-censorship and the fear that comes from acting too independently will force Kyrgyzstani journalists to avoid potentially sensitive topics, including environmental issues.

An "Atmosphere of Fear" for Journalists

In Kyrgyzstan, as elsewhere in Central Asia, press freedom often comes at a price. Since 2006, more than 60 journalists have been attacked and more than 100 prosecuted. Six journalists sought political asylum because of threats to their lives and those of family members (Journalist.kg, 2010). Reporter Alisher Saipov, aged 26, was killed in broad daylight in the southern city of Osh in October 2007. His murder was thought to be a consequence of articles he published in newspapers, online media, and his own Uzbek-language newspaper *Siesat*, which often criticized authorities in Uzbekistan. Those who committed the murder have yet to be found. The murder shocked not only the Kyrgyzstani people, but Saipov's foreign colleagues, human rights groups, and media organizations worldwide.

Unfortunately, his death was not a singular event. From 2010 to 2013, 27 cases of threats and attacks against journalists were registered by the Kyrgyzstan office of Internews, a donor-funded media training and legal advocacy group (Amirkhanova, 2013). In December 2009, journalist Gennady Pavluk, bound head to foot in tape, was thrown from the window of an apartment building in Almaty, Kazakhstan. He died in hospital one week later. Kyrygzstani opposition leaders claimed the journalist was a victim of Bakiyev's regime, and was killed because of his plans to launch a media project in partnership with the opposition party Ata-Meken (BBC News, 2010).

In July, 2009, Almaz Tashiev, a freelance journalist, was beaten to death by law enforcement agents in Osh (Journalist.kg, 2009). The same year, Kubanychbek Joldoshev, deputy editor-in-chief of the *Osh Shamy* newspaper, was brutally beaten coming home late one night. He said that job-related threats had regularly been made against him before the attack. The newspaper's editor-in-chief said that Joldoshev was

attacked for publishing stories critical of corruption in the universities (svoboda.org, 2009). Russian political scientist and journalist Aleksandr Knyazev was assaulted and robbed near his house in the capital, Bishkek (Internews, 2009). The correspondent for the Rosbalt agency in Bishkek, Aleksandr Efgrafov, suffered the same fate (Internews, 2009). The editorial office of the Osh-based newspaper *Osh Shamy* received an envelope that contained a single Kalashnikov bullet and a stark note: "You are a target on which to fire!" In 2013 two journalists were beaten up by local residents in Bishkek while shooting a news report about people living in luxury houses but not paying for electricity. A press release by the opposition Social Democratic Party noted that in attacks against journalists, the violence had acquired "a brutal, irreversible and targeted character." Journalists' safety had been reduced to zero, party officials noted. Most of the attacks were prompted by political reporting, but the violence has created an atmosphere of fear for many in the news business, even those covering the environment, journalists say.

Kyrgyzstan's Environmental Challenges

Kyrgyzstan is a country of soaring mountains and panoramic vistas. Yet, despite its physical beauty, the list of environmental problems is long: inadequate water for irrigation; soil erosion, with consequent degradation and contamination; toxic dump sites holding mining and radioactive waste; disruption of fragile ecosystems; deforestation; unsustainable agricultural practices; conflicts between biodiversity protection and local interests; and inadequate monitoring of environmental impacts on public health. Furthermore, scientists claim that rising temperatures have contributed to melting glaciers, which could reduce water resources for the region (Vennard, 2009).

The Soviet legacy of environmental hazards is linked to industry, agriculture, production of heavy metals, and uranium mining. The world's second largest mountain lake, Issyk-Kul, as well as Lake Balkhash in neighboring Kazakhstan, are jeopardized by pesticide runoff, mining, and overfishing. Central Asia's largest gold mine, Kumtor, located near the southern shore of Issyk-Kul, is owned by an international mining company, with the government of Kyrgyzstan currently holding a 33 percent stake.[1] The company has operated since the mid-1990s and has had a major economic impact, accounting for 10 percent of Kyrgyzstan's GDP, 40 percent of industrial output, more than 50 percent of exports, and more 20 percent of all state tax revenues. According to data from the Ministry of Economy and Antimonopoly Policy, without

Kumtor's production, GDP would have grown by 0.5 percent in 2012; because of Kumtor it grew by 8 per cent (Kumtor Operating Company, 2013). However, the environmental hazards are ever-present. Large gold-mining operations typically finish off the extraction process by soaking the ore in cyanide, which is lethal but degrades quickly compared to contaminants such as mercury. Some byproducts of the degradation process can cause groundwater contamination, but the more pressing issue is that the use of cyanide allows mining companies to go after very low-grade ore. This leads the companies to dig up more earth to produce the same amount of gold, producing a large amount of tailings, the leftover material from ore processing. Gold tailing ponds and piles are dense in contaminants such as arsenic, antimony, residual cyanide, and mercury, and have to be carefully handled to avoid generating runoff or coming into contact with the surrounding wildlife. Furthermore, these tailings stay toxic for centuries, so proper postclosure plans are vital.

In 1998, some 5,000 residents of the village of Barskoon area on the southern shore of Issyk-Kul were evacuated after a toxic spill. A truck carrying sodium cyanide crashed into the River Barskoon, which flows into the lake. Of the 20 tons of sodium cyanide, 1.8 tons were found to have seeped out of packaging into the river. In July 2006, people from five villages in the area joined organized mass actions to demand compensation for the toxic spill. More than 3,000 local residents, working in round-the-clock shifts, blocked the main road leading to the mine. The protesters claimed that they had never received compensation for health and ecological damage (azattyk.org, 2005).

The compensation issue was muddied by radically differing accounts of the damage. Campaigners said 4 people died and over 2,500 were affected by poisoning; at least 800 were taken to hospital. In the years since the spill, 343 people have died in Barskoon alone—an abnormally high rate for a small population. Campaigners claim that many of the people poisoned are now disabled, and are seeking damages of around $50,000 each. The Akayev government, which had a majority stake in the Kumtor mine, rejected residents' claims and said no one died in the immediate aftermath, adding that the cyanide leakage was not substantial enough to harm the environment (Kasymalieva, 2006).

Although the tragedy was widely covered by journalists, most reports failed to investigate the level of environmental damage and mostly reflected the emotions of journalists and villagers. It was not until 2008, the 10th anniversary of the tragedy, that more analytical reporting, including interviews with experts, environmentalists and public

officials, indicated that the pollution was not as dangerous as reported at the time (Babakulov, 2008).

The Challenges of Environmental Reporting

Despite such environmental problems, most newspaper editors tend to believe that readers are interested only in political coverage, according to independent journalist Almaz Ismanov. He does not believe environmental reporting promotes wider readership, except in the case of an ecological disaster such as Barskoon (personal communication, March 4, 2010).

Indira Zhakipova, the coordinator of EKOIS, a network of environmental NGOs, said she believes that coverage of environmental issues also depends on the interest of Kyrgyzstan's political and financial leaders. Most politicians and government officials "don't care about the environment," she said. "They are very busy with social and political issues, so they have no time to deal with environmental problems. At the same time, journalists have to cover what is on top of the agenda of the country's leaders." Zhakipova said journalists consider social and political issues more important. "A factory closing, a corruption scandal is news—while we just get used to living with the catastrophe that is our environment—but that has to change" (personal communication, March 12, 2010).

Ismanov holds an even more radical opinion. He believes that there is no environmental journalism in Kyrgyzstan. Ismanov says there are only occasional publications about the environment, which usually occur as part of contests or "green" projects funded by international donors. Ismanov agrees that political journalism is the first priority, while other issues that might garner some public interest—reporting on the environment, business, poverty, and education—remain largely ignored and unpopular. He claims citizens and government authorities believe there are no serious environmental challenges. "In Kyrgyzstan, we think we live in paradise, where the environment is not an issue at all. The idea is supported with the promotion of different tourism projects. Nobody really cares about the environment" (personal communication, March 4, 2010).

Nurzat Abdyrasulova, director of the environmental foundation UNISON, agrees, and notes that government ignorance of environmental problems also influences editorial decisions. "Everything is OK with our environment," she said. "We have no factories. Manufacturing died after the Soviet Union's collapse, so there is no pollution now. This is

what our government thinks about environmental problems—and journalists also help create such an illusion by ignoring environmental reporting" (personal communication, April 14, 2010).

Journalists who write about pollution caused by mining companies are often pressured by the companies and the government to keep quiet about damage to the environment or local residents. Ismanov says environmental issues are closely intertwined with political ones. "In the Naryn and Jalal-Abad regions of the country, Chinese mining companies—according to environmentalists—destroy local ecosystems," said Ismanov. "But because of the lack of access to information and the restrictions on publishing, it is not possible to cover the issue. The situation is the same with nature reserves. Nobody knows [anything] about them," he said (personal communication, March 4, 2010). According to union leader Tokoyev, authorities fear that coverage of environmental issues "will make people excited and angry that so many problems are not resolved. The government has no money to mitigate environmental hazards and doesn't want people to know about them. That is why there is a big problem for journalists to get access to necessary information" (personal communication, April 15, 2010).

Climate change: "Speculation and Lies"

Climate change is a pressing environmental issue in Kyrgyzstan and the Central Asian region. Kairat Moldoshev, a leading climatologist, says climate change is not of interest to either ordinary Kyrgyzstanis or the media. "The media more frequently covers topics like biodiversity, desertification, and water problems, despite the fact that climate change is the most important issue for the agrarian and [tourism-centered] country," he said (personal communication, April 22, 2010). Abdyrasulova added that Russian media propaganda about climate change has also altered the ideas held by Kyrgyzstani journalists. "The most popular Russian television channel showed a documentary that claimed that climate change is just speculation and a lie," she noted. "After such programs, many journalists in Kyrgyzstan become convinced that they should not pay attention to this problem and report on it. They also think that climate change is a product of fantasy from scientists. No journalist has deep knowledge about climate change" (personal communication, April 14, 2010). A seminar for local journalists organized by UNISON in the beginning of April 2010 stimulated little interest. "It was really hard to get journalists to take part in the three-day training, even though it was led by experienced journalists and scientists, was free of charge and even

paid for provincial journalists [to come]," Abdyrasulova said. "Even after confirming their participation, they didn't come" (personal communication, April 14, 2010).

Eric Freedman, an associate professor of journalism at Michigan State University who has conducted research on environmental journalism in Kyrgyzstan since 2008, says there are several barriers to improving environmental coverage. Environmental reporting is not considered a stepping-stone to promotion in a news organization, he says. A second reason is that it is often difficult for local journalists to get full and impartial information from government ministries, elected officials, or even academic experts at universities and institutes. Freedman's research also found that many environmental NGO leaders, especially at the local level, are reluctant to be interviewed, although they often have a great deal of knowledge about problems and possible solutions. In some cases, says Freedman, they worry about losing foreign funding or angering government agencies, businesses, and other influential entities (Freedman, 2009).

Climatologist Moldoshev adds that local populations rarely receive news about environmental issues, even when they directly affect their lives. "In Kyrgyzstan people think that [natural phenomena such as] precipitation, avalanches, and frosts occur by the will of God," he said. One reason for such misunderstanding, he notes, is that environmental issues are only infrequently covered by Kyrgyz-speaking journalists. Instead, they leave environmental reporting to the Russian-language media, largely based in Bishkek (personal communication, April 22, 2010). The majority of Kyrgyzstan's population, especially in rural areas, speak only Kyrgyz, so most are unable to obtain information from the Russian-language press (CIA Factbook, 2010).

Other environmental experts agree. "There is no regular coverage of environmental issues," said Baigabyl Tolongutov, director of the Centre for Environmental Security, of the State Agency for Environment and Forestry, part of the Kyrgyzstani government. "The public doesn't receive ecological information; it is only available for small groups of people who deal with environmental issues [in their profession]." His agency produces its own newspaper but it is issued only once every three months, and is not distributed widely (personal communication, May 25, 2010).

Responsibility for the general lack of environmental information rests with both the media and the Kyrgyzstani people. Activists and journalists alike claim that environmental issues are not covered regularly because of little public interest; both professions detail a depressingly long list of drawbacks in the coverage of environmental matters.

"The Kyrgyz-language media doesn't provide ecological information because there is no interest from the public," climatologist Moldoshev said. "People are more interested in the coverage of celebrities' lives—who marries whom, how many cars were used in the wedding of the star singers, for example. But they are not interested in the information . . . that directly affects their welfare, lives, and safety" (personal communication, April 22, 2010).

According to UNISON director Abdyrasulova, most environmental reporting is perfunctory, with little useful analysis. "The journalists only use press releases. [They] never do investigations by themselves. They are used to covering events rather than reporting on problems," she said (personal communication, April 14, 2010). News about the Copenhagen environmental summit in December 2009 did not appear in local media, for example. "There was only one small news item about this event and it looked very weird in comparison with the volume of information presented by journalists in other parts of the world," Abdyrasulova said. "I couldn't understand such a silence from the local media" (personal communication, April 14, 2010).

Lack of communication between environmental groups, scientists and journalists is another barrier. Most journalists, NGO leaders, government officials, and scientists are not satisfied with relations they have with each other. "It is a pity that the agencies that are responsible for different spheres of environmental protection in the government don't cooperate both with each other and with actors in the nonprofit sector," said Moldoshev (personal communication, April 22, 2010). Tolongutov, of the Kyrgyz Agency for Environment and Forestry, adds that government experts often provide incorrect information to journalists. "Even if we want to cooperate better with journalists, we don't see a big interest from the journalists themselves. For example, we receive only two information requests in one month from journalists if there are no hot topics to write about," he said. Lack of communication between journalists and scientists is also a big problem. "Our scientists are mostly very old people, who are difficult to communicate with. They prefer to talk using very complicated scientific terms and quote massive books and research papers," said Moldoshev (personal communication, April 22, 2010).

Lack of communication between journalists and scientists produces unprofessional science reporting, according to Dmitry Milko, an entomologist and member of the Academy of Sciences of Kyrgyzstan. "The journalists have no skills to adapt scientific language," Milko said. "They mostly use press releases and report on events rather than analyzing results of research we've made. Journalists think science is boring, not

interesting, and not important for the public. They also neglect the provinces and focus only on the capital" (personal communication, May 14, 2010).

As the leader of UNISON, Abdyrasulova also has problems communicating with journalists. "Frankly speaking, I have never tried to build bridges with journalists," she said. "It is really hard to make them interested in our job and publicize environmental problems." The last time she organized a press conference on the results of the Copenhagen summit, only two journalists came. "It is very expensive today to attract media attention in Kyrgyzstan. If you want something to be published you should pay," she continued. "[The] environment itself is not interesting to journalists, despite the fact that the public wants and should be informed about the quality of their lives and risks around them" (personal communication, April 14, 2010). For example, she noted, people are unaware of the potential danger from old pesticides left by Soviet agricultural operations, which have been linked to incidences of cancer. "People are not aware of this risk and they not only use [the pesticides] by themselves, but also sell them to other farmers" (personal communication, April 14, 2010).

When environmental issues are presented, they are often not treated seriously. "Environmental journalism here is too sensational and scandalous. Publications on [the] environment only occur [after] emergencies caused by nature," said Irina Chistyakova, coordinator of the Central Asian Network of Environmentalists (CARNet), a UN-funded web portal (personal communication, May 13, 2010). Kulinsky, of the Media Complaints Commission, agrees the media runs fast toward "tabloidization" and fails to cover other, seemingly minor issues that can have impact. For example, he has never seen any publication write about the flower locally called "aigul," which only grows in the Batken region in southern Kyrgyzstan. This rare plant blooms only once every seven years, in April. It is often used as a symbol of the country, and there were numerous efforts to use it as a Kyrgyzstani brand to promote tourism. Today, people have overpicked the flower to the point of near extinction, but no journalist has raised the issue, said Kulinsky (personal communication, May 12, 2010).

In addition, much environmental coverage is episodic—reporting on an event such as a grant, press conference, legislation, or natural disaster—without followup and context, said Freedman. Most stories tend to be superficial, not reflecting differences of opinion among experts, or the possible impact on the public (Freedman, 2009).

Coverage sometimes requires expensive and time-consuming travel to remote locations, such as melting glaciers, remote villages near

hazardous waste sites, or landslide-prone areas. Most media outlets in Kyrgyzstan have little incentive to finance such trips. "Once I wanted to conduct a serious investigation on uranium waste," said Ismanov. "But I didn't find the financial support to allow myself to focus on it without doing other jobs. Unfortunately, media owners today are not ready to sponsor investigative projects on environmental issues" (personal communication, March 4, 2010).

Journalism Training: Old and Outdated

In the town of Karakol, on the shore of Issyk-Kul, the local university is one of the first to try to introduce environmental issues to its journalism students. The journalism department of Issyk-Kul State University, named for K. Tynystanov, has begun discussions about introducing an environmental reporting specialization. But to succeed, university "enthusiasts," as they call themselves, have major problems to overcome, including a lack of teaching expertise, inadequate or inappropriate learning materials, and ineffectively organized courses.

"The poor quality of journalism education [has become] the talk of the town," said Tokoyev. "Few journalism graduates want to pursue a career as a journalist. Why should we discuss environmental reporting that requires more specific knowledge, when journalists cannot formulate elementary thoughts?" Most journalism schools in Kyrgyzstan, he explained, still train students under the Soviet system, which has academic roots in philology and focuses on literature and language. The Soviet system is theoretical rather than practical, and does not stress the need for internships and applied work experience (personal communication, April 15, 2010).

Another problem is the lack of professional journalism experience among professors, many of whom are historians, linguists, or from other academic disciplines. Journalism education in Kyrgyzstan is outdated both in content and technology, said Aleksey Gurkin, former chair of the Journalism and Mass Communications Department at the American University of Central Asia (AUCA). "In most cases the curriculum that is being used here is largely based on the curriculum being used in Russian universities," he said.

> The problem is that the Russian style of journalism is very specific—it is focused on reading lectures rather than doing practical journalism. And the people who develop curricula are those who are followers of this specific model of journalism. A lot of material—and the

> way of teaching itself—is outdated, because substantial resources are required to update the programs continuously. In our case, we don't even have our own learning materials. Universities still rely on the Russian model because most of the faculty members themselves are graduates of Russian universities, or graduated during the Soviet era. (personal communication, April 27, 2010)

Academics have not tried to adapt the Russian curriculum and learning materials to local needs, or even understand what is really needed. "We basically take Russian programs and transplant them here, which is not always the best option," said Gurkin. At AUCA, teachers use an interdisciplinary approach and an American style of teaching. "We believe we are preparing students who are more adaptable to a modern media environment and a modern journalism profession," said Gurkin (personal communication, April 27, 2010). However, they have to struggle with the Kyrgyzstani Ministry of Education, which appears to be in almost constant conflict with the university for not complying with Russian-based state standards.

Declining Quality in Environmental Sciences

Academic weakness in environmental sciences has also contributed to poor reporting. Environmental research is not supported properly, because of insufficient state funding. Milko, of the Academy of Sciences, paints a depressing picture of Kyrgyzstani science, including ecology. He believes science in the country will soon die for three reasons: a corrupt system that does not allow science to flourish, a lack of financial support, and scientists whose ranks are not being replenished. Today, it is possible to ask a scientist who holds "a doctorate in biology a question from elementary school—and they will not know the answer because they bought their degree," said Milko. "Every day I see white envelopes with money given to people who can provide you with such a degree. It is the reason why the number of people with doctorates has increased more than three times since the collapse of the Soviet Union. One might think that it is because more people [are studying] science, but it is a ridiculous suggestion" (personal communication, May 14, 2010).

Another problem is the lack of state financing, Milko said. "The laboratories of the Academy of Sciences in Kyrgyzstan do not even have an electronic microscope," he said. "We haven't done scientific expeditions for a long time and just sit in our laboratories. Our library is so poor that we cannot afford to subscribe to scientific journals. We used to read

them with three-year delays. Our technical equipment is outdated. Most of the scientists in the country work only for their ideas, not for money. Here we are all enthusiasts. We do whatever we can [despite] such conditions" (personal communication, May 14, 2010).

The depressed state of science and environmental research in particular leaves journalists without the support of experts. Many scientists have left the country, searching for better lives. According to Moldoshev, in the past 20 years, little or no research has been published in the Kyrgyzstani media. "Journalists think that science is for scientists, and the results of their research should be published only in scientific magazines," he said. "They have never analyzed scientific papers. We try to write press releases when we come out with research results, to attract journalists and make it easier [for them] to understand. But even this doesn't help" (personal communication, April 22, 2010).

Recommendations for Improving Environmental Journalism

Like Kyrgyzstan's political revolution, environmental reporting needs a journalistic revolution to bring itself up to a professional level. It also needs a revolution of thought, and perhaps of intent, in the minds of scientists, journalists, government officials, and the Kyrgyzstani people themselves. Even without much-needed professionalization, changes in environmental reporting could come by default. This may be accomplished by increasing the quality of journalism training in the universities, updating curricula, and introducing more opportunities for students to conduct field research.

Paradoxically, the physical dangers encountered by journalists in writing about social and political issues may prompt them to focus more on writing about the environment. Some realize how dangerous political reporting can be, and have already started to switch to social and environmental issues. They should establish contacts with experts in the field and find additional training, which might be provided by not-for-profit organizations. "I'm sure that environmental reporting will be more popular among journalists as it becomes more fashionable to write about it," said Zhakipova. "It will also [be] funded by donors and safer to report on." There is growing support from NGOs, she notes, with several putting significant resources into attracting the attention of journalists to environmental issues (personal communication, March 12, 2010).

There is no shortage of topics to tackle. Experts could help journalists understand the scientific data if journalists knew how to use scientists as

news sources (I. Zhakipova, personal communication, March 12, 2010). "They have a lot of useful information," said Moldoshev. "Journalists should imagine that scientists by themselves are huge books, they should learn to read and open only the necessary pages" (personal communication, April 22, 2010).

Often, only international organizations have sufficient funding to promote environmental reporting; that means groups from abroad may be key to improving local environmental coverage. "Everyone knows about climate change now because people spent a lot of money publicizing it and international donors started to support projects," said Zhakipova. But, she warned, this means international donors are setting the agenda for what should be covered by the local press (personal communication, March 12, 2010).

Chistyakova of CARNet points out that environmental issues connected to politics and the economy are rarely, if ever, reported. A good start would be for reporters to cover these connections, and from there a "purer" form of environmental journalism will develop, she suggested. Despite numerous hurdles, there is potential demand from Kyrgyzstani citizens for good environmental journalism (I. Chistyakova, personal communication, May 13, 2010).

Ordinary people want to know what is happening around them and how it will affect the quality of their lives, said Kulinsky. "People are keen to buy [environmental reporting], but cannot find it in an interesting and accessible format," he added. "Practice shows that even very poor people prefer sometimes to buy a good quality newspaper in order to know what to plant, farm, or breed" (personal communication, May 12, 2010).

Note

1 The ownership pattern has changed since the 1990s when the Akayev government held a majority 67 percent stake in Kumtor.

18

Conclusion: Prospects on Global Journalism Practice and New Media

David H. Mould and Yusuf Kalyango, Jr

Throughout the world, in rich and poor countries, in democracies and authoritarian regimes, in secular and religious societies, journalism is at a crossroads, facing technological and audience transformation and challenges to its credibility and agenda-setting role. With the proliferation of communication channels and alternative platforms though the Internet and social media, journalism is struggling to maintain its historical business model and to adapt to the new technological environment. The most important debates concern journalism's core mission: how to remain relevant as the main arbiter of reliable, accurate, independently sourced and verified news and information, and to provide a forum for public debates, criticism, and compromise.

Traditional media outlets—television, radio, newspapers, and newsmagazines—face similar problems in many countries. Commercial media is confronted with declining advertising revenue and government media faces the withdrawal or reduction of subsidies; both are dealing with an aging and dwindling audience, concerns about concentration of ownership, professional standards, sensationalism, and indirect commercial and official pressures. To be sure, there are exceptions: newspaper circulation and readership in India have been rising and countries with growing economies and a recently deregulated electronic-media sector have seen a surge of applications for radio and TV licenses, investments by companies outside the media sector, and increased advertising. The global switchover to digital TV, targeted by international convention for 2015 (although some countries will likely miss the date) could provide an economic boost as viewers swap grainy images and rabbit-ear antennas for high-quality, and sometimes high-definition, images via cable and satellite. However, the diffusion of Internet and mobile-based communication

technologies, which has been gathering momentum for over a decade, will only accelerate as equipment, access, and per-megabyte data costs continue to fall, at least in proportion to real income. There will always be a digital divide of some kind, but with mobile phones becoming affordable, even to poor people in many countries, it may be more of a graduated than an absolute divide. Authoritarian regimes, alarmed by the use of social media and mobile phones as the organizing tools of the Arab Spring and other political and social movements, will continue to attempt to police technology, setting up registration systems for websites and bloggers, and blocking websites on the grounds of national security, ethnic harmony or moral and religious principles. Just as the Internet has grown in scope and sophistication, so have the tools used to block it and to track user activity. However, the Great Firewall of China and barriers in other countries are being scaled, undermined, and penetrated by millions of users, armed with proxy servers and hacking tools. It is possible, as some governments have shown, to block Facebook or Twitter for a time, or to hold Internet service providers (ISPs) legally responsible for user-generated content but, ultimately, users find alternative routes to access information.

The effects of new media on journalism fall mostly into the category of unintended consequences. Although with hindsight it may seem inevitable that new media would challenge traditional journalistic channels, practices, and norms, no technological innovator set out to destroy the information hegemony of mainstream media, kill off newspapers, and promote citizen journalism. In many countries, traditional media outlets initially chose to ignore or belittle their upstart, online rivals. As audiences (followed by audience-seeking advertisers) belatedly began to depart, they have been forced to adapt and compete, borrowing the technology they had once casually dismissed. They now face competition and criticism for their news agendas, coverage and practices on social media and blogs. No longer is the information flow unidirectionalNfrom state and commercial actors to a mass audience. In the new media landscape, most information for mass consumption is free and accessible, and powerful political and business elites are ceding control of content and channels.

The genesis of this book is to highlight the normative premise that journalism practice and media performance in the western world and other countries with differing media systems continue to serve multiple functions in society. It is a compilation of cross-national investigations of global journalistic practices in the context of the new media environment. The contributors are journalism and media educators from

Africa, Asia, Europe, and Central and South America who participated in the Study of the US Institute on Journalism and Media, a professional development program funded by the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, US Department of State, from 2010 to 2013. Collectively, they provide an overview of new and traditional media systems in their political, economic, and cultural contexts, and the role of journalism education, relating performance and output within the framework of journalism's core values of independence, responsibility, accuracy, truth, and mission to monitor the actions of government and other powerful forces in society.

Historically, US journalism principles and practice have often been regarded as a model for countries in the developing world. Although the idea of universal standards for journalism may be appealing, the contributors to this book take a more relativist position, arguing that history, culture, political systems and socio-economic conditions in a country shape journalistic practice. In focus groups (Chapter 2), they are critical of US media coverage of international news, arguing that it often lacks context and may perpetuate stereotypes of the developing world by focusing on negative events, such as coups and natural disasters.

What is the balance of power between traditional and new media in shaping public discourse and setting the agenda? Although contributors agree that the balance has been shifting, there are significant differences between countries. This indicates that nonmedia factors—historical, political, economic, and social—partly determine not only the diffusion and adoption of new media, but its influence. About the only thing we can be sure of is that young people in every country are turning from traditional to new media to seek information; otherwise, there is no single, technologically determined, trajectory for new media in journalism.

In the case of Russia, where access has grown rapidly, particularly in urban areas, Alexander Kazakov argues that new media have been able to generate and coalesce around certain issues, "lift" problems to the top of political and social discourse, and serve as tools for social mobilization. Although new media are redefining the range and trustworthiness of information sources, public opinion surveys indicate that TV, radio and newspapers are still considered more credible than the Internet. In Armenia, the demonopolizing of the telecommunications sector and reduction of tariffs have made the Internet affordable, even in rural areas. According to Suren Deheryan, the growing power of websites, social media, and Twitter in public discourse is particularly evident in the political arena, where they serve not only as campaign tools, but as outlets for those outside the establishment to express their views.

In Jordan, says Aysha Abughazzi, new media have provided alternative platforms for journalists and readers to express opinions on issues that do not typically appear in mainstream newspapers. In an ethnographic study of an online journalistic work environment, Silvia Montana shows that Colombia's online news site *Laisllavacia.com* has adopted a highly participatory model for news production, in partnership with bloggers and readers, which has resulted in focused, analytical coverage of political and social issues that are often given short shrift in traditional media. While governments have generally encouraged the spread of the Internet, they have also learned to be wary of the effects of the technology unleashed. Ke Wang and Guoping He argue that in China new media have become "the primary form of expressive media" by broadening the public sphere and changing communication flow patterns. Drawing on diffusion of innovations theory, they highlight the difference between anticipated and unanticipated consequences. While new media have helped the government of China meet its economic development goals, as "expressive media" they have also contributed to unrest over unemployment, the appropriation of land for development, official corruption, and the arrests of human rights activists. Turkey offers another striking example of the power of "expressive media" in the case of the nationwide protests that followed police attacks on demonstrators in Istanbul's Taksim Gezi Park. As Nezih Orhon and Alper Altunay show, domestic TV networks, many with political and financial links to the ruling AKP party, ignored the protests; the Internet and social media filled the information void and served to mobilize protests in other cities.

These studies suggest that the shift from traditional to new media has not only expanded the definition of who can create content, but also the range of topics covered. Although the Internet and social media can be credited with breaking stories ignored in the mainstream press, covering taboo topics, and moving issues up (or down) the public agenda, we need to be cautious in concluding that new media will *de facto* broaden public discourse. The comparative analysis of the leading newspaper and online news site in the Palestinian Territories (by Mohammed Abualrob and Diana Alkhayyat) shows that both prioritize macrolevel domestic and regional political issues, and offer relatively little coverage of topics such as poverty, health, and education. In El Salvador, notes Silvia Callejas Contreras, students designing a campaign to promote reading by encouraging people to liberate books in public places found that even though their target audience included young, computer-literate citizens—the so-called digital natives—they needed to use a mix of traditional and new media to gain visibility.

The traditional versus new media debate takes place within a broader political and economic context where ownership, regulation, political alliances, audience, and market shape journalistic content. Ghana provides a case study of how transformation in the political system from an authoritarian regime to multiparty democracy has opened up the media sector. With the adoption of a new constitution banning state control and censorship, and the growth of private media, the scope of public discourse has been broadened. But not always in positive ways, According to Wilberforce Dzisah, this expansion is not always positive: many private media overtly or covertly represent the interests of political groups, and competition for advertising revenue and sales has led to tabloidization, and a reduced focus on social issues crucial to national development. In Turkey's larger media market, deregulated in the early 1980s, Orhon and Altunay note a similar trend to tabloidization. Concentration of ownership, sometimes facilitated by the ruling AKP party, has resulted in groups with business interests outside media dominating the market; although most have political affiliations, they avoid coverage of topics that might antagonize the government and jeopardize their licenses.

Politics typically dominates public discourse in both traditional and new media in countries where parties, factions and individuals are vying for power. Yemen provides a case study of how an authoritarian regime, facing popular protests and in-ighting in the political elite, used its control over state media channels to try to reinforce its hold on power. The analysis of beleaguered President Saleh's speeches by Murad Alazzany show that his rhetoric consistently employed the socially resonant themes of patriotism, legitimacy, and democracy. Kyrgyzstan has a history of political turmoil, with two revolutions in a five-year period and deadly inter-ethnic violence in the south of the country. There, journalists focus primarily on political issues, while worrying about the consequences of angering the politically and financially powerful. The consequences, according to Gulnura Toralieva, are self-censorship and inadequate coverage of environmental issues, including pollution and depletion of water resources. In Suriname, Rachael van der Kooye laments the quality of newspaper coverage of conflicts between forest peoples, the government, and mining companies over land rights. Low professional standards, particularly lack of research and interviews and dependence on a single source, reflect poorly on journalism education and training.

The capacity of small, developing countries to educate future journalists is limited. Often, outside intervention is needed. In Suriname's

neighbor, Guyana, Carolyn Walcott documents how assistance from the US helped the University of Guyana's Center for Communication Studies to modernize its curriculum by adding practical skills units, hire and train new faculty members, and improve its facilities and equipment. The crucial role of journalism education is indicated by Huei Lan Wang's study of the role of teachers in Taiwan in shaping their views of the profession and the extent to which news values and ethical principles taught at universities are practiced in newsrooms.

The cases presented in this volume have highlighted the roles that new and traditional media are playing around the world in the economic, cultural, social, and political landscape. They have underscored the challenges and opportunities of the new and traditional media transformation while describing how this dynamic environment is changing the face of journalism education and journa lism practice, both in developing and developed countries, throughout the world.

Master Bibliography

Abbott, A. (1988). *The system of professions*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Abu Ayyash, H. (2008). *The role of the printed Palestinian media in the democratic transition* (MA thesis). Al-*Najah* University, Palestine.

Abu Ayyash, R. (1990). *The press and the Intifada*. Jerusalem: Jerusalem Center for Research.

Abu Shanab, H. (1988). *The Palestinian media*. Amman: Dar Aljalel.

Abughazzi, A. (2006). *Translation and public opinion: The media in Jordan* (Doctoral dissertation). University of Ottawa, Canada.

Acces2Info Asia. (2011). ICT facilitated access to information innovations: a compendium of case studies from South Asia. *Report of One World Foundation of India*. Retrieved from http://access2info.asia

Acebedo, J. (2011, August). *Participación de los lectores/usuarios a través de Twitter en jornadas en defensa de la libertad de opinión en Colombia: aprendizajes colectivos y diálogo entre generaciones*. Paper presented at the first meeting of the Confederação Ibero-Americana das Associações Científicas e Acadêmicas de Comunicação, Sao Paulo, Brazil.

Acebedo, J. (2012, September). *Usos y abusos del insulto político y del argumento ad personam como parte de las estrategias de deslegitimación del oponente en los foros de los lectores de la prensa digital colombiana, durante la coyuntura electoral de 2011*. Paper presented at the V Latin-American Conference of the World Association for Public Opinion Research, Bogota, Colombia.

ACEJMC Accrediting Standards. (2013, 2012). Retrieved from http://www2.ku.edu/~acejmc/program/standards.shtml

Acosta, G. (2008, September). *Relación dialógica o comunicación paranoica. Un análisis de lo que acontece en los foros del lector que promueve la prensa digital en Colombia*. Paper presented at the 10th RedCom Congress, Salta, Argentina.

Adam, B. (2010, March 29). Ban phone-in if.... *Public Agenda*. Retrieved from http://www.ghanaweb.com/public_agenda/article.php?ID=14670

Adler, I. (1993). Press-government relations in Mexico: A study of freedom of the Mexican press and press criticism of government institutions. *Studies in Latin American Popular Culture, 12*, 1–30.

Adreis, A. (1987). *The Palestinian media under the Israeli occupation*. Jerusalem: Association of Arab Journalists.

African Media Development Initiative (AMDI). (2007). *Ghana: research findings and conclusions*. London: DFID.

Ahlers, D. (n.d.) News consumption and the new electronic media. *Press/Politics*, *1*(1), 29–52.

Akhbar-jo (2011, January 19). Al-Jazeera's Transmission is Powerful in Slandering Jordan but Weak in Criticizing Others. [In Arabic]. Retrieved from http://www.akhbar-jo.com/

Al-amin, E. (2011). Conditions and consequences, anatomy of Egypt's revolution. *CounterPunch*. Retrieved from http://www.counterpunch.org/2011/02/17/anatomy-of-egypt-s-revolution/

Alazzany, M. (2011, March 22). The revolution: the dilemma of Yemenis. *National Yemen Newspaper.* Retrieved from http://nationalyemen.com/2011/03/22/the-revolution-the-dilemma-of-yemenis/

Aldameer Association for Human Rights (2010). Retrieved from http://english-web.aldameer.org/

Alexa.com. (2012, December 15). *Top sites in Armenia*. Retrieved from http://www.alexa.com/topsites/countries/AM

Al Karoui, H. (2011). The Yemeni revolution: Replacing Ali Abdullah Saleh, or replacing obsolete institutions? *Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies*.

Allan, S. & Thorsen, E. (2009). *Citizen journalism: Global perspectives*. New York: Peter Lang.

Al-Quds Center for Media and Mass Communication (JMCC). (2008). Retrieved from http://www.jmcc.org/

Al-Quds. (2009). *The Al-Quds newspaper is the best among readers of Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip*. Retrieved from http://web.alquds.com/node/80016.

Alzate, P. (2008). *Hacia una mirada sociocultural del periodismo*. Retrieved from http://bibliotecadigital.univalle.edu.co/xmlui/handle/10893/5178

Alzoubi, A. H. (2013, March 23). Website Aims. [In Arabic]. Retrieved from http://www.sawaleif.com/pages.aspx? pageID=9724

Alzoubi, A. H. (2014, April 21). *Banned from Publishing.* [In Arabic]. Retrieved from http://www.sawaleif.com/Category.aspx?CatId=2& PageNumber=1

American Press Institute. (2006). *Newspaper next: Blueprint for transformation.* Retrieved from http://www.americanpressinstitute.org/training-tools/newspaper-next-blueprint-transformation/

Amirkhanova, G. (2010, January 10). Timeline: Attacks on journalists in Kyrgyzstan. *New Reporter.* Retrieved from http://newreporter.org/2013/01/10/napadeniya-na-zhurnalistov-kyrgyzstan-2010-2012/

Ammonnews.com (2012, August 22). *The Government Endorses the New PPL.* [In Arabic]. Retrieved from http://www.ammonnews.net/article.aspx?articleno=129597

Amnesty International. (2010). *Suriname – Amnesty International report.* Retrieved from http://www.amnesty.org/en/region/suriname/report-2010

Analitika Marketing & Research. (2010). *Redes sociales en El Salvador* [power point slides]. Retrieved from: http://www.slideshare.net/analitikasv/las-redes-sociales-en-el-salvador

Analytic Report on the Internet Public Opinion 2012. (2012, December 21). Retrieved from http://yuqing.people.com.cn/n/2012/1221/c210123-19974822-4.html.

Ansah, P. A. V. (1991). *The legal and political framework for a pluralistic press in Africa*. Accra: University Press.

Arka Telekom news agency. (2011, October). *Regulatory Commission of Armenia reduced wholesale price of ArmenTel company for Internet*. Retrieved from http://telecom.arka.am/ru/news/internet/8824/?sphrase_id=141867

Armenia Network Information, (2009, June). Retrieved from https://www.amnic.net/

Armenian Legal Information System. (2009, June 26). *Information security concept of the Republic of Armenia.* Retrieved from http://www.arlis.am/DocumentView.aspx?docID=52559

Arsu, S., & Tavernise, S. (2009, September 9). Turkish media group is fined $2.5 billion. *New York Times*. Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/2009/09/10/world/europe/10istanbul.html?_r=0

Arunachalam, S. (2002). *Reaching the unreached: How can we use ICTs to empower the rural poor in the developing world through enhanced access to relevant information?* Retrieved from http://idl-bnc.idrc.ca/dspace/bitstream/10625/29176/1/121658.pdf

Arundhathi, S. N., & Arunachalam, S. (2009). Transformative impact of ICT change stories from rural India. *Jamsetji Tata National Virtual Academy (NVA), M S Swaminathan Research Foundation*. Retrieved from two locations

Association of Caribbean Media Workers. (2001). *Constitution*. Retrieved from http://acmediaworkers.com/archive/ACMdocs/ACM_Constitution.pdf

Awoonor, K. N. (1997). *Historical overview: Notes for Ghana government delegation*. Roundtable Conference on Democracy and Governance. Lusaka, Zambia.

Azattyk.org. (2005, November 13). *Barskoon residents threaten to shut down Kumtor*. Retrieved from http://www.azattyk.org/archive/ky-RussianNews/20031116/832/832.html?id=1245659

Azattyk.org (2009, December 24). *OSCE is concerned about attacks on journalists in Kyrgyzstan*. Retrieved from http://www.azattyk.mobi/a/Kyrgyzstan_OSCE_humanright/1912368.html

B24.am business news website. (October, 2011). *Internet in Armenia from June to September 2011*. Retrieved from http://www.b24.am/ru/report/internet_in_armenia_june-september_2011.html

Babbie, E. (2001). *The practice of social research* (9th Edition). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Bachmann, I., & Harlow, S. (2012). Interactividad y multimedialidad en periódicos latinoamericanos: avances en una transición incompleta. *Cuadernos de Información* 30, 41–52.

Barış, R. (2013). Media landscapes—Turkey. *European Journalism Centre*. Retrieved from http://ejc.net/media_landscapes/turkey

Bashkov, A. (2012, November 22–24). The internet-communications' influence on political views of citizens. *Theses of VI All-Russia Congress of political scientists, Russia in the global world: institutions and strategies of political interrelations,* 65–66. Moscow.

Banyliak, N. (2011, February 10). The role of media in forming the public politics. *Theses of International conference, Journalism-2010: mass media in public sphere,* 191–192. Moscow.

Baran, S. J., & Davis, D. K. (2003). *Mass communication theory: Foundations, ferment and future*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Barber, B. (1963). Some problems in the sociology of professions. *Daedalus, 92,* 669–688. In Michael W. Singletary, Commentary: Are journalists professional? *Newspaper Research Journal*, *3*(2), 1985, 75–87.

Barber, B. (1999). Three scenarios for the future of technology and strong democracy. *Political Science Quarterly*, *113*(4), 573–590.

Barnett, S., & Gaber, I. (2001). *Westminster Tales: The twenty-first century crisis in British political journalism*. London: Continuum.

BBC (2013, June 14). *Statement regarding BBC and NTV, Turkey.* Retrieved from http://www.bbc.co.uk/mediacentre/statements/bbc-ntv.html

BBC News. (2010, February 6). *Wave of brutal attacks shocks Kyrgyz journalists*. Retrieved from http://news.bbc.co.uk/BYEGM.

Bell, D. (2004). Practice makes perfect? Film and media studies and the challenge of creative practice. *Media, Culture and Society*, *26*(5), 737–749.

Benchman, A. (2011). Closer apart: The networks of cross-media news production, making online news. *Newsroom ethnographies in the second decade on Internet journalism* (Volume 2). New York: Peter Lang.

Bhalla, S., & Kaur, R. (2011). *Labour force participation of women in India: Some facts, some queries*. LSE Asia Research Centre, Working Paper No. 40. Retrieved from http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/38367/1/ARCWP40-BhallaKaur.pdf

Bihar Government. (2013). *Jaankari: Learning from ICT facilitated access to information innovations in South Asia*. Retrieved from http://access2info.asia/jaankari.pdf

Billing, M. (1995). *Banal nationalism*. London: Sage.

Bisnath, S., & Elson, D. (1999). *Women's empowerment revisited*. Background paper, Progress of the World's Women, UNIFEM. Retrieved from www.unifem.undp.org/progressww/empower.html

Blanchard, R. O., & Christ, W. G. (1985). In search of the unit core: commonalities in curriculum. *Journalism Educator*, *36*(3), 28–33.

Blasco, M., & Hansen, H. K. (2006). Cosmopolitan aspirations: new media, citizenship education and youth in Latin America. *Citizenship Studies*, *10*(4), 469–488.

Blumler, J. & Gurevitch, M. (2000). Rethinking the study of political communication. In J. Curran & M. Gurevitch (Eds.), *Mass media and society.* (3rd edition). London: Arnold.

Brooks, B. S., Kennedy, G., Moen, D. R., & Ran, D. (2008). *News reporting and writing* (9th Edition). Boston, MA: Bedford/St. Martin's.

Brown, A. (1989). *Review of diploma and degree programmes in communications at the University of Guyana*. A Study for UNESCO.

Brubaker, J. (2008). The freedom to choose a personal agenda: Removing our reliance on the media agenda. *American Communication Journal*, *10*(3), 1–17.

Brumberg, D. (2003). *Liberation versus democracy: Understanding Arab political reform*. Working papers on Democracy and Rule of Law Project. Washington DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Bytorina, A. (2012, November 22–24). The internet: A space of political participation. *Theses of VI All-Russia Congress of political scientists, Russia in the global world: institutions and strategies of political interrelations*, 87–88. Moscow.

Cambridge, V. (1996). The Caribbean region. In J. Jeter, K. Ramphal, V. Cambridge, & C. Pratt (Eds.), *International afro mass media: A reference guide* (pp. 159–212). Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Carey, J. (1986). The Dark Continent of American journalism. In Robert Karl Manoff & Michael Schudson (Eds.), *Reading the news: A pantheon guide to popular culture*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Carey, J. (1998, March/April). The decline of democratic institutions. *Columbia Journalism Review* 6.

Caribbean Institute of Media and Communication (CARIMAC). (2010, April 20). *About us*. Retrieved from http://mona.uwi.carimac.com/about-us

Castellanos Díaz, J. (2011). De lo impreso a lo digital. La migración de los periódicos impresos de América Latina a los entornos digitales. *Revista Razón y Palabra*, *16*(77). Retrieved from http://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=199520010063

Castells-Talens, A., Rodriguez, J., & Marisol, C. C. (2009). Radio, control, and indigenous peoples: the failure of state-invented citizens' media in Mexico. *Development in Practice*, 19:4, 525–537.

Caucasus Research Resource Centers Armenia (CRRC). (2011, January-February). *Armenia 2011 media public opinion and preference survey*. Retrieved from http://www.crrc.am/store/armedia/CRRC_ArMedia_2011_Presentation_English.pdf

Central Intelligence Agency. (2010). Kyrgyzstan. In *The World Factbook*. Retrieved from https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/kg.html

Central Intelligence Agency. (2013). Middle East: Jordan. *The World Factbook*. Retrieved from https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/jo.html.

Chadwick, B. A., Bahr, H. M., & Albrecht, S. L. (1984). *Social science research methods*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Chaiken, S., & Eagly, A. H. (1976). Communication modality as a determinant of message persuasiveness and message comprehensibility. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *34*, 605–614.

Chao, L. (2011, March 8). China's state media push deeper into Web. *The Wall Street Journal Asia*, 1.

Chen, F. (2013). More on "Two public opinion fields." *Chinese Journalist*, *1*, 43–46.

Chilton, P. (2004). *Analysing political discourse, theory and practice*. London: New Fetter.

China Daily. (July 6). *Online retailers in spat with peers*. Retrieved from http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/business/2012-07/06/content_15555990.htm

China Internet Network Information Center (CNNIC). (1997, 2013). *Statistical report on development of the Internet in China*. Retrieved from http://www.cnnic.cn/hlwfzyj/hlwxzbg/

Choi, C. B. (2002, July). Local collective identity enculturation within a global media consumption culture. *Asia Pacific Education Review*, *3*(1), 1–17.

Chomsky, N. (1989). *Necessary illusions, thought control in democratic societies*. London: Pluto Press.

Chung, D. S., Kim, E., Trammell, K. D., & Porter, L. V. (2007). Uses and perceptions of blogs: a report on professional journalists and journalism educators. *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator*, *62*(3), 305–322.

Cifras y conceptos. (2011). *III Panel de Opinión 2011: Medición Junio 20 – Septiembre 20 de 2011*. Retrieved from http://cifrasyconceptos.com/images/descargas/41/panel%20de%20opinion%202011.pdf

Cifras y conceptos. (2012). *IV Panel de Opinión 2012: Medición Julio 1 – Septiembre 30 de 2012*. Retrieved from http://moe.org.co/home/doc/moe_nacional/2012/Encuesta%20l%C3%ADderes%20de%20Opinión%202012.pdf

Cifras y conceptos. (2011). *Panel de opinion*. Retrieved from http://cifrasyconceptos.com/images/descargas/41/panel%20de%20opinion%202011.pdf

Cohen, B.C. (1963). *The press and foreign policy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Cole, J. (2004). *Surveying the digital future*. Retrieved from http://www.imediaconnection.com/content/presentations/04coconut/cole.ppt

Committee to Protect Freedom of Information Report. (December 2012). *Accessibility of information of the Armenian state authorities in accordance with the results of monitoring of official websites*. Retrieved from http://khosq.am/en/monitorings/accessibility-of-information-of-the-armenian-state-authorities-in-accordance-with-the-results-of-monitoring-of-official-websites/

Cooper, D. R. (1987). *Basic training for Third World journalists* (Doctoral dissertation). University of Tennessee.

Cropp, F., Frisby, C. M., & Mills, D. (2003). *Journalism across cultures*. Ames, IA: Iowa State Press.
Curran, J., & Park, M. J. (Eds). (2000). *De-westernizing media studies*. London: Routledge.
Curran, J., & Gurevitch, M. (Eds). (2005). *Mass media and society* (4th edition). New York: Oxford University Press.
Curran, J. (1995). Communication and society. In Dahlgren, P. and Sparks, C. (Eds), *Communication and Citizenship*. London: Routledge.
Cushion, S. (2007). "On the beat" or in the classroom. *Journalism Practice*, *1*(3), 421–434.
Czepek, A., Hellwig, M., & Nowak, E. (Eds.) (2009). *Press freedom and pluralism in Europe*. Bristol: Intellect Books.
Dahlgren, P., & Sparks, C. (Eds). (1995). *Communication and citizenship*. London: Routledge.
Dane, F., & Knocha, J. (2012). The Palestinian Diaspora. *Kas International Report*, *2*, 28–49. Retrieved from http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_30201-1522-2-30.pdf?120222121441
Davie, W. R., & Upshaw, J. R. (2006). *Principles of electronic media*. Boston: Pearson, Allyn and Bacon.
De Beer, A. S., & Merrill, J. C. (2009). *Global journalism: Topical issues and media systems*. Boston: Pearson, Allyn and Bacon.
De Koninck, M., Sens, A., Sumter, A., & De Vries, E. (Eds). (2009). *K'ranti! De Surinaamse pers 1774–2008* [K'ranti! The Surinamese press 1774–2008]. Amsterdam: KIT Publishers.
Dennis, E. E., & Merrill, J. C. (1991). *Media debates: Issues in mass communication*. New York: Longman.
Department of Press and Publications (2011, February 21). *Top local News Websites in Jordan*. Retrieved from http://www..DPP.gov.jo/201/3.html
Department of Press and Publications (2013, March). *Listings of licensed, registered and non-licensed online news media in Jordan*. Retrieved from http://www.sawaleif.com/pages.aspx?pageID=9724 and http://www.ammonnews.net/article.aspx?articleno=129597
Deuze, M. (2005). What is journalism? Professional identity and ideology of journalists reconsidered. *Journalism*, *6*(4), 442–464.
Deuze, M. (2006). Global journalism education. *Journalism Studies*, *7*(1), 19–34.
Deuze, M. (2009). Global journalism education. In A. S. De Beer & J. C. Merrill, *Global journalism: Topical issues and media Ssstems* (pp. 131–142). Boston: Pearson, Allyn and Bacon.
De Ware Tijd. (2012). *Suriname lucky with gold and oil*. Retrieved from http://www.dwtonline.com/de-ware-tijd/2013/04/12/suriname-lucky-with-gold-and-oil/
Dhawan, V. (2004). *Critical success factors for rural ICT projects in India: A study of n-Logue kiosk projects at Pabal and Baramati*. Retrieved from http://www.dil.iitb.ac.in
Díaz-Noci, J. (2010). Medios de Comunicación en Internet: algunas tendencias. *El profesional de la información*, *19*(6), 561–567.
Directorate General of Press Publication Information. *Basın Yayın enformasyon Genel Müdürlüğü*. Ankara, Turkey.
Domingo, D., & Paterson, C. (2011). *Making online news. Newsroom ethnographies in the second decade of the Internet journalism* (Volume 2). New York: Peter Lang.

Dong, T., & Chen, Y. (2006). Agenda interaction between traditional and online media. *Journal of Southwest University for Nationalities* (Social Sciences Edition), *179*(7), 134–138.

Dong, Y. (2008). The Internet and grass-root culture. *Science and technology for China's Mass Media*, *3*, 36–37.

Drah, F.K. (1996). The development and sustenance of democratic governance in Africa. In *Problems and prospects of democratic governance in Africa*. Accra: FEF.

DST Ministry of Communications and Information Technology, and Infosys Report. (2006). *Information and communications technologies for development: A comparative analysis of impacts and costs from India*. Retrieved from http://www.mssrf-nva.org/Articles/51INFO.PDF

Duarte, D., and Caruso, N. (2009, August). Youth media as a tool for human rights advocacy in Peru, Colombia and Iraq. *Youth Media Reporter, 3*, 62–67.

Dzisah, W. S. (2008). *Media and democracy in Ghana* (Unpublished doctoral thesis). University of Westminster, London.

Edelman, M. J. (1977). *Political language: Words that succeed and policies that fail*. New York: Academic Press.

Eghiazaryan, S., & Mediamax.am. (2011, September 20). *Armenian Newspaper to be in print or online version*. Retrieved from http://www.mediamax.am/am/news/media/2499

Elsalvador.com. (2010, June 5). *Presentan un estudio de hábitos de lectura*. Retrieved from: http://www.elsalvador.com/mwedh/nota/nota_completa.asp?idCat=6482&idArt=4850460

Erdal, J. I. (2009). Cross media (re) production. *The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies*, *15*(2), 215–231.

Erie, M. (2012). Property rights, legal consciousness and new media in China: the hard case of the "toughest nail-house in history." *China Information*, *26*(1), 35–39.

Erikson, E. (1994). *Identity and the Life cycle* (1st edition). New York: W.W. Norton & Company.

Erlich, R. (1993, November). Armenia's energy crisis. *PRI's Environmental News Magazine*. Retrieved from http://www.loe.org/shows/segments.html?programID=93-P13-00046&segmentID=1

Esposito, J. L., & Voll, O. (1997). *Islam and democracy*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Eyad, B., & Muneer, A. M. (2011). Palestinian media scene in the internet. *Palestinian Ministry of Information.* Retrieved from http://www.minfo.ps/arabic/index.php?pagess=main&id=145

Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analysing discourse: Textual analysis for social research*. London: Routledge.

Fairclough, N., & Wodak, R. (1997). Critical discourse analysis. In T. Van Dijk (Ed.) *Discourse studies: A multidisciplinary introduction* (Volume 2) (pp. 258–284). London: Sage.

Fang, Y. W. (1988). *Television journalist in Taiwan: Professionalism and performance* (Master's Thesis). University of Missouri.

Farah, D. (2011). *Confronting the news: The state of independent media in Latin America. A report to the Center for International Media Assistance (CIMA) & National Endowment for Democracy*. Retrieved from http://cima.ned.org/publications/confronting-news-state-independent-media-latin-america

FAO, IFAD, ILO. (2010). Gender and rural employment policy brief #2. Investing in skills for socio-economic empowerment of rural women. In *Facts & figures: Rural women and the millennium development goals*. Retrieved from http://www.un.org/womenwatch/feature/ruralwomen/facts-figures.html

Ferrara, A. (1980). An extended theory of speech acts: Appropriateness conditions for subordinate acts in sequences. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *4*(3), 233–252.

Fishman, M. (1980). *Manufacturing the news*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Floyd, S. (2008). The pirate media economy and the emergence of Quichua language media spaces in Ecuador. *Anthropology of Work Review*, *29*(2), 34–41.

Fondevila Gascón, J. & Segura, H. (2012). La hipertextualidad en el periodismo digital en Colombia. *Hipertext.net,10*. Retrieved from http://www.upf.edu/hipertextnet/numero-10/hipertextualidad-periodismo-digital-colombia.html

Fondevila Gascón, J. & Segura, H. (2012). El peso de la hipertextualidad en el periodismo digital. Estudio comparativo. *Cuadernos de Información* 30, Enero-Junio.

Foust, J. (2009). *Online journalism*. Scottsdale, AZ: Holcomb Hathaway.

Franco, G. & Guzmán, J. (2004). Encuesta sobre periodismo de Internet en Latinoamérica. *Sala de Prensa*, *6*(3). Retrieved from http://www.saladeprensa.org/art551.htm

Franco, G., Guzmán, J., & Romero, M. (2007, June 13) Situación del periodismo digital y de los sitios web de periódicos de América latina 2007. *Poynter*. Retrieved from http://www.poynter.org/uncategorized/82832/situaci%EF%BF%BDn-del-periodismo-digital-y-de-los-sitios-web-de-peri%EF%BF%BDdicos-de-am%EF%BF%BDrica-latina-2007/

Franco, G. (2009). *Necesidades de formación para medios digitales en América Latina. Hallazgos útiles para el diseño de seminarios, talleres y actividades sobre la creación de contenidos web en América Latina y el Caribe*. Retrieved from Fundación Nuevo Periodismo website http://www.saladeprensa.org/art890.pdf

Frascara, J. (1993). *Definiendo la audiencia*. Retrieved from: http://www.estudiotrama.com/lecturas/definiendoaudiencia.htm

Freedman, E. (2009, May 1). *Obstacles in Central Asia to much-needed environmental reporting*. Retrieved from http://www.sej.org/publications/international/obstacles-in-central-asia-to-much-needed-environmental-reporting http://journalist.kg/monitoring/monitoring-smi-za-09-2010-g/

Freedom House. (2012). *Freedom of the press 2012: breakthroughs and pushback in the Middle East*. Retrieved from http://www.freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/FOTP%202012%20Final%20Full%20Report.pdf

Fukuyama, F. (1992). *The end of history and the last man*. London: Penguin Books.

Gadugah, N. (2010). *GJA probes Baby Ansaba's "fabricated" confessions*. Retrieved from http://edition.myjoyonline.com/tgnews/print/index.php?url=http://edition.myjoyonline.com/pages/news/201002/41551.php&contentid=41551.asp

Gans, H. (1978). *Deciding what is news. A study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek and Time*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.

García de Torres, E. (2012). *Cartografía del periodismo participativo. Estudio de las herramientas de participación en la prensa digital de Argentina, Colombia, España, Estados Unidos, Israel, México, Perú, Portugal y Venezuela*. Valencia, Spain: Tirant Humanidades.

García, F., Portillo, J., Romo, J., & Benito, M. (2005). Nativos digitales y modelos de aprendizaje [PDF document]. Retrieved from http://spdece07.ehu.es/actas/Garcia.pdf

Garnham, N. (1993). The mass media, cultural identity, and the public sphere in the modern world. *Public Culture*, *5*(2), 251–265.
Garrison, B. (2001). Diffusion of online information technologies in newspaper newsrooms. *Journalism*, *2*(2), 221–239.
Genar.com.tr. (2013, June). *Gezi Parkı profili* [The side view of Gezi Park protesters]. Retrieved from http://www.genar.com.tr/files/GEZIPARKI_PROFIL-SON.pdf
General Bureau for Statistics (ABS). (2011). Statistisch jaarboek 2010. *Suriname in Cijfers, 280,* 2011–2018. Retrieved from: http://www.statistics-suriname.org/index.php/statistisch-jaarboek-2010
General Bureau for Statistics (ABS). (2013). *Demografische data, 2004–2010, 2013.* Retrieved from: http://www.statistics-suriname.org/index.php/demografische-data-2004-2010
GFC News. (2013, February 1). *Abdoellakhan niet te spreken over beschuldiging plagiaat* [Abdoellakhan not to mention plagiarism accusation]. Retrieved from http://www.gfcnieuws.com/?p=153174
Ghosh, A. (2011, December). Initiatives in ICT for rural development: An Indian perspective. *Global Media Journal – Indian Edition: Winter Issue*, *2* (2), 1–19.
Gil de Zúñiga, H., & Rojas, H. (2010). Análisis de los efectos de los blogs en la sociedad de la información. *Comunicación y ciudadanía*, *2*, 60–71.
Goldberg, J. (2013, March 18). The Modern King in the Arab Spring. *The Atlantic*. Retrieved from http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2013/04/monarch-in-the-middle/309270/
Government Knowledge Centre (GKC) (2013). Aarogyam: ICT based digital health mapping programme. Government of India. Retrieved from http://www.indiagovernance.gov.in/bestpractices.php?id=1388
Granger, D. (2000, June 18). Guyana's state media: the quest for control. *Stabroek News*, pp. 8–10.
Granger, D., & Westmas, N. (1999). *Guyanese periodicals*. Georgetown: Free Press.
Gulati, A. G. (2011). Using ICTs to m-power women's self-help groups in rural India. *Kurukshetra, A Journal on Rural Development*, *59*(6), 1–11.
Gutiérrez-Coba, L., Gómez-Díaz, J. A., Salgado-Cardona, A., Estrada-Gutiérrez, J., & Ramírez-Méndez, M. J. (2012). Criterios y hábitos de consumo de información periodística online en Colombia. *El profesional de la información*, *21(3)*, 261–267.
Guo, F., & Lan, Y. (2009, 2012). Officialdom in Online Storm. *Insight China*, 20–32.
Guo, L. (2012). Collaborative efforts: An exploratory study of citizen media in China. *Global Media and Communication*, *8*(2), 135–155.
Guo, Z. (2005). Why is the Internet in China entertainment-oriented? *Youth Journalist*, *8*, 80.
Gurumurthy, A. (2006). Promoting gender equality? Some development-related uses of ICTs by Women. *Development in Practice*, *16*(6), 611–616.
Gurumurthy, A., Singh, P. J., & Kasinathan, G. (2005). Case Study 5: *The Akshaya experience: Community driven: Local entrepreneurs in ICT services*. Retrieved from http://www.Propoor-Ict.Net/Content/Pdfs/04_UNDP_Report_5-India.Pdf
Gurumurthy A., Swamy M., Nuggehalli R., & Vaidyanathan V. (2008). *Rural eSeva kiosks -IT for Change 2008*. Retrieved from http://www.itforchange.net/sites/default/files/ITfC/eSeva.pdf
Haber, P. L. (1996). Identity and political process: Recent trends in the study of Latin American social movements. *Latin American Research Review*. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/2503855.

Habermas, J. (1989). *The structural transformation of the public sphere*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Hachten, W. A. (1992). *The world news prism: Changing media of international communication* (3rd Edition). Ames, IA: Iowa State University Press.

Hale, C. R. (1997). Cultural politics of identity in Latin America. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, *26*, 567–590.

Hallin, D. C., & Mancini, P. (2004). *Comparing media systems: Three models of media and politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Hamid, S. (2012). The struggle for Middle East democracy. *The Cairo Review of Global Affairs*. Retrieved from http://www.aucegypt.edu/gapp/cairoreview/pages/articledetails.aspx?aid=20.

Hanitzsch, T., & Berganza, R. (2012). Explaining journalists' trust in public institutions across 20 countries: media freedom, corruption and ownership matter most. *Journal of Communication*, *62*(5), 794–814.

Hanitzsch, T., Hanusch, F., Mellado, C., Anikina, M., Berganza, & Yuen, K. W. (2011). Mapping journalism cultures across nations: a comparative study of 18 countries. *Journalism Studies*, *12*, 273–293.

Hanitzsch, T., & Mellado, C. (2011). What shapes the news around the world? How journalists in 18 countries perceive influences on their work. *International Journal of Press/Politics*, *16*, 404–426.

Hasty, J. (2005). *The press and political culture in Ghana*. Bloomington and Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press.

Heemskerk, M., & Van Der Kooye, R. (2003). Challenges to sustainable small scale mine development in Suriname. In Hilson, G. M. (Ed.) *The socio-economic impacts of artisanal and small-scale mining in developing countries*. Lisse, The Netherlands: A.A. Balkema.

Hernández Soto, T. (2012). *Cibermedios latinoamericanos*. Retrieved from http://bookstore.palibrio.com/Products/SKU-000588341/Cibermedios-Latinoamericanos.aspx

Herbert, J. (2000). *Practicing global journalism: Exploring reporting issues worldwide*. New York, NY: Focal Press.

Hester, A., & Wai Lan, J. (1987). *Handbook for third world journalists*. The Center for International Mass Communication Training and Research, Henry W. Grady School of Journalism and Mass Communication. Athens: University of Georgia.

Higgins, A. (2009, February 23). Turkish mogul butts heads with premier. *The Wall Street Journal*. Retrieved from http://online.wsj.com/news/articles/SB123534107237243861

Hjarvard, S. (2003). *Media in a globalized society.* Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press.

Hodges, L. W. (1986). Defining press responsibility. In Deni, E. Deni, (Ed), *Responsible Journalism*. London: Sage.

Hoffman, M. & Werz, M. (2013, May 1). *Freedom of the press and expression in Turkey.* Retrieved from http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/security/report/2013/05/14/63159/freedom-of-the-press-and-expression-in-turkey/

Hooke, P. (2012). *Why newspaper markets are growing in China and India, while they decline in the US and UK.* Retrieved from http://ejournalist.com.au/v12n1/Hooke.pdf

Horton, D., et al. (2003). *Evaluating capacity development—experiences from research and development organizations around the world*. International Service for National Agricultural Research, International Development research Centre, and ACP-EU Technical Centre for Agricultural and Rural Cooperation. Retrieved from http://www.scribd.com/doc/38443997/Evaluating-Capacity-Development-Experiences- from-Research-and-Development-Organizations-Around-the-World

Houston, B., & Investigative Reporters and Editors Inc. (2009). *The investigative reporter's handbook: A guide to documents, databases and techniques*. Boston, MA: Investigative Reporters and Editors Inc.

Hovannisian, R. G. (1997). *The Armenian people from ancient to modern times: The fifteenth century to the twentieth century* (Volume 2). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Huang, C. (2007). Trace the stones in crossing the river: Media structural changes in post-WTO China. *International Communication Gazette*, *69*(5), 413–430.

Huang, E. (2007). Use of rich media differs at newspaper, TV Web sites. *Newspaper Research Journal*, *28*(3), 85–97.

Huang, Q. (2006, 2007). Parody can help people ease work pressure. *China Daily*, *22*. Retrieved from http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/opinion/2006–07/22/content_647461.htm

Huhn, S., Oettler, A., & Peetz, P. (2009, June 3). Contemporary discourses on violence in Central American newspapers. *International Communication Gazette*, *71*(4), 243–261.

Human Rights Watch. (2009). *No tally of the anguish accountability in maternal health care in India available*. Retrieved from www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/india1009web_0.pdf

Human Rights Watch. (2010, December 2). *Uzbekistan/Kyrgyzstan: Clinton should seek concrete rights actions*. Retrieved from http://www.hrw.org/news/2010/12/02/uzbekistankyrgyzstan-clinton-should-seek-concrete-rights-actions

Hung, Y. T. (2002). *The ability of learning how to learn: the process of learning by doing in journalism of the National Chengchi University* (Masters Dissertation Research Paper). Department of Adult & Continuing Education of National Taiwan Normal University.

Hurriyet Daily News. (2008, April 24). *Turkish media company sale raises eyebrows*. Retrieved from http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/english/turkey/8769903.asp

Hurriyet Daily News. (2013, June 3). *Gündem Twitter* [Agenda is Twitter]. Retrieved from http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/23420185.asp

IAMAI Annual Report (2012/2013). *Internet and Mobile Association of India*. Retrieved from http://www.iamai.in/pdf/AnnualReport201314LowRes.pdf

Ida, P.B. (1996). *Capacity development: the concept and its implementation in the CIDA context*. Hull: CIDA.

Iglesias García, M. (2012). Rutinas productivas de un cibermedio nativo digital. *Cuadernos de Información*, *30*, 9–18.

Ilifebelt.com (2012). *Estudio de las redes sociales en Centroamérica*. [PDF document]. Retrieved from http://redes-sociales.ilifebelt.com/

Institute for Public Policy. (2007, October 26). *The price of freedom of speech. In memory of Alisher Saipov*. Retrieved from http://www.ipp.kg/

Instituto Universitario de Opinión Pública. (2008). *Encuesta Nacional de Juventud*. Retrieved from: http://centroamericajoven.org/?q=node/2859

International Institute for Population Sciences and Macro International. (2007). *National family health survey (NFHS-3), 2005–2006, India* (Volume I), p. 537. Mumbai: IIPS. Retrieved from http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PNADK385.pdf

International Telecommunication Union (ITU). (2011). *Measuring the Information Society 2011. Selected top IDI countries,* p. 13. Retrieved from http://www.itu.int/net/pressoffice/backgrounders/general/pdf/5.pdf

Internews. (2009, December 6). *Kyrgyzstan-Russia: BaltInfo reporter was attacked in Bishkek*. Retrieved from http://old.internews.kg/ru/news/mediacommunity-news/265-2009-12-16-06-31-45

Internews. (2009, December 10). *Political scientist Aleksandr Knyazev was assaulted and robbed in Kyrgyzstan*. Retrieved from http://old.internews.kg/ru/news/mediacommunity-news/188-2009-12-11-07-19-48

IRI. (2012). *Yearly report on China's internet public opinion index*. Retrieved from http://www.iricn.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=308&Itemid=7

Iyengar, S., & Kinder, D. R. (1987). *News that matters: Television and American opinion*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Jamal, A. (2005). *Media politics and democracy in Palestine: political culture, pluralism, and the Palestinian authority*. London: Sussex Academic Press.

Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA). (2004). *Task force on aid approaches. Capacity development handbook for JICA staff.* Retrieved from http://jica-ri.jica.go.jp/IFIC_and_JBICI-Studies/english/publications/reports/study/capacity/200403/pdf/200403.pdf

Jejeebhoy, S. J. (2002). Convergence and divergence in spouses' perspectives on women's autonomy in rural India. *Studies in Family Planning*, *33*(4), 299–308.

Johnson, S., & Cartee, K. (2005). *News narratives and news framing: constructing political reality.* Oxford, UK: Rowman & Littlefield.

Johnstone, J. W. C., Slawski, E. J., & Bowman, W. W. (1976). *The news people: A sociological portrait of American journalists and their work*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Jones, D. (1978). Editors, educators are close on what 'makes' a newsman. *Journalism Educator*, *33*(2), 17–18.

Jones, J., & Peccei, J. S. (2004). Language and politics. In Thomas, L. (Ed.), *Language, society, and power*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Josephi, B. U. (2010). *Journalism education in countries with limited media freedom*. New York, NY: Peter Lang.

Journalist News. (2009, September 30). *Colleagues of Almaz Tashiyev doubt a fair investigation*. Retrieved from http://old.journalist.kg/?pid=174&nid=1369

Journalists for the Future. (2012, June). *Monitoring of Armenian online media coverage of May 6, 2012 elections to RA National Assembly*. Retrieved from http://jnews.am/final_report_armenian_online_media_monitoring_2012

Kasymalieva, A. (2006, March 17). Toxic spill dispute revived in Kyrgyzstan. *Institute for War and Peace Reporting*. Retrieved from http://iwpr.net/ru/node/6114

Kalyango, Y. Jr. (2010). Media accountability and political interest in East Africa. *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies*, *31*(1), 1–23.

Kalyango, Y. Jr. (2011). *African media and democratization: Public opinion, ownership and rule of law.* New York, NY Peter Lang.

Kalyango, Y. Jr., & Cruikshank, S. A. (2013). "Maybe you need to have an earthquake:" Expectations of international journalism educators on the U.S. media coverage of world news. *Journalism Practice*, *7*(5), 636–651.

Kambel, E., & MacKay, F. (1999). *The rights of indigenous peoples and maroons in Suriname*. Copenhagen: The Forest Peoples Program and International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs.

Karam, I. (2007). Satellite Television: A Breathing Space for Arab Youth. In Sakr, N. (ed.), *Arab Media and Political Renewal: Community, Legitimacy and Public Life*. London: I.B. Tauris, 80–95.

Kang, J. M. (1987). Reporters and the professional and occupational commitment in a developing country. *International Communication Gazette*, *40*(1), 3–20.

Kang, S., & Kang, J. G. (2010). Electronic media curricula of colleges and universities in twelve countries: transition, integration, and convergence of media instruction in the digital era. *International Journal of Instructional Media*, *37*(1), 5–18.

Karl, T. L. (1990, October). Dilemmas of democratization in Latin America. *Comparative Politics*, *23*(1). Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/422302

Kasymalieva, A. (2006, March 17). Toxic spill dispute revived in Kyrgyzstan. *Institute for War and Peace Reporting*. Retrieved from http://iwpr.net/report-news/toxic-spill-dispute-revived-kyrgyzstan

Keane, J. (1994). *Media and democracy*. London: Polity Press.

Keniston, K. (2002). Grassroots ICT projects in India: some preliminary hypotheses. *ASCI Journal of Management*, *31*(1&2), 1–5.

Khawaja, M. (2012). Palestine: the demographic and economic dimension of migration. *Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies (RSCAS), European University Institute*. Retrieved from http://cadmus.eui.eu/handle/1814/20820

Khreisheh, N. (2010). Electronic Palestinian media and the dealing with the internal Palestinian split, Ma'an as a case study. In K. Hroub, Khalid, & Q. Juman (Eds.), *Palestinian media and division. The bitterness of the experience and possibilities for improvement*. Ramallah: Muwatin.

Knight, M., & Cook, C. (2013). *Social media for journalists: Principles and practice*. New York, NY Sage.

Kock, E., & Kang, J. G. (1999). Broadcast education curricula in 2-year and 4-year colleges. *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator*, *54*(1), 4–15.

Kovach, B., & Rosenstiel, T. (2001). *The elements of journalism–What news people should know and the public should expect*. New York, NY: Three Rivers Press.

Kraeplin, C., & Craido, C. A. (2005). Building a case for convergence journalism curriculum. *Journalism and Mass Communication Educator*, *60*(1), 47–56.

Kuang, W. (2004). On the recreation trend of network media. *Journal of International Communication*, *1*, 52–55.

Kumtor Operating Company. (June 2013). *Kumtor trade union letter to government of the Kyrgyzstan*. Retrieved from http://www.kumtor.kg/en/obrashhenie-profsojuza-kumtora-pravitelstvu-kyrgyzstana-s-prosboj-ne-dopustit-denonsaciisoglashenija/

Kurban, D., and Sozeri, C. (2013, March). *Türkiye'de Özgür ve Bağımsız Bir Basın İçin Siyasal Önerileri* [Political advice for free and independent press in Turkey]. Retrieved from http://www.tesev.org.tr/Upload/Publication/27c1245a-e6d5-4062-9c41-ad17b92f3e10/13094TR_Medya4makale11_03_13onay.pdf

Kuriyan, R., Ray, I., & Toyama, K. (2008). Information and communication technologies for development: The bottom of the pyramid model in practice. *The Information Society*, *24*(2), 93–104.
Lang, K., & Lang G. E. (1966). *The mass media and voting*. New York, NY: Free Press.
Lazarsfeld, P. F., Berelson, B., & Gaudet H. (1948). *The people's choice*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
Lazutkina, E. (2011, February 10). The role of bloggers – opinion shapers in organizing public discussions. *Theses of International Conference "Journalism-2010: mass media in public sphere,"* 375–376. Moscow.
Lee, P. (1995). Introduction: The illusion of democracy. In P. Lee (Ed.). *The democratization of communication*. Cardiff, UK: University of Wales Press.
Lent, J. A. (1982). Mass media and socialist governments in the Commonwealth Caribbean. *Human Rights Quarterly*, *4*(3), 371–390.
Lerner, D. (1963). Towards a communication theory of modernisation. In L. Pye (Ed.), *Communication and political development*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Li, D. (2012). *Sitting-room politics: A sociological study on anti-corruption reporting of Chinese media*. Beijing: Chinese Media University Press.
Liebman, B. (2011, December). The media and the courts: Towards competitive supervision? *The China Quarterly*, *208*, 833–850.
Lippmann, W. (1922). *Public opinion*. New York, NY: Simon & Schuster.
Liu, Z., & Chang, L. (2012). Interpreting Internet culture chaos. *Wei Shi*, *5*, 56–60.
Llano, S. (2005). Hipermedia e interactividad en el periodismo digital colombiano. *Revista Palabra Clave*, *12*, 135–148.
Lo, V. H. (1997). The profession of journalism and journalist: The approach to professionalization. *The Journalist Forum National Taiwan University*, *4*, 280–292.
Lo, V. H., Pan J. Q., & Tsang, K. J. (1996). Core courses for communication education. *Journalism Research*, *53*, 85–106.
Lopez, A. M., & de la Llata, D. E. (2010). *Niños nativos digitales en la sociedad del conocimiento: Acercamiento conceptuales a sus competencias* [PDF document]. Retrieved from: http://www.razonypalabra.org.mx/N/N72/Varia_72/14_Ibarra_72.pdf
Lunt, P., & Livingston, S. (1996, June). Rethinking the focus group in media and communications. *Journal of Communication*, *46*, 84–85.
Lusthaus, C., Anderson G., & Murphy, E. (1995). *Institutional assessment—A framework for strengthening organizational capacity for IDRC's research partners*. Ottawa: IDRC.
Lusthaus, C., Adrien, M. H., & Perstinger, M. (1999). *Capacity development: Definitions, issues and implications for planning, monitoring and evaluation*. Universalia Occasional Paper No. 35.
Luo, Y., Zhang J., Shi Y., & Shan B., Eds. (2010). *Research report on China's media development*. Wuhan: Wuhan University Press.
Macdonald, I. (2006). Teaching journalists to save the profession. *Journalism Studies*, *7*(5), 745–764.
MacKinnon, R. (2008). Flatter world and thicker walls? Blogs, censorship and civic discourse in China. *Public Choice*, *134*(1), 31–46.
Madon, S., Sahay, S., & Sudan, R. (2007). E-government policy and health information systems implementation in Andhra Pradesh, India: Need for articulation of linkages between the macro and the micro. *The Information Society*, *23*(5), 327–344.

Malhotra, A., Schuler, S. R., & Boender, C. (2002). *Measuring women's empowerment as a variable in international development*. Background Paper Prepared for the World Bank Workshop on Poverty and Gender: New Perspectives. Retrieved from http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTGENDER/Resources/MalhotraSchuler-Boender.pdf

Martini, S. (2000). *Periodismo, noticia y noticiabilidad*. Enciclopedia Latinoamericana de Sociocultura y Comunicación. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Grupo Editorial Norma.

McChesney, R. W. (2000). *Rich media, poor democracy, communication politics in dubious times*. New York: The New Press.

McCombs, M. E., & Shaw, D. L. (1972). The agenda-setting function of mass media. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *36*, 176–185.

McLeod, J. M., Rush, R. R., & Friederich, K. (1968). The mass media and political information in Quito, Ecuador. *Public Opinion Quarterly 32*(4), 575–587. Retrieved from http://poq.oxfordjournals.org/content/32/4/575.short

McLeod, J. M., & Hawley, S. E. Jr. (1964). Professionalization among newsmen. *Journalism Quarterly*, *41*, 529–577.

McNair, B. (2003). *An Introduction to political communication*. London: Routledge.

McQuail, D. (1983). *Mass communication theory: An introduction*. London: Sage.

McQuail, D. (2005). *McQuail's mass communication theory* (5th Edition). London: Sage.

Media Foundation for West Africa (MFWA). (2001). *Politics in the airwaves: How radio covered the 2000 general elections in Ghana*. Accra: MFWA.

Medoff, N. J., & Barbara K. K. (2011). *Electronic media, then, now, and later*. Oxford, UK: Focal Press.

Mehta, K. (2011). The challenges of conducting focus-group research among Asian older adults. *Aging & Society*, *31*, 410.

Melhem, S., Morrell, C., & Tandon, N. (2009, June 30). *Information and communication technologies for women's socio economic empowerment*. World Bank Working Paper No.176. Retrieved from http://elibrary.worldbank.org/doi/pdf/10.1596/978-0-8213-8133-5

Meng, B. (2011). From steamed bun to grass mud horse: E Gao as alternative political discourse on the Chinese Internet. *Global Media and Communication*, *7*(1), 33–51.

Meraz, S. (2009). Is there an elite hold? Traditional media to social media agenda setting influence in blog networks. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, *14*, 682–707.

Merton, R., & Kendall, P. (1956). *The Focused Interview*. New York, NY: Free Press.

Miller, D. (1991). Politics. In V. Bogdanor (Ed.), *Blackwell encyclopedia of political thought*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

Ministry of Health and Family Welfare.(India 2012). Annual Report to the people on health. Retrieved from http://mohfw.nic.in

Ministry of Rural Development. (India 2013). *The Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act* Retrieved from http://www.mgnrega.nic.in/netnrega/home.aspx

Mirzoyan, G. (2011, February 28). E-users' map: Internet via computers used by more than one third of Armenia's population. *Jnews.am*. Retrieved from http://www.jnews.am/en/node/869

Mohamed, P. (2006). *Communicative power, the concept of voice and sustainable development* (Unpublished paper). Presented at University of West Indies, St Augustine Conference, Trinidad and Tobago.

Monney, A. (2010, February). *Deepening democracy in Ghana: the way forward and role of the tertiary student*. Address at the Students Representative Council Week celebration of the Valley View University Students Association (VAVIUSA), Accra.

Morgan, A. (2009). Media diversity: the challenge of "doing it better." *Pacific Journalism Review*, *15*(1), 93–113.

Morgan, D. (1998). *Focus groups as qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Morgan, P. (1998). *Capacity and capacity development – Some strategies*. CIDA Strategy Paper. Retrieved from http://www.impactalliance.org/ev_en.php?ID=4051_201&ID2=DO_TOPIC

Monroe, E. P., Rozumilowicz, B., & Verhulst, S. G. (Eds). (2001). *Media reform*. London: Routledge.

Montaña, S., Gonzalez V. E., & Ariza, C. (2012, September). *Ciberodio en los comentarios de las noticias en línea en Colombia. El caso de Piedad Córdoba*. Paper presented at the V Latin-American Conference of the World Association for Public Opinion Research, Bogota, Colombia.

Morales, M. (2005). Tendencias y debates actuales en el periodismo digital. *Signo y Pensamiento*, *24*(047), 87–104.

Movsisyan, L. (2011, May). *Two generations of the same opinion: The future of newspapers not encouraging*. Retrieved from http://www.jnews.am/future_of_newspapers

M. S. Swaminathan Research Foundation (2013). MSSRF Annual Report. Retrieved from http://www.mssrf.org/mssrfdoc/ar/AR2012-2013.pdf

Mukhopadhyay, S., & Nandi, R. (2006). *Assessment of Akshaya Project from Gender Perspective*. MIMAP Gender Network Project, Phase III. Retrieved from http://www.isst-india.org

Murillo, M. A. (2003). Community radio in Colombia: Civil conflict, popular media and the construction of a public sphere. *Journal of Radio Studies*, *1*. Retrieved from http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1207/s15506843jrs1001_11

Muzyka, J. (2012, November 22–24). Virtualization of political communication. Theses of VI All-Russia Congress of political scientists, *"Russia in the global world: institutions and strategies of political interrelations"* (pp. 234–235). Moscow.

Naduvath, J. (2009). Chinese media in perspective and analyzing vectors of media reform. *Journal of Creative Communications*, *4*(2), 111–130.

Nanda, S., & Arunachalam, S. (n.d.). Reaching the unreached: Community based village knowledge centres & village resource centres. *Jamsetji Tata National Virtual Academy (NVA), M. S. Swaminathan Research Foundation*. Retrieved from www.mssrf.org

Nath, V. (2001). Empowerment and governance through information and communication technologies: Women's perspective. *International Information and Library Review*, *33*, 317–339.

National College Entrance Exam. (Taiwan 2013, May 25). Retrieved from http://www.edu.tw

National Media Commission. (Ghana 2001). *Annual media policy.* Accra: NMC.

National Media Commission. (Ghana 2004). *Annual media policy.* Accra: NMC.

News.am. (2011, October 12). *Wholesale price of Internet is reduced in Armenia*. Retrieved from http://news.am/rus/news/77672.html

Nguyen, A. (2003, September). The current status and potential development of online news consumption. *First Monday*, *8*(9). Retrieved from http://firstmonday.org/article/view/1075/www.worldinternetproject.net

Nguyen, A. (2008). Facing "The Fabulous Monster": The traditional media's fear-driven innovation culture in the development of online news. *Journalism Studies*, *9*(1), 91–104.

Nordenstreng, K. (2006). Four theories of the press reconsidered. In N. Carpentier, P. Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt et al. (Eds.), *Researching media, democracy and participation. The intellectual work of the 2006 European media and communication doctoral summer school*. Tartu, Estonia: Tartu University Press.

Noueihed, L., & Warren, A. (2012). *The battle for the Arab Spring: Revolution, counter-revolution and the making of a new era*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Nubar, G. (2004). *Electronic culture*. Cairo: Egyptian General Book Authority.

Nyamnjoh, F. B. (2005). *Africa's media, democracy and the politics of belonging*. London: Zed Books.

Obijiofor, L., & Hanusch, F. (2011). *Journalism across cultures: An introduction*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Obregon, R. (2005). HIV/AIDS, soap operas and young viewers: Exploring the intersection of media effects and reception analysis and its implications for health communication. *Investigación y desarrollo, 13*(2). Retrieved from http://rcientificas.uninorte.edu.co/index.php/investigacion

O'Connor, M. (2011). The press silenced, Nuevo Laredo tries to find voice. *Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ)*. Retrieved from http://www.cpj.org/blog/2011/12/the-press-silenced-nuevo-laredo-tries-to-find-voic.php

Öğret, Ö. (2013, May 17). News blackout deepens Turkey press freedom doubts. *Committee to Protect Journalists*. Retrieved from http://www.cpj.org/blog/2013/05/news-blackout-deepens-turkey-press-freedom-doubts.php

O'Keefe, D. J. (1990). *Persuasion: Theory and research*. London: Sage.

Oktay, A. (1993). *Türkiye'de popüler kültür* [Popular culture in Turkey]. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.

Oktem, K. (2013, June 9). Why Turkey's mainstream media chose to show penguins rather than protests. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2013/jun/09/turkey-mainstream-media-penguins-protests

One World Foundation India. (2011). *Documenting South Asian case studies on access to public information*. Retrieved from http://oneworld.net.in/

Open Society Foundation. (2012, March 12). *Mapping digital media: Turkey*. Retrieved from http://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/mapping-digital-media-turkey-20120423.pdf

O´Reilly, T. (2006, December 10). Web 2.0 compact definition: Trying again [web log comment]. Retrieved from: http://radar.oreilly.com/2006/12/web-20-compact-definition-tryi.html

Orhon, E. N. (2009). Media education in Turkey: Toward a multi-stakeholder framework. *Comunicar*, *32*, 16.

Orihuela, J. L. (2003). eCommunication: The 10 paradigms in the Digital Age [PDF document]. Retrieved from: http://www.slideshare.net/jlori/orihuela-cost-paper.

O'Shaughnessy, H. (2007). Media wars in Latin America. *British Journalism Review*, *18*(3), 66–72.

Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics. (2013). Transportation and Communication Statistics in Palestine: Annual Report, 2013 Retrieved from http://www.pcbs.gov.ps/default.aspx

Paletz, D. L. (2002). *The media in American politics: Contents and consequences*. New York, NY: Longman.

Palomo, B. (2008). Periodistas iberoamericanos con voz en la blogosfera. *Diálogos de la Comunicación*, *76*, 1–21

Pan, Z., & Yu, H. (2010). Impact of Internet use on traditional media: From using and evaluation perspective. *Journalism Quarterly*, *104*(2), 4–13.

Pardo, L. (2010). Discourse research in Colombia: developing a methodological approach to media discourse about poverty. *Journal of Multicultural Discourses*, *5*(3), 239–251.

Pardo, L. (2010). Latin-American discourse studies: state of the art and new perspectives. *Journal of Multicultural Discourses*, *5*(3), 183–193.

Parthasarathy, B., & Srinivasan, J. (2006). *Innovation and its social impacts: The role of ethnography in the evaluation and assessment of ICTD projects*. Paper submitted to GLOBELICS2006, Trivandrum. Retrieved from http://www.globelicsindia2006.org

PARTICIP GmbH. (2013, April). *Western Balkans and Turkey media and freedom of expression fact-finding and scoping study.* Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key_documents/2013/wbt_media_study.pdf

Patterson, C., & Domingo, D. (2008). *Making online news*. *The ethnography of new media production* (Volume 1). New York, NY: Peter Lang.

Pavlyutenkova, M. (2012). The new role of social media in political process of modern Russia. *Theses of VI All-Russia Congress of political scientists*, *"Russia in the global world: institutions and strategies of political interrelations"* (pp. 363–364). Moscow.

Peters, B. (2009). And lead us not into thinking the new is new: a bibliographical case for new media history. *New Media & Society*, *11*(1–2), 13–30.

Plaisance, P., Skewes, E., & Hanitzsch, T. (2012). Ethical orientations of journalists around the globe: implications from a cross-national survey. *Communication Research*, *39*, 641–661.

Pottker, H. (2003). News and its communicative quality: The inverted pyramid—when and why did it appear? *Journalism Studies*, *4*(4), 501–511.

Prensky, M. (2001). Digital natives, digital immigrants. *On the Horizon*, *9*(5), 1–6. Retrieved from http://www.marcprensky.com/writing/Prensky%20-%20Digital%20Natives,%20Digital%20Immigrants%20-%20Part1.pdf

Press and Publication Law (PPL). Retrieved from http://www.dpp.gov.jo/

Press Information Bureau. (Jordan 2011). Government of India. Retrieved from http://pib.nic.in

Presentan un estudio de hábitos de lectura. (2010, June 5). *Elsalvador.com*. Retrieved from http://www.elsalvador.com/mwedh/nota/nota_completa.asp?idCat=6482&idArt=4850460

Price, R. (2011). *Rainforest warriors*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Project on Middle East Political Science (POMEPS). (2011, March 24). *Yemen: The Final Days of Ali Abdullah Saleh?* Retrieved from http://www.pomeps.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/03/POMEPS_BriefBooklet3_Yemen_WEB-Rev.pdf

PR Newswire (2010). *Asia releases first-ever report on the work-related use of social media by Chinese journalists*. Retrieved from http://en.prnasia.com/story/39558-0.shtml

Qian, G., & Bandurski, D. (2011). China's emerging public space: The impact of media commercialization, professionalism and Internet in an era of transition. In S. Shirk (Ed.) *Changing media, changing China* (pp. 38–76). New York: Oxford University Press.

Radikal. (2013, June 1). *NTV Tarih Dergisi Gezi Sayısı Nedeniye Kapatıldı* [NTV history magazine is shut down because of Gezi Park issue]. Radikal.com.tr. Retrieved from http://www.radikal.com.tr/hayat/ntv_tarih_dergisi_gezi_sayisi_nedeniyle_kapatildi-1139894

Reese, S. D., & Cohen, J. (2000). Educating for journalism: The professionalism of scholarship. *Journalism Studies*, *1*(2), 213–227.

Rey, G., & Huertas, C. (2010). *Periodismo digital en Colombia 2010. El quién y el cómo de los nuevos medios*. Retrieved from Consejo de Redación website: http://consejoderedaccion.org/documentos/emprendimiento/estudio_medios_digitales_2010.pdf

Report on Sina media weibo 2012. (2013). Retrieved from http://yuqing.people.com.cn/NMediaFile/2013/0122/MAIN201301220841000214265231916.pdf

Reporters Without Borders. (2012). *Press freedom index 2011–2012*. Retrieved from: http://en.rsf.org/press-freedom-index-2011-2012,1043.html

Reporters Without Borders. (2013). *Press freedom index 2013*. Retrieved from http://en.rsf.org/press-freedom-index-2013,1054.html

Reuters (2013, June 4). *Turkey's Garanti Bank loses customers in anti-government protest*. Retrieved from http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/06/04/turkey-protests-business-idUSL5N0EG24220130604

RJR. (2012). *RJR overview*. Retrieved from http://rjrgroup.com/about-us/overview

Robinson, S. (2011). "Journalism as process": The organizational implications of participatory online news. *Journalism Communication Monographs*, *13*(3).

Rogers, A., & Taylor, P. (1998). *Participatory curriculum development in agricultural education. A training guide*. Rome: Food and Agriculture Organization.

Rogers, E. (2003). *Diffusion of innovations* (5th Edition). New York: Free Press.

Rosen, N. (2011, March 18). How it started in Yemen: From Tahrir to Taghyir. *Jadaliyya*. Retrieved from http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/935/how-it-started-in-yemen_from-tahrir-to-taghyir

Said, E. (Ed.) (2010). *Tics, comunicación y periodismo digital Tomo II: Escenarios de enseñanza y ciberperiodismo*. Barranquilla, Colombia: Ediciones UniNorte.

Said, E., & Arcila, C. (2011). Los cibermedios en América latina y la web 2.0. *Comunicar, 19*(37), 125–131.

Sánchez, D. (2008). Estudio comparativo entre las versiones impresa y digital de los principales diarios colombianos. *Revista Lasallista de Investigación*, *5*(2), 48–62.

Sanders, R. (1978). *Broadcasting in Guyana*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Sangeetha.P.V. & Aram, A. (2011). Effectiveness of E-governance: A Study on Akshaya Telecentres. Retrieved from http://www.slideshare.net/pumediaseminar2011/sangeethapeffectiveness-of-egovernancea-study-on-akshaya-telecentres-of-kerala

Salman, A., Faridah, I., Mohd, Y. A., Normah, M., & Maizatul, H. M. (2011). The impact of new media on traditional mainstream mass media. *The Innovation Journal: The Public Sector Innovation Journal*, *16*(3), 7.

Sanneving, L., Trygg, N., Saxena, D., Mavalankar, D., & Thomsen, S. (2013). Inequity in India: the case of maternal and reproductive health. *Global Health Action*, 6. Retrieved from http://dx.doi.org/10.3402/gha.v6i0.19145

S. B. 1987 no. 116. (1992). *Suriname Constitutional Law of 1987* (last amended 1992).
Schramm, W. (1964). *Mass media and national development: The role of information in the developing countries*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
Schudson, M. (1995). *The power of news*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Scolari, C. (2008). *Hipermediaciones: elementos para una teoría de la comunicación digital interactiva*. Barcelona, Spain: Editorial Gedisa.
Searle, J. R. (1969). *Speech acts: An essay in the philosophy of language*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press.
Seidman, I. (1998). *Interviewing as qualitative research* (2nd Edition). New York: Teachers College Press.
Servaes, J. (2007). Harnessing the UN system into a common approach on communication for development. *International Communication Gazette, 69*(6), 483–507. Retrieved from http://gaz.sagepub.com/content/69/6/483.abstract
SEWA Annual Report. (2012). Retrieved from http://www.sewa.org/pdf/SEWA-ANNUAL-REPORT-2012.pdf
Siebert, F., Peterson, T., & Schramm, W. (1963). *Four theories of the press* (2nd Edition). Chicago/Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
Silberstein, S. (2003). *War of words language, Politics and 9/11*. London and New York: Routledge.
Singletary, Michael W. (1985). Commentary: are journalists professional? *Newspaper Research Journal*, *3*(2), 75–87.
Smbatyan, H. (2011, January). Facebook boom 2010: The 'we are against…' walls stormy the whole year. *Jnews.am*. Retrieved from http://jnews.am/en/facebook_boom_2010
Socialbakers.com. (2012, September). *Armenia Facebook Statistics*. Retrieved from http://www.socialbakers.com/facebook-statistics/armenia.
Sparks, C., & Splichal, S. (1989). Journalistic education and professional socialization. *International Communication Gazette*, *43*, 31–52.
Sparks, C. (2000). Media theory after the fall of European communism: Why the old models from East and West won't do any more. In J. Curran & Myung-Jin Park (Eds.), *De-westernizing Media Studies*. London: Routledge.
Srivastava, A. (2009). ICT in Indian health scenario, accelerating delivery of health services. Retrieved from http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/UNPAN/UNPAN037361.pdf
Stabroeknews.com. (2008). *David de Caires: Man, mission and the media*. Retrieved from www.stabroeknews.com/2008/guyana-review/12/10/david-de-caires-man-mission-and-the-media
StarNieuws. (2012, January 27). *RSF verontschuldigt zich voor foutieve ranking persvrijheid Suriname* [RSF apologizes for erroneous press freedom ranking for Suriname]. Retrieved from: http://www.starnieuws.com/index.php/welcome/index/nieuwsitem/9059
Star Nieuws. (2012). *SVJ oneens over 'drastische vooruitgang' persvrijheid* [SVC disagrees over 'drastic progress' of press freedom]. Retrieved from: http://www.starnieuws.com/index.php/welcome/index/nieuwsitem/9044
Stockmann, D., & Gallagher, M. (2011). Remote control: How the media sustain authoritarian rule in China. *Comparative Political Studies*, *44*(4), 436–467.
Sulaiman, R. S., Kalaivani, N. J., & Mittal, N. (2011). ICTs and empowerment of Indian rural women: What can we learn from on-going initiatives? *Centre for Research on Innovation and Science Policy (CRISP)*, Hyderabad, India. Retrieved from

http://www.crispindia.org/docs/4%20CRISP%20Working%20Paper-ICTs%20and%20Empowerment%20of%20Women.pdf

Suriname Union of Journalists (SVJ). (2012, January 26). *Press statement*.

Suriname Union of Journalists. (1991). *Ethical Code*.

Svoboda.org. (2009, November 2). *Freelance journalist Kubanychbek Joldoshev was attacked in Kyrgyzstan*. Retrieved from http://www.svoboda.org/archive/radio-svoboda-news/1/16564/16564.html?id=1866881

Swindell, J. (2006). *The village knowledge centres of Pondicherry – An Indian ICT adoption case study*. Retrieved from http://departments.agri.huji.ac.il/economics/gelb-swindell.pdf

Tadevosyan, M. (2010, July). Nagorno-Karabakh conflict: War, humanitarian challenge and peacekeeping. *Journal of Conflict Transformation*. Retrieved from http://caucasusedition.net/analysis/nagorno-karabakh-conflict-war-humanitarian-challenge-and-peacekeeping/

Tai, Z., & Sun T. (2007). Media dependencies in a changing media environment: The case of the 2003 SARS epidemic in China. *New Media & Society*, *9*(6), 987–1009.

Tajfel, H. (1979). *An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. Social psychology of intergroup*. Retrieved from http://www.annualreviews.org/doi/pdf/10.1146/annurev.ps.33.020182.000245

Tang, L., & Sampson, H. (2012). The interaction between mass media and the internet in non-democratic states: The case of China. *Media, Culture & Society*, *34*(4), 457–471.

Tang, M. (2006, 2009, 2012). Central Bank: Online payment nationwide approaching 700 trillion. *China Radio International*. Retrieved from http://finance.cnr.cn/gundong/201206/t20120609_509855280.shtml

Taylor, P. (2003). *How to design a training course – A guide to participatory curriculum development*. London: VSO/Continuum.

Telecom Regulatory Authority of India (TRAI). (2013). *Highlights on Telecom Subscription Data as on 31st October, 2013*. Retrieved from http://www.trai.gov.in/WriteReadData/WhatsNew/Documents/PR-TSD-Oct--13.pdf

Ter-Ghazaryan, L. (2012, February). Arabajyan: Number of broadband Internet users increased by 130,000–150,000 over a year. *Panorama.am News*. Retrieved from http://www.panorama.am/am/interviews/2012/02/14/inet-prices-arabajyan/

Thawabteh, N. (2010). Palestinian media map: Production congestion and consumption dispersion. In B. Josephi (Ed.), *Journalism education in countries with limited media freedom*. New York: Peter Lang.

The Chicago Council on Global Affairs. (2011). Girls grow: A vital force in rural economies. In *Facts & figures: Rural women and the millennium development goals*. Retrieved from http://www.un.org/womenwatch/feature/ruralwomen/facts-figures.html

The Economist. (2012, April 6). *The press in Turkey not so free*. Retrieved from http://www.economist.com/news/europe/21575823-government-finds-different-ways-intimidate-free-media-not-so-free

The Fourth Republican Constitution of Ghana. (1992). Accra: Ghana Publishing.

The Ghanaian Times. (2012, December 6). *Ghana lauded for Internet penetration.*

Thomas, E. (1990). Mass media in Guyana. In S. S. Surlin & W. C. Soderland (Eds.). *Mass media and the Caribbean*. New York, NY: Gordon and Breach Science Publishers.

Thorne, B., & Henley, N. (1975). *Language and sex: Difference and dominance*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Today's Zaman. (2013, August 25). *Having lost autonomy, regulatory bodies are under political influence*. Retrieved from http://www.todayszaman.com/news-324302-having-lost-autonomy-regulatory-bodies-are-under-political-influence.html

Tomasello, T., Lee, W., & Baer, A. P. (2010). 'New media' research publication trends and outlets in communication, 1990–2006. *New Media & Society*, *12*(4), 531–548.

Tovares, R. (2000). Influences on the Mexican American youth gang discourse on local television news. *Howard Journal of Communication*, *11*(4), 229–246. Retrieved from http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/10646170050204536

Tuchman, G. (1978). *Making news. A study in the construction of reality*. New York: Free Press.

Tunç, A. (2011). *Media ownership in Turkey*. Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/taiex/dyn/create_speech.jsp?speechID=22838&key=c06f5200bfeb3d96ccf63bfcc455b4e9

Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (TESEV). (2012). *Türkiye'nin Basın Özgürlüğü Sorunu* [The problem of free press in Turkey]. Retrieved from http://www.tesev.org.tr/Upload/Editor/Medya%20Konferansı%20Basın%20Özeti%20Raporu.pdf

Turkish Statistics Institute. (2012, August 16). *Information and communication technology (ICT) usage survey on households and individuals, 2012*. Retrieved from http://www.turkstat.gov.tr/PreHaberBultenleri.do?id=10880

Tyn, D., Toktogulov, K., & Dreazen, Y. J. (2010, April 8). Violent revolt ousts Kyrgyz president. *The Wall Street Journal*. Retrieved from http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052702304505204575169273901877794.html

UIIEP International Institute for Education Planning. (n.d.). Capacity building. *Guidebook for planning education in emergencies and reconstruction*.

Ulaştırma, Denizcilik ve Haberleşme Bakanlığı. (2010). *Türkiye'de DVB-T* [DVB-T in Turkey]. Ubak.gov.tr. Retrieved from http://www.ubak.gov.tr/BLSM_WIYS/HGB/tr/Sag_Menu/20100816_162441_10472_1_64.html

UNDP (1998). *Capacity assessment and development in a systems and strategic management context*. Technical Advisory Paper No 3, Management Development and Governance Division.

UNDP (2012). *Mobile technologies and empowerment: enhancing human development through participation and innovation*. Retrieved from http://undpegov.org.

UNESCO (2006). Capacity building. In *Guidebook for planning education in emergencies and reconstruction*, Chapter 3 (pp. 1–13). Retrieved from http://www.iiep.unesco.org/fileadmin/user_upload/Research_Highlights_Emergencies/chapter3.pdf

UNESCO (2007). *Model curricula for journalism education*. Retrieved from http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/resources/publications-and-communication-materials/publications/full-list/model-curricula-for-journalism-education/

UNHCR (2011). *Country reports on human rights practices – Suriname*. Retrieved from http://refworld.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/rwmain?page=search&docid=4fc75a5dc&skip=0&query=self%20censorship&coi=SUR

United Nations (2010). *The real wealth of nations: Pathways to human development*. Human Development Report 2010, 20th Anniversary Edition. Retrieved from

http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/reports/270/hdr_2010_en_complete_reprint.pdf

Universal Service Obligation Fund (2010). Sanchar Shakti: Mobile Value Added Services and ICT Related Livelihood Skills for Women's SHGs in Rural India. Department of Telecommunications Retrieved from http://www.usof.gov.in/usof-cms/SancharShakti/Book%20on%20Sanchar%20Shakti.pdf

Van Der Kooye, R. (1997). *Porknockerij in the media, impacts of media reports on gold mining in the Surinamese society* (Unpublished bachelor of arts thesis). Academy of Higher Arts and Cultural Education (AHKCO), Paramaribo.

Van Dijk, J. A. (2006). *The Network society*. London: Sage.

Van Dijk, T. A. (1993). *Elite discourse and racism*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage

Van Dijk, T. A. (1996). *Discourse studies: A multidisciplinary introduction*. London: Sage.

Van Dijk, T. A. (1996). Discourse, power and access. In C. R. Caldas-Coulthard, C. R. & M. Coulthard (Eds.), *Texts and practices: Readings in Critical Discourse Analysis* (pp. 84–106). London: Routledge.

Van Dijk, T. A. (1998). Opinions and ideologies in the press. In A. Bell, A. & P. Garrett (Eds.), *Approaches to media discourse* (pp. 21–63). Oxford: Blackwell.

Van Dijk, T. A. (2002). Political discourse and political cognition. In P. Chilton & C. Schäffner (Eds.), *Politics as talk and text* (pp. 203–238). Amsterdam: John Benjamins, B.V.

Van Dijk, T.A. (2006). Discourse and manipulation. *Discourse and Society*, *17*(2), 359–383.

Velasquez, A. (2012). Social media and online political discussion: The effect of cues and informational cascades and participation in online political communities. *New Media Society*, *14*, 1286.

Veldanda, S., & Jaju, S. (2005). *Women providing online services: e-Seva Centres in Andhra Pradesh, India*. Case Study. Retrieved from http://unpan1.un.org

Vennard, M. (2009, October 28). Melting Kyrgyz glaciers pose threat. *BBC News*. Retrieved from http://news.bbc.co.uk/

VimpelCom. (2007, April). *VimpelCom raises its stake in ZAO ArmenTel to 100 per cent* [Press Release]. Retrieved from http://www.vimpelcom.com/Media-center/Press-releases/2007/VimpelCom-raises-its-stake-in-ZAO-ArmenTel-to-100/

Voice of Freedom (2010, May 2). *Independent public commission published results of investigation of April events*. Retrieved from http://vof.kg/?p=3763

Wall Street Journal. (2009, October 5). *Turkish premier defends media tax battle*. Retrieved from http://online.wsj.com/article/SB125469621389762827.html

Walters, J., Kuo, Y., Jap, W., & Hsu, H. (2011). *The world's next e-commerce superpower.* Retrieved from https://www.bcgperspectives.com/content/articles/retail_consumer_products_worlds_next_ecommerce_superpower/

Wang, H. (2008, 2012). Number of public events on the rise. *China Daily*, 20. Retrieved from http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2012-08/20/content_15690703.htm

Ward, S. J. (2010). *Global journalism ethics*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's U. Press.

Warschauer, M. (2002). Reconceptualizing the digital divide. In *IT for Change Report—Locating Gender in ICTD Projects: Five Cases from India*. Retrieved from http://www.itforchange.net/gender/72-gender/262-gender-in-ictd.html

Weaver, D., & Wilhoit, G. C. (1986). *The American journalist*: *A portrait of U.S. news people and their work*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Weaver, D., & Wilhoit, G. C. (1996). *U.S. news people at the end of an era*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
Weaver, D. (1998). *The global journalist: News people around the world*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.
Welch, M. (1999). *A critical review of television development in Guyana*. Georgetown, Guyana: University of Guyana.
Weng, S. C. (2001). The review and vision of communication education in Taiwan. *Mass Communication Research*, *69*, 39–41.
Wikipedia (2013). Media of Taiwan. Retrieved from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Media_of_Taiwan
Wikipedia. (2012). *Timeline of the Yemeni revolution (January–2 June 2011)*. Retrievedfrom http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Timeline_of_the_Yemeni_revolution_(January_%E2%80%93_2_June_2011).
Wilensky, H. (1964, September). The professionalization of everyone? *The American Journal of Sociology, 70*(2), 137–158.
Wilson, J. (1990). *Politically speaking: The pragmatic analysis of political language*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
Winfield B., & Peng, Z. (2005). Market or party controls? Chinese media in transition. *Gazette 67*(3), 255–270.
Wise, K., Bolls, P., Myers, J., & Sternadori, M. (2009). When words collide online: How writing style and video intensity affect cognitive processing of online. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, *53*(4), 532–546.
Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (Eds.). (2001). *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: Sage.
World Bank (2001). *World development report 2001: Attacking poverty.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
World Bank (2013, August). *World development indicators*. Retrieved from http://data.worldbank.org/about/data-updates-errata
World Bank Country Study (2002, February). *Growth challenges and government policies in Armenia* (p. 169). Retrieved from http://www-wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSContentServer/IW3P/IB/2002/03/22/000094946_02031304003886/Rendered/PDF/multi0page.pdf
World Economic Forum (2013). *The global gender gap report 13*. Retrieved from http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GenderGap_Report_2013.pdf
Wong, Y. (2012). Chinese top officials are also netizens and the Internet helps promote political civilization in China. *China News*. Retrieved from http://www.chinanews.com/gn/news/2007/10-13/1048069.shtml
Xiao, P. (2010). New public opinion space. *News & Writing*, *5*, 4–8.
Xin, M. (2010, October 25). How to go through transitional period healthily. *Wen Hui Bao*, *10*, 25. Retrieved from http://news.xinhuanet.com/observation/2010-10/25/c_12697590.htm
Xinhua News Agency (2012). Virtual soapboxes get more attention from leadership. *China Daily*. Retrieved from http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2012cpc/2012-11/07/content_15889517.htm
Xu, Ming Zhu (2006). *National policy foundation backgrounder*. Retrieved from http://old.npf.org.tw/PUBLICATION/EC/095/EC-B-095-020.htm, 1/10/2013.
Yin, Y., & Liu R. (2012). New media in the growth: The conflict and integration between the virtual world and the real society. In Y. Yin (Ed.), *Annual report on*

development of new media in China (2012). Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press.
Yu, G. (2012). The current situation and characteristics of public opinion in contemporary China. *News & Writing*, *5*, 63–65.
Zanotti, J. (2013, June 21). *Turkey: background and U.S. relations*. Congressional Research Service (CRS). Retrieved from http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/R41368.pdf
Zhao, G. (2008, March). Ideal of and opportunity for civil society in China as a big "netizen" country. *Young Journalist*, 27–28.
Zhao, J., Hao, X., & Banerjee, I. (2006). The diffusion of the Internet and rural development. *Convergence*, *12*(3), 293–305.
Zheng, L. (2011). *Research report on the influence of Chinese news media*. Hangzhou: Zhengjiang University Press.
Zhong, Y., & Yu, X. (2010). An analysis of some key network public opinion cases and their dissemination characteristics (1998–2009). *Journalism and Communication*, *4*, 45–52.
Zıbak, F. D. (2013, August 4). Government accused of engineering Turkish media landscape. *Todays Zaman*. Retrieved from http://www.todayszaman.com/news-322671-government-accused-of-engineering-turkish-media-landscape.html
Zuluaga, J., & León, J. (2010). Nuevas formas de contar el mundo ¿Nuevas formas de periodismo? *Revista Oficios Terrestres, 26*(26), 1–12 Retrieved from http://perio.unlp.edu.ar/ojs/index.php/oficiosterrestres/article/view/383
Zúñiga, D., & Duque, A. (2009). Las herramientas interactivas en dos diarios colombianos. *Signo y Pensamiento, 28*(54), 330–340.

Index