

## The media's role: covering or covering up corruption?

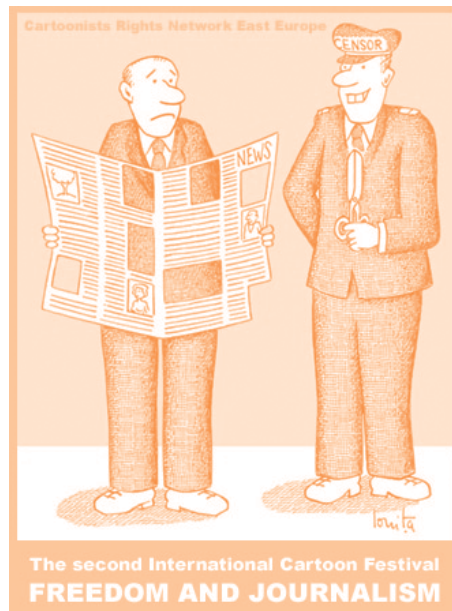
*Bettina Peters*

### Introduction

Information allows people to scrutinise activity and is the basis for proper, informed debate on that activity. In this context, the contribution made by journalists is clear: by providing the public with timely and accurate information on the affairs of government, business and special interests, the media can shape the climate of democratic debate and help the establishment and maintenance of good governance. That the media must be able to access public information in order to play this role is today widely appreciated. Freedom of the press, including free access to information, is fundamental to open, democratic society. This view has found its way into international legal norms and, in numerous countries, the media's rights are upheld and guaranteed in freedom of information legislation.

In spite of the international recognition of press freedom, journalists and media organisations throughout the world continue to face obstacles in reporting. Obstruction is reflected in the presence of active censorship or restrictive regulations on journalistic work, limited or blocked access to official information, a legal landscape that inhibits the ability of journalists to inquire and report freely – such as the application of draconian defamation and sedition laws – and a censorious abuse of essential media services, such as broadcasting, printing facilities and distribution systems. In addition, the lack of training, poor professional standards and a dearth of investment into investigative reporting make it difficult and sometimes impossible for journalists to access, impart or disseminate accurate information.

A difficult relationship between journalism and political power is a hallmark of democratic society. To that extent, a tendency to manipulate news and shape the agenda of public debate exists in all societies. In countries where democratic culture is not well established, restrictions on media tend to be more explicit and profoundly damaging to debate or public engagement. Where the affairs of government or powerful interest groups are protected by secrecy, journalists face considerable obstacles – and physical risk – if they embark upon investigations that could lead to exposing corruption. Yet the media also face challenges within their own ranks. Civil society has been monitoring developments in ownership concentration, the role of advertising and corrupt journalistic practices that undermine the media's ability to adhere to internationally accepted standards.



Nicolae Ionita, Romania

Since the events of September 11th, new measures to block, reduce or slow down the flow of information – while increasing surveillance of access itself – have threatened to restrict media freedom. In Jordan, for instance, new amendments to the penal code subject journalists to prison terms for publishing material that ‘could breach national unity, divide the population or damage the image and reputation of the state’. In Saudi Arabia, all Internet service providers must now keep records of their users in order to track access to forbidden websites. The United States has begun withholding information deemed detrimental to ‘institutional, commercial, and personal privacy interests’. Increased surveillance of the Internet, e-mail and telephone conversations was authorised in both Britain and Canada, while new French laws effectively criminalise the encryption of electronic messages. In Germany, a new anti-terrorist law grants intelligence services the right to access stored telecommunications data and trace the origins of e-mail.<sup>1</sup> For additional region-specific details on advances and setbacks in the struggle for access to information, see the access to information boxes in the regional reports.

### Covering corruption: a dangerous assignment

Simply by doing their jobs well, independent-minded journalists have played a central role in promoting democracy for many years. Many put their lives or freedom at risk to promote transparent and accountable governance and corporate behaviour. Of the 68 confirmed cases of murders of journalists in 2001, 15 were

## Media sustainability in Southeast Europe and Eurasia

In a drive to gauge the development of sustainable independent media, the International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX)<sup>1</sup> evaluates characteristics of the media as well as the political and legal environment in which they operate. IREX applied its first annual Media Sustainability Index<sup>2</sup> (MSI) to 20 countries in Southeast Europe and Eurasia in May 2001. Given that the index may be applied to any country or region of the world, IREX may expand its application to other regions in the future.

The MSI asked local media professionals and international media development experts to evaluate five key aspects of media systems: the quality of journalism; the legal and regulatory environment; the plurality of news sources; the media's financial sustainability; and the development of media-related associations, NGOs and unions.

All five aspects of a media system contribute to the media's ability to play its role in combating corruption. Financially stable media are in a position to maintain editorial independence and can afford investigative reporting; free-speech NGOs can support courageous media and journalists who take on corruption; and a plurality of news sources means that citizens have access to multiple points of view and that no one source can dominate.

Two categories of the index are particularly indicative of how prepared the media are to combat corruption. One measures how well legal and social norms protect and promote free speech and access to public information, while the other considers whether journalism meets professional standards of quality (see figure). Respondents evaluated features such as how well the right to access to information is enforced and how established investigative journalism is in specific countries.

The results of the MSI indicate that media throughout the region are still

struggling to fulfil their role in combating corruption. Regional variations are apparent. Media in Central Asia and Belarus engage in little investigative reporting, face governments unfriendly to a free press and enjoy limited support or protection from the legal system. Other countries in the Commonwealth of Independent States face similar obstacles, although repression may be subtler. In Southeast Europe, by contrast, there are more positive signs. Bulgaria, Croatia and Romania have demonstrated progress towards a climate that encourages the media to play the role of watchdog. Like other countries in Southeast Europe, however, they have not consolidated these gains.<sup>3</sup>

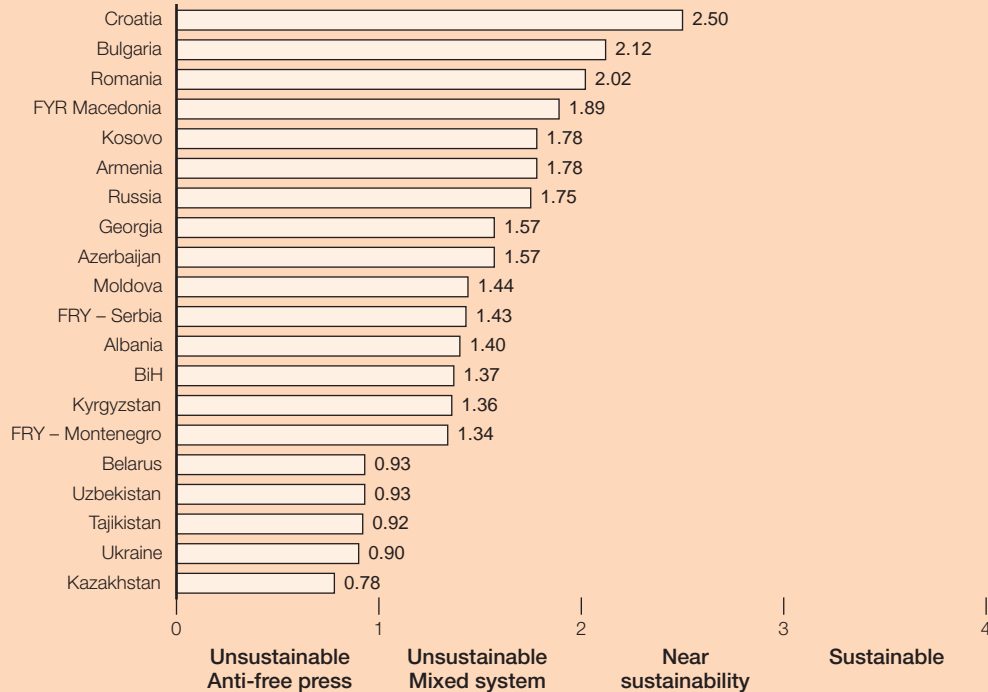
General trends are also apparent across the region. Since the fall of communism, skill levels have improved considerably, but better-quality reporting is often limited to the capitals and media are reluctant to engage in investigative reporting.

Repressive regimes continue to hold power in many states, while less repressive ones often use more subtle forms of intimidation, which lead the media to self-censorship. Murder and threats against investigative journalists and the media that support them occur throughout the region.<sup>4</sup>

State media remain timid and tied to the government of the day and many private media shun serious investigative reporting, either through lack of resources, lack of skills, self-censorship or owing to the political ties of owners.

While the legal framework has generally improved, journalists and media in many of the countries surveyed still face legal challenges to in-depth, investigative reporting. Libel and defamation laws do not meet generally accepted international standards. The concept of access to public information is still the exception, rather than the norm, and tax, customs and other

## Professional journalism



### Note

The measure of professional journalism includes factors such as whether reporting is well sourced, fair and balanced; whether journalists follow recognised and accepted ethical norms; whether they practise self-censorship; whether they cover key events and issues; and whether they offer investigative reporting.

laws are used as means of intimidation. Despite these challenges, courageous journalists are still struggling to ensure that the media serve as a corruption watchdog at regional, national and local levels.

### Mark Whitehouse

- 1 Based in Washington, D.C., IREX has implemented media development and education programmes since the early 1990s.
- 2 See [www.irex.org/publications-resources/msi\\_2001/index.htm](http://www.irex.org/publications-resources/msi_2001/index.htm). The MSI is funded

by the United States Agency for International Development.

- 3 Croatia has the highest scores with an average MSI of 2.44, which indicates it is nearing sustainability of a free media system but remains in danger of backsliding. Bulgaria is 2.39 and Romania 2.38. Since the 2001 MSI was completed in June 2001, Romania has witnessed both positive (the passing of freedom of information legislation) and negative developments (libel and slander were not removed from the criminal code, although penalties were reduced).
- 4 See Committee to Protect Journalists, *Attacks on the Press in 2001*, posted on [www.cpj.org/attacks01/pages\\_att01/attacks01.html](http://www.cpj.org/attacks01/pages_att01/attacks01.html).

related to their investigative work on issues of corruption.<sup>2</sup> This is an alarmingly high number.

One victim was Parmenio Medina Pérez, producer at Costa Rica's Radio Monumental. On 7 July 2001, he was shot three times by unknown assailants just outside his house; he died upon arrival at hospital. Pérez had produced a weekly satirical radio programme called *La Patada* (The Kick), known for a hard-hitting approach to official corruption. One report accused a local Catholic radio station and its director, Minor de Jesús Calvo Aguilar, of fiscal improprieties. The Catholic Church subsequently closed the station and fraud investigators started examining Aguilar's finances. Pérez began to receive death threats shortly thereafter.<sup>3</sup> In the meantime, a judge ruled in favour of Aguilar and ordered the station back on air.

In another case, Georgy Sanaya, a popular Georgian journalist, was found dead in his Tbilisi apartment on 26 July 2001. He had been shot in the head at close range. Sanaya had anchored *Night Courier*, a nightly political talk show on independent television station Rustavi-2 on which he interviewed Georgia's leading politicians. Rustavi-2's executive director claimed that the murder was probably intended to intimidate the station, which is known for its investigative reporting on the abuse of power.<sup>4</sup> Although Sanaya did not receive any personal threats, the station was frequently the target of government harassment. The police arrested a suspect in August 2001, but released him for lack of evidence.<sup>5</sup> One of the most significant results of Sanaya's murder case has been a heightened public awareness of the threat to Georgia's independent media. This case and others prompted major public demonstrations against government interference in the media, inducing President Eduard Shevardnadze to dismiss his entire cabinet in early 2002.

Killings continue. Edgar Damalerio, managing editor of the Filipino weekly newspaper *Zamboanga Scribe*, was shot dead on 13 May 2002. His colleagues are convinced that Damalerio, known for his critiques of corruption among local politicians and the police, was killed for his journalistic work. Valery Ivanov, editor of the newspaper *Tolyatinskoye Obozreniye* in Togliatti in south Russia, was killed on 29 April 2002. The newspaper was well known for its reports on organised crime and official corruption. In Bangladesh, Harunur Rashid, a reporter for the daily newspaper *Dainik Purbanchal*, was killed after writing several stories on official corruption and links between criminal syndicates and outlawed Maoist guerrilla groups. Orlando Sierra Hernández, a columnist for the Colombian newspaper *La Patria*, was shot in the head on 30 January 2002, and died two days later. His columns frequently attacked government corruption and human rights abuses by left-wing guerrillas.<sup>6</sup>

### Silencing journalists with laws

Apart from direct physical threats against journalists, the media in many countries face legislation that prevents them from gaining access to and imparting informa-

tion. Repressive defamation laws that put the burden of proof on journalists and grant special protection to public officials exist across Eastern Europe, Africa, Asia and parts of Latin America. These laws often forbid truth as a defence in defamation cases, signalling that the reputation of public officials is deemed worthier of protection than the public's right to know. Such laws – and the concomitant threat of prison sentences – create a climate of fear that discourages investigative reporting and the exposure of corruption.

One example of severely repressive legislation is Kazakhstan's libel law, which is used to financially weaken media critical of the political and commercial oligarchy. Almaty's independent weekly *Nachnem s Ponedelnika* is known for its in-depth reporting on state officials' involvement in the oil trade and other contracts. From 1998 to 2001, the weekly was sued 17 times for defamation, chiefly by officials or company executives with close links to government.

In three cases, the paper was found guilty of slander and fined a total of 25,935,000 tenge (about US \$180,000). Since Kazakh libel law does not recognise truth as a defence, *Nachnem s Ponedelnika* was fined for harming the reputation of public officials, without due consideration of possible evidence of their involvement in bribery. Two plaintiffs subsequently dropped their suits but the 12 remaining cases are still pending in the courts.<sup>7</sup> The sheer volume of cases filed suggests systematic harassment of the weekly and the abuse of privacy laws by some state officials.

### Media concentration: dissuading corruption coverage

A recent World Bank analysis of media ownership structures in 97 countries found that state-owned media tend to be less effective than private media in monitoring government. 'Countries that have reduced government ownership of the media have often experienced rapid improvements in the amount and quality of coverage. For example, Mexico's partial privatisation of broadcasting in 1989 led to a sharp increase in coverage of government corruption scandals.' Compared to other regions, Latin America and the Caribbean have low levels of state ownership of the media, yet both television and the press are concentrated in the hands of only a few private owners. This highly concentrated private ownership, combined with the restrictive regulations found in many Latin American countries, tends to restrain the media.<sup>8</sup>

No analytical reports have identified corrupt practices in media giants. In some cases, however, private media owners themselves can have a strong influence on whether corruption is covered, especially if they pursue greater profits rather than principles of free reporting or access to information.

One such example revolves around a major deal struck in September 2001 between the Chinese government and the media giants AOL Time Warner and Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation. The deal grants both companies the right to

## Caught on camera: regional Brazilian media moguls discredited

Media ownership is highly concentrated in Brazil, where congress holds the licensing authority for broadcast media. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that politicians often obtain these licences. Yet over the last year, a reinvigorated public prosecutor's office has arrested three such 'telepoliticians' on corruption charges in a trend that is precipitating the downfall of Brazil's regional oligarchies. Ironically, the moguls concerned have fallen prey to their own local media empires in the process.

Roseana Sarney, daughter of former president José Sarney, was a presidential hopeful for the 2002 election. Yet her reputation suffered irreparable damage when her own TV channel showed federal police uncovering 1.3 million reais (US \$400,000) in cash in a raid on one of her firms. Her husband and business partner ultimately admitted that the money had been earmarked to finance her campaign, in a clear violation of funding regulations. The ensuing scandal forced Sarney to drop out of the presidential race in April 2002.

Former senator Jader Barbalho is another well-known Brazilian who combines politics with media ownership. His share of the TV audience must have been surprised to see the police ringing his doorbell with a warrant for his arrest. The camera panned around his elegant apartment, zooming in on Barbalho as he struggled to hide his handcuffed wrists behind a book. Facing investigations into numerous allegations of corruption, he had already resigned as senator and president of the senate. After 13 hours in jail, however, he was a free man again, released by a court order.

The trial of Antônio Carlos Magalhães, for more than 40 years a name synonymous with power in the northeastern state of Bahia, was also exposed on his own TV station. His constituency watched as he stood before a senate inquiry, accused of violating the secrecy of electronic ballots in a senate vote over which he had presided.

In an affront to parliamentary decorum, he had allegedly obtained a list of the secret ballots of his colleagues. In anticipation of a ban from the higher assembly, he resigned as senator in May 2001.

The three telepoliticians have much in common. Their regional oligarchies command small communications empires in TV, radio and local newspapers – organs that have long promoted them while deriding their opponents. Yet the tables have started to turn. For financial reasons, the three politicians had affiliated their broadcast media with the large national networks. Since they made few programmes of their own, they ran soap operas, newscasts and other programmes produced by Brazil's top broadcasting corporations. Consequently, they found themselves showing uncut footage that has seriously harmed the reputation of their owners.

The impetus behind their downfall, however, had its origins in a key provision of the 1988 constitution that was introduced after the fall of the military dictatorship, at the beginning of Brazil's redemocratisation process. At the heart of the changing atmosphere is the public prosecutor's office, composed of attorney-generals and prosecutors whose responsibilities include monitoring and inspecting the behaviour of public office-holders. The relatively newly won independence of these prosecutors permits the office to make extraordinary contributions to curbing corruption and other arbitrariness by law-makers in Brazil. Rejuvenated with young prosecutors who must pass through a rigorous selection process, the public prosecutor's office and its 26 state offices continue to be the source of lawsuits brought against the powerful, among them Roseana Sarney, Jader Barbalho and Antônio Carlos Magalhães.

**Josias de Souza**

broadcast television programmes in China in exchange for beaming Chinese government-sponsored material into the United States.<sup>9</sup> The arrangement was criticised by press freedom organisations, as was Murdoch's decision to remove the BBC World Service from his network after Beijing complained about BBC coverage of internal politics. The International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) argued that the landmark deal with China 'sidelines human rights and press freedom' while showing indifference to the plight of journalists and programmers in Chinese jails.<sup>10</sup> The actions of AOL Time Warner and News Corporation sent out a message that promoting access to information – the basis for exposing corruption – was not a priority consideration in their decision-making.

Such conflicts of interest fall into sharper relief when media control and political power are combined in a single individual. One of the clearest such embodiments is Italy's prime minister Silvio Berlusconi, who commands large real estate holdings, owns several major newspapers and also controls most of Italy's private television market. As head of the government, he can now control the country's public television market since he effectively nominates the director of Radio Televisione Italiana (RAI). Berlusconi had promised to resolve the conflict between his political role and commercial interests within the first 100 days of his administration. This period has long since expired and at this writing Berlusconi had yet to install an effective firewall between his dual roles of prime minister and media mogul.

RAI and Berlusconi's media enterprises enjoy a certain editorial independence under a collective national agreement. In reality, however, journalists reporting too aggressively on the prime minister's business interests risk inconvenient transfers or the permanent loss of their jobs. Journalists have delivered confidential reports to the national press association concerning newsroom practices that discourage criticism of the government.<sup>11</sup>

In the United States, where media organisations undertake major lobbying efforts to promote their business interests, not all media espouse the role of independent watchdog. Both major parties receive donations from the media, which also sponsor members of Congress who support their objectives. Between 1993 and June 2000, the media provided a total of US \$75 million to politicians.<sup>12</sup> It was money well spent. One of the most remarkable – and least publicised – media events in recent years was the decision in 1996 to make a free gift to broadcasters of portions of the digital spectrum developed for digital data transfer, a deal worth an estimated US \$70 billion. This exchange of donations and gifts raises critical questions about the nature of the relationship between the media and government and the media's ability to retain independence.

### Mixing the message: advertising and editorial content

This independence is also compromised by advertising. Although vital to media companies' financial performance, advertising has had an increasingly pernicious

impact on editorial departments (see box, p. 53). Journalists are increasingly expected to produce material to suit sponsors and advertisers, blurring the line between advertising and editorial content. Some media companies increase revenues by passing off advertising as editorial content; others make favourable coverage of an enterprise contingent upon paid advertising.

Among many private newspapers in Africa, the relationship between journalism and advertising is more straightforward. Since advertising departments are often understaffed, reporters are expected to solicit advertising while on assignment, earning a share of the fee if successful.<sup>13</sup>

‘Not many journalists will admit it directly,’ said Gabriel Baglo, former president of Togo’s independent press union, ‘but what happens is that journalists go to report on a company. Because they ask them to place an ad at the same time, a deal is struck to ensure favourable coverage of the company’s performance.’<sup>14</sup> Similarly, a Tanzanian journalist reports: ‘The credibility of the news coverage is rightly questioned. This is especially the case in broadcasting: virtually all radio news in private media is sponsored.’<sup>15</sup>

### Corruption in the media

Corruption also exists within the structure of media organisations and in the way journalists carry out their reporting tasks. Many engage in a host of corrupt practices, ranging from ‘chequebook journalism’ to news tailored to suit advertising or commercial needs. Journalists’ codes of conduct condemn such corrupt activities, but the reality of the profession does not mirror its aspirations, especially when underpaid – or unpaid – journalists resort to accepting payment in order to make ends meet.<sup>16</sup>

Such situations arise in many developing countries and countries in transition, where pay levels are low. While bribes may be small, they can influence the story the journalist writes or broadcasts. In a 2001 seminar in Kursk, Russia, local newspaper journalists reported that they had accepted payments from a local businessman to write favourable articles about his ventures and investments.<sup>17</sup>

In the developed world, the practice of freebies is well established. Journalists enjoy free air travel from airlines and hospitality at hotels and then write glowing travel articles. In Europe, members of media organisations often expect hotels and meals to be complimentary when they attend press conferences; they may even count on sponsors to provide gifts.

Such practices can have a direct effect on media coverage, as came to light in the wake of the Enron scandal. Unethical links between financial journalists and the energy giant resulted in uncritical coverage of the company’s activities. Irwin Stelzer, a contributor to the *Weekly Standard* in the United States and the *Sunday Times* of London, who complimented Enron in November 2001 for ‘leading the fight for competition’, publicly disclosed his association with Enron and that of *Weekly*

## Cash for editorial: unethical media practices revealed

Taking cash for editorial content and other unethical media practices are prevalent around the world, particularly in Southern and Eastern Europe and Latin America. A survey by the International Public Relations Association (IPRA) concludes that no region is immune.

The study, published in July 2002, polled 242 public relations and communications professionals in 54 countries. The respondents, mostly senior practitioners in local or international consulting firms, provided information on their perception of who ultimately determines editorial content.

Nearly two-thirds (63 per cent) of respondents in Eastern Europe believe that *zakazukha* – a Russian word referring to the acceptance of bribes by journalists in exchange for editorial content – is common in their countries. Only 13 per cent of respondents in Eastern Europe believe that editorial content is ‘usually’ or ‘always’ based on editorial judgement rather than bribery. In Southern Europe, Africa and the Middle East, 40 per cent of respondents believe that editorial content is generally influenced by bribes.

Even in regions where the media appear more transparent, the percentage of respondents who say that editorial control is influenced by third parties is considerable: between 13 and 21 per cent in Asia, Australia, North America and North/West Europe.

Asia is perceived to be home to the world’s most transparent media, with 68 per cent of respondents agreeing that editorial control is usually or always based on editorial judgement rather than bribes. North America follows with 65 per cent, Australia with 60 per cent and North/West Europe with 59 per cent.

The survey also indicated that advertising often appears disguised as editorial matter. Almost 60 per cent of Latin American respondents feel that material which appears in print as a result

of payment is in general not clearly identified as advertising or promotional material, and is disguised as editorial. Confidence is not much higher in Eastern Europe, where 52 per cent of respondents say that promotional material is generally not identified as such.

With regard to the journalistic practice of accepting complimentary gifts in exchange for favourable coverage, otherwise known as ‘freebies’, 87 per cent of respondents from Eastern Europe and 85 per cent from Southern Europe say that publications ‘seldom’ or ‘never’ refuse free travel, accommodation or products.

Seventy per cent of respondents in North America believe that publications generally have written guidelines restricting the acceptance of free samples, gifts or discounted materials from outsiders. In Africa and the Middle East, by contrast, 80 per cent of respondents believe that publications rarely or never have such guidelines.

Do editors and journalists accept bribes not to run a story? In Latin America, 41 per cent of respondents say such bribes are often accepted, while no respondents think this practice is common in Australia or North America.

The U.S.-based Institute for Public Relations is releasing a biennial international index of bribery in the media to support IPRA’s continuing Campaign for Media Transparency. Meanwhile, IPRA is encouraging media and broadcast organisations to sign up to its Charter on Media Transparency (see [www.ipra.org](http://www.ipra.org)).

**Alasdair Sutherland**

*Standard* editor William Kristol. Stelzer never disclosed how much he was paid for his work; Kristol received more than US \$100,000 for a consultancy contract for the company. 'I'm a little unhappy to have had an association with people who turned out to be not entirely honourable in other dealings,' Kristol said later.<sup>18</sup>

In an effort to curb such activities, some media groups have begun to hold journalists to ethical standards. Russia's journalism union, for example, distributes press cards only to media houses and journalists that adopt its official code of conduct, which condemns corrupt practices and provides for editorial independence.

### Supporting investigative journalism and editorial independence

To promote openness in society and expose corruption, media owners, publishers, editors and journalists must resist pressures to report what is beneficial to political and private interests. They must also overcome obstacles to free reporting, especially in the absence of effective freedom of information legislation (see p. 57).

Editorial independence – the media's right to take editorial decisions according to conscience and codes of conduct – lies at the heart of promoting independent journalism. Journalists and media freedom groups need to lobby media owners and management, regardless of whether they are private or state-owned, to recognise principles of editorial independence that allow journalists to pursue stories in the public interest, including exposés of corruption.

When financially possible, editors and media owners should invest in improved coverage and stop relying on companies or taxpayers to meet their journalists' travel costs. In many cases, refusing freebies or outright bribes presents additional financial hardship for media whose resources are already limited. These media do not even have the resources to allow journalists the time to engage in the extended research or investigations required for professional coverage.

Given these circumstances, the international community cannot pass responsibility for curbing corruption on to journalists and media organisations alone. Although few programmes to support investigative journalism exist, an important component in confronting corruption, a number of specialist organisations do provide training. The Association of Investigative Journalists, the World Bank and Australia's Centre for Democratic Institutions (CDI) have developed training courses for journalists interested in covering corruption. In March 2002, the CDI ran an election reporting workshop in Papua New Guinea that included modules entitled 'covering corrupt politicians' and 'minding your back'.<sup>19</sup>

Another initiative is the Journalists Against Corruption (PFC) programme, which was established in 2000 by Probidad, an NGO in El Salvador that promotes democratisation throughout Latin America. Probidad operates a monitored e-mail system that facilitates the exchange of articles, opinions, announcements, contacts and resources among Latin American journalists who investigate corruption. Journalists identify themselves to a moderator to establish their credentials, but the

system guarantees anonymity to journalists who fear recrimination.<sup>20</sup> Probidad has not yet checked the general impact of its initiative, but more than 600 journalists have signed up to the service.<sup>21</sup>

A similar initiative is a website for African journalists reporting on corruption. Established by the IFJ, with funding from the European Commission, the IFJ-PA website offers free information and links to African journalists reporting on finance and corruption issues.<sup>22</sup> Journalists sign up as members by providing references to the site's moderator.

Both the Probidad and IFJ initiatives enable journalists to post articles to other journalists or news organisations if their own editors reject them.

## Conclusion

If the media are to combat corruption in the public and private sectors – as well as within the media world itself – they must be able to rely on access to information. Where freedom of information legislation is lacking or its implementation ineffectual, legal reform initiatives need to be promoted by NGOs as well as public and private interests. In countries with harsh defamation laws, legal defence funds can be instrumental in assisting journalists and news organisations targeted by punitive libel laws.

Within the media, conflict of interest legislation must be advocated to counter the concentration of media ownership and ensure the continuity of multiple sources of information. Journalists' initiatives to establish statutes of editorial independence should also be supported by media owners, governments and donor organisations. Rules on corruption in the media should be adopted by the industry, but journalists must also be paid adequate salaries. A clear distinction must also be established between editorial and advertising departments. Naming and shaming colleagues who take bribes or act as consultants to companies they cover can also go a long way towards reducing corruption. The international community, governments and civil society should step up efforts to train journalists to report and help curb corruption inside and outside their industry.

- 1 [www.freedomhouse.org/pfs2002/pfs2002.pdf](http://www.freedomhouse.org/pfs2002/pfs2002.pdf); see also Freedom House press release, 22 April 2002.
- 2 The International Federation of Journalists (IFJ), *List of Journalists and Media Staff Killed 2001*, Brussels, December 2001. See also [www.ifj.org/hrights/killlist/killoverview.html](http://www.ifj.org/hrights/killlist/killoverview.html).
- 3 Information from the IFJ, the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) and the Inter-American Press Association; [www.freemedia.at/wpfr/costaric.htm](http://www.freemedia.at/wpfr/costaric.htm).
- 4 Interview with CPJ.
- 5 Information from the IFJ, CPJ, World Association of Newspapers, European Journalism Centre.
- 6 [www.rsf.org/rubrique.php3?id\\_rubrique-113](http://www.rsf.org/rubrique.php3?id_rubrique-113).
- 7 Information from a protest by the CPJ, January 2001.
- 8 World Bank Group, *World Development Report 2002*. See news release 2002/074/S, [wbln0018.worldbank.org/news/pressrelease.nsf](http://wbln0018.worldbank.org/news/pressrelease.nsf).
- 9 The companies agreed to broadcast Chinese state-owned English-language channel CCTV-9 in the United States. BBC News, 6 September 2001.
- 10 IFJ press release, 6 September 2001.

- 11 See statements by the FNSI general secretary at their World Press Freedom conference in Florence, 3 May 2002.
- 12 Center for Public Integrity, Washington, D.C.; [www.publicintegrity.org/dtaweb/home.asp](http://www.publicintegrity.org/dtaweb/home.asp).
- 13 There are no official reports on this practice, but journalists from Africa have spoken about it in many meetings and seminars, such as the Status of Journalists conferences organised by the IFJ in 1994, 1996-1998, 2000 and 2001.
- 14 Statement made during a meeting at the Maison de la Presse in Lomé, Togo, October 2000.
- 15 Reports at the IFJ conference on the Status of Journalists in Eastern Africa, November 2000.
- 16 For an overview of journalists' codes of conduct, see [www.presswise.org.uk/ethics.htm](http://www.presswise.org.uk/ethics.htm).
- 17 IFJ seminar on editorial independence, Kursk, Russia, 29-30 October 2001.
- 18 Joshua Lipton, 'Enron's Helpers', *Columbia Journalism Review*, March/April 2002; [www.cpj.org/year/02/2/liptonenron.asp](http://www.cpj.org/year/02/2/liptonenron.asp).
- 19 [www.cdi.anu.edu.au](http://www.cdi.anu.edu.au).
- 20 [www.probidad.org](http://www.probidad.org).
- 21 [www.portal-pfc.org/english/index.html](http://www.portal-pfc.org/english/index.html).
- 22 [www.ifj-pa.org](http://www.ifj-pa.org).