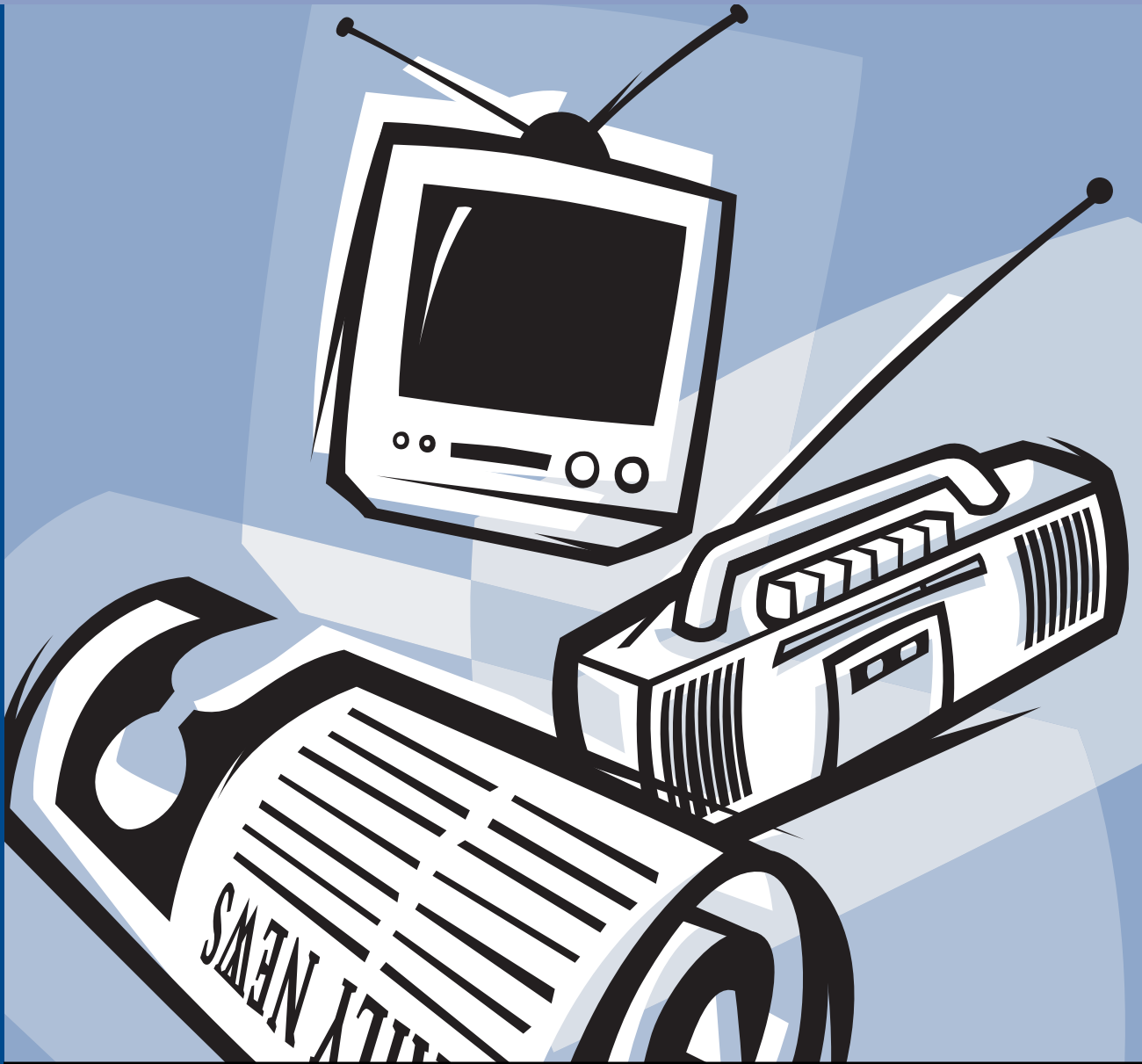


Promoting Independent Media in Russia

An Assessment of USAID's Media Assistance

PPC EVALUATION WORKING PAPER NO. 7



Bureau for Policy and Program Coordination
August 2003



PN-ACR-757

RELATED PUBLICATIONS

PPC Evaluation Working Papers on Media Assistance

Media Assistance: Best Practices and Priorities (PN-ACR-754)

Journalism Training and Institution Building in Central American Countries (PN-ACR-755)

Assessment of USAID Media Assistance in Bosnia and Herzegovina 1996–2002 (PN-ACR-756)

Promoting Independent Media in Russia: An Assessment of USAID's Media Assistance (PN-ACR-757)

U.S. Media Assistance Programs in Serbia, July 1997–June 2002 (PN-ACT-553)

PPC Evaluation Paper No. 3: USAID's Media Assistance: Policy and Programmatic Lessons (PN-ACU-013)

Promoting Independent Media in Russia

An Assessment of USAID's Media Assistance

Krishna Kumar, Senior Social Scientist, USAID

Laura Randall Cooper, Media Specialist, Management Systems International

Bureau for Policy and Program Coordination

August 2003

Contents

Abbreviations and Acronyms	v
Preface	vi
Executive Summary	vii
Promoting Independent Media in Russia	1
1. Introduction	1
2. The Media Scene in Russia	2
3. History and Focus of the Media Assistance Program	5
4. Contribution to Broadcast Media	8
5. USAID-Supported Print Media Program	14
6. Promoting the Media Sector	18
7. Lessons and Implications	25
Annex: Principal Contacts	29
Bibliography	33

Abbreviations and Acronyms

CTW	Children's Television Workshop
DCTV	Downtown Community Television
EMAP	Emergency Media Assistance Program
GDF	Glasnost Defense Foundation
IFES	International Foundation for Electoral Systems
IIL	Institute for Information Laws
IREX	International Research and Exchanges Board
ITV	Independent Television Project
MDP	Media Development Program
MLPC	Media Law and Policy Center (Moscow)
MVF	Media Viability Fund
NAT	National Association of Teleradio Broadcasters
NPI	National Press Institute
NYU	New York University
PDI	Press Development Institute
PPC	Bureau for Policy and Program Coordination (USAID)
RAMED	Russian-American Media Entrepreneurship Dialogue
RAMP	Russian-American Media Project
RAPIC	Russian-American Press and Information Center
UNC	University of North Carolina

Preface

USAID has supported a wide variety of media projects and programs for building viable democratic institutions and reducing political tensions. The Agency gave technical and economic assistance to independent media outlets. It also assisted in the privatization of state-owned media, particularly television. Still more importantly, USAID has helped to build an enabling environment in which independent, professional media can grow and survive.

The Bureau for Policy and Program Coordination undertook a global assessment of USAID media assistance programs to draw policy and operational lessons to improve both the effectiveness and relevance of future media assistance initiatives. The assessment critically examined the nature and focus of media assistance programs. It undertook intensive fieldwork in Bosnia, Central America, Russia, and Serbia, and plans to do limited fieldwork in Indonesia.

This report presents the findings of a three-person team that conducted an assessment of USAID media assistance programs in Russia. During its fieldwork in October–November 2002, the team conducted in-depth discussions with the staff of USAID and its partners, journalists, managers of independent media outlets, and the leaders of civil society organizations. The team also undertook a comprehensive examination of project and program documents and academic literature on the Russian media scene.

Several colleagues, outside experts, and media persons assisted this assessment. Within USAID, John Simon, Deputy Assistant Administrator; Elaine Grigsby, Deputy Director, Office of Development Evaluation and Information; Woody Navin, Chief, Division of Evaluation Studies and Performance Assessment; and Peter Graves, Senior Media Advisor, Bureau for Europe and Eurasia, gave their full support to the team. Mark Koenig, Senior Democracy Fellow, was a source of invaluable information and insight on the history and working of the Russian media. In USAID/Russia, senior officials, particularly Susan Reichle, Director, Office of Democratic Initiatives; Mark Dillen, Director, Media Programs; Katya Drozdova, Media Specialist; and German Abaev, Project Management Specialist, went out of their way to help the team. Stefan Medina helped in library research. Zoey Breslar and Chad Hespell from Management Systems International provided technical support to the assessment, and the staff of IBI–International Business Initiatives edited this report with remarkable skill. I am grateful to all of them.

Krishna Kumar
Senior Social Scientist

Executive Summary

Background

Since 1991, USAID has spent more than \$44 million to promote nonstate media in Russia—the largest recipient of USAID media assistance. The program’s size and focus on broadcast and print media led USAID’s Bureau for Policy and Program Coordination (PPC) to undertake an evaluation of the program’s achievements, impacts, and limitations to see if it offers lessons useful in developing new and innovative programs.

USAID media assistance strategies in Russia evolved in response to rapidly changing conditions and experimentation. In the earliest years, USAID Russia focused on journalism training, the clearest, most obvious need to help overcome ingrained habits of seven decades of state-controlled media. Later, it also started giving attention to business development and management training. USAID also supported media organizations and associations that promote the growth of independent, responsible media. Only during the financial crisis of 1998 did USAID provide limited direct economic and commodity assistance to selected media outlets.

USAID Assistance

USAID media-related assistance to Russia totaled over \$44 million during the June 1992–September 2002 period. Television-focused funding absorbed \$22.4 million; projects focused mainly on the print media accounted for just over \$7 million; and funding for the media sector as a whole was over \$14.5 million. In addition to direct institution-building activities, USAID provided assistance for using media for special purposes, such as holding elections and preventing domestic violence. While these two projects may have increased local media

skills and capabilities, it was not their primary intention.

Building Broadcast Media

USAID Russia’s major partner in the broadcast media was Internews, which received \$18.1 million. Although undertaking various activities to promote independent media in Russia, Internews’s primary focus was to assist emerging, independent regional television stations. With dynamic leadership and innovative program strategies, Internews has become one of the most prominent media NGOs in the Russian Federation. USAID’s activities with Internews covered various television-related programs:

- *Training programs.* Training television journalists has been a major initial and continuing activity. Nearly 5,000 broadcast journalists—close to half the total of participants in all Internews instructional undertakings—have been trained.
- *Improving management and financial viability.* Since the early 1990s, Internews has focused on improving the management and financial viability of regional television stations by undertaking training seminars on management, marketing and advertisement, and design and technology.
- *Programming and dissemination.* In addition to training, Internews implemented innovative projects to produce and disseminate television programs for regional television stations.
- *Promoting an enabling environment and other assistance.* With USAID support, Internews has undertaken activities and projects that spurred the growth of independent media. Activities included computerization of regional

newsrooms for greater ease of news sharing and support for the formation and growth of a national association of television and radio broadcasters.

There is little doubt that USAID support has helped Internews make a profound contribution to the growth and success of regional television stations. Although these stations have progressed at varying rates—depending on local markets, political circumstances, and the commitment of managers—practically all have benefited from the programs initiated and implemented by Internews.

Several factors contributed to this success. One is that Internews focused on the relatively small segment of the media eager to receive assistance. When it started its activities, only a few dozen independent, regional television stations existed, although their number has gradually grown. As a result, Internews could establish close and continuous relationships with these stations. Moreover, the entrepreneurs who started these stations, and the journalists who joined them, were relatively young and dynamic; they were eager to learn and profit from any assistance program from any quarter. When Internews launched training projects, they responded with enthusiasm and initiative. Internews has also succeeded because of its emphasis on practical projects. It has designed training and other assistance programs that address the day-to-day problems faced by the regional television stations.

Internews consciously appealed to the economic self-interest of the managers and journalists, and only indirectly to the ideology of a free press. There has been a distinctly apolitical undertone in Internews's strategy, which has made it acceptable to a wide spectrum of end-users, despite the fact that it was largely funded by USAID. The stated objective of its projects is to make the trainees more professional and the television stations more profitable.

Another major factor behind Internews's success is its leadership and staff. The director is a dynamic and respected figure in the broadcast community. The

staff is well trained, committed, and willing to learn. Managers are not afraid of changing course, even during the middle of a program. Once a project is implemented, they receive feedback through various mechanisms to assess progress as well as failure.

Last, it is important to note USAID's flexibility in implementing funding for Internews's programs as well as its approach of allowing maximum operational freedom. When Internews demonstrated positive results very early, USAID developed a relatively hands-off approach that gave Internews maximum freedom to implement "Russian solutions" where U.S. model might have failed. This policy continues today.

USAID-Supported Print Media Program

USAID's program aimed mainly at the press was funded at just over \$7 million from September 1996 through September 2002. The program is currently administered through a partnership with the Press Development Institute (PDI). PDI has a distinguished ancestry. Its predecessors, the Russian-American Press and Information Center (RAPIC) and the National Press Institute (NPI), were pioneers in exposing Russian journalists, human rights activists, and proponents of western liberal democracy to the role and responsibilities of the free press.

Registered as a Russian NGO with a Russian board of directors and founders, PDI inherited NPI's offices, key staff, institutional "culture," and centers in Moscow, St. Petersburg, Yekaterinburg, Novosibirsk, Samara, and Vladivostok. Since 1998, NPI/PDI have undertaken a variety of activities, including

- *Press briefings and conferences.* NPI/PDI continued operating press centers, which held briefings, press conferences, and meetings on topics of national and international importance. These centers promoted political openness and accountability by facilitating the exchange of ideas and public discussions. NPI/PDI particularly focused on human rights and freedom of press issues.

- *Educational and training programs.* NPI/PDI have also mounted various training exercises—single presentations and short seminars—putting forward Western journalistic standards and techniques and adapting them to Russian conditions.
- *Legal services.* PDI now operates the NPI-established commercial law consulting service, which performs critical functions essential for the growth of independent media in Russia’s regions by helping newspapers write and enforce contracts and other legal documents.
- *Information services.* NPI/PDI supported educational programs for training news media professionals in the use of the internet. PDI has also established an interactive database listing all independent, regional print media to help monitor newspaper quality and assess the effectiveness of PDI’s programs.

USAID’s support clearly allowed NDI/PDI to establish venues in five major provincial cities and Moscow, where journalists interested in improving their performance can compare notes and consult outside experts. It has also enabled it to keep watch on the strivings, advances, and setbacks of print media in large and small cities across Russia, and maintain at least informal contact with the most promising enterprises, their editors, and staff.

Above all, USAID’s assistance to NDI/PDI has exposed many more journalists and publishers to western standards of accuracy and objectivity in reporting, ways to seek advertising revenues, and managing a publication as a business.

Challenges

Despite these accomplishments, NDI/PDI’s overall impact on the regional print media scene has been modest. Regional print media have registered only limited progress toward editorial and financial independence during the past five years. A sizable portion of the regional newspapers depends upon the patronage of political leaders, public officials, businessmen, and other interested individuals and

groups. These papers cannot survive without help that compromises their editorial independence.

Several factors shed light on the limited impact of USAID’s assistance on the regional print media especially when compared to its remarkable contribution to the regional television stations. NDI/PDI had to deal with a large number of newspapers. More than 12,000 regional newspapers are registered. Assuming that even half are regularly published, it is beyond the technical and physical resources of a single organization to reach them. Moreover, many regional papers lack the managerial and economic resources to take advantage of the training and other services provided by NPI/PDI. Many editors and publishers represent an old generation that finds it hard to adapt to the new realities. Besides, many newspapers cannot afford to spare staff for training in Moscow or the regional centers. Many more have difficulty affording travel and other costs (since PDI rightly insists that they should share costs).

NPI did not pay enough attention to the issue of the financial viability of newspapers. In direct contrast to Internews’s approach, NPI’s early, primary focus was on press freedom, journalistic standards, access to information, and supporting civil society organizations. Although this focus undoubtedly had some value in the aftermath of a totalitarian regime, the bigger problem is that journalistic independence generally—though not always—requires financial independence. Unless a media outlet generates enough revenue, it is likely to remain at the mercy of whichever interest group or individual is financing it. Recognizing this fundamental weakness in its earlier approach, PDI has taken steps to promote financial independence of the regional print media.

NPI suffered from many management and organizational problems, and these were inherited by PDI. The leadership is deeply divided and each unit seeks vigorously to guard its territory. Although the situation has slightly improved in recent years, NPI/PDI failed to provide much needed autonomy to their regional centers. They controlled all resources—

technical and monetary—leaving little room for local initiative. Consequently, enthusiastic and energetic staffers at some regional centers became frustrated, and some left.

Promoting the Media Sector

Parallel and related USAID-backed efforts, funded at \$14.7 million, fostered the development of the Russian media sector. The Russian-American Media Partnership Project (RAMP), renamed the Media Development Program (MDP), provided \$10.5 million to promote independent media, and was jointly implemented by Internews and NDI/PDI. RAMP/MDP supported 31 projects involving 66 Russian organizations, 61 U.S. groups, and 9 others based in Europe. These projects ranged from fostering commercial media enterprises to providing infrastructure support and professional training. The two journalism training institutes that received support—Pozner School of Broadcast Journalism and Ural State University Journalism School—are still functioning. Many RAMP/MDP-supported media associations and organizations have emerged as powerful entities, playing an important role in the media scene. The Glasnost Defense Foundation and Institute for Information Laws are good examples.

Despite some achievements in improving the institutional environment for independent media in Russia, two limitations seem to have adversely affected RAMP/MDP. First, its focus on partnership rather than on promoting independent media hindered success. Experience showed that the focus of such projects was generally dictated by the interests of the two parties rather than the needs of the media sector. The goals and outcome of the programs became muddled, showing that such collaborative projects were not the best mechanism for promoting an independent media sector. Second, RAMP/MDP lacked a coherent strategy for promoting independent media in Russia. Funding projects with differing focus and approaches failed to produce synergy; impacts were isolated and spasmodic.

Lessons

From the analysis and conclusions above flow a number of lessons derived from the analysis of media support programs in Russia.

1. Even in a highly complex political transition, carefully planned media programs can make a difference by contributing to the growth of nonstate media.
2. A comprehensive strategy for promoting independent media should focus on the economic viability of privatized or newly established media outlets, institutionalization of the norms of professional ethics, and enabling other voices to reach wider audiences.
3. The term “independent media” can create unjustified complacency in policy circles: it gives the impression that privatized or newly established nonstate media are essentially independent simply because they are not owned by the state.
4. USAID’s policy of assisting only nonstate media is essentially sound, but program managers should enjoy flexibility in implementing it.
5. In transition societies, when concerns about media assistance from former adversaries exist, the prudent course is to focus on skills and training, not on content.
6. As a result of privatization and commercialization, many educational and cultural programs formerly shown on state-owned television have been crowded out by entertainment programming. The designers of USAID media programs should recognize this development and, when possible, take steps that widen access to and increase the quantity of educational and cultural programs during transition.

Promoting Independent Media in Russia

1. Introduction

For many years, USAID has supported a wide variety of media projects and programs for building viable democratic institutions and reducing political tensions in transition and developing countries. In addition to generous funding for educational and training programs for journalists, the Agency has trained managers of media enterprises in accounting and business management and given technical assistance to media outlets so that they can become economically viable and sustainable. Still more importantly, USAID has helped build an enabling environment in which independent, professional media can grow and prosper. It is estimated that USAID has spent over \$260 million in media assistance since the mid-1980s.

The Bureau for Policy and Program Coordination (PPC) has undertaken a global assessment of USAID's media assistance programs. The objective is to draw policy and operational lessons to improve both the effectiveness and relevance of future USAID media assistance.

PPC selected the Russian Federation as one of the fieldwork countries for many reasons, not least because it has been the largest recipient of USAID's media assistance. Over the past decade, USAID has spent more than \$44 million on promoting non-state media in the Russian Federation. The sheer size of the assistance necessitates an objective look at its achievements, impacts, and limitations. Moreover, not only has the program been quite large, it has focused on both broadcast and print media. Consequently, it offers a wide range of lessons that can be useful for the international donor

community in developing new and innovative programs in other parts of the world. Finally, Russia is a former superpower; the whole world has a paramount interest in its transformation to a free, democratic society. The growth and maturation of independent and responsible media are integral parts of the democratization process.

As with other country assessments, PPC followed a multipronged strategy for data collection and analysis. It began with a systematic review of the program documents and interviews with USAID's partners, particularly Internews and the International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX), which run USAID media programs in the country. USAID's Bureau for Democracy, Conflict, and Humanitarian Assistance also prepared a partial background paper for the assessment team and sent a three-member team to Russia.

The team spent three weeks in Russia (September 20–October 12, 2002), and individually or collectively met staff of USAID and its partner organizations, project managers, and program beneficiaries. In addition, team members also interviewed many leaders of NGOs involved in promoting independent media. Finally, the team met with many media experts and professionals. Team members visited program sites in Moscow, St. Petersburg, Nizhny Novgorod, Tomsk, and Yekaterinburg. The annex lists the names and affiliations of persons met in Russia.

In presenting the main findings and conclusions of the assessment, this report seeks to answer the following questions:

- What has been the nature and focus of USAID’s media assistance program in Russia? How did the program evolve over time? What programming strategies did it follow?
- What have been the achievements and shortcomings of media interventions? What types of results did they achieve? What factors affected the effectiveness of media programs?
- What has been the overall effectiveness of USAID media assistance on promoting independent, sustainable media?
- What are the policy and programmatic lessons for future USAID media assistance programs?

The remainder of this report is organized as follows: Chapter 2 summarizes recent developments in Russian media. Chapter 3 explains the growth of media assistance programs and gives brief details about each of USAID’s major programs. Chapters 4 and 5 examine in detail the nature of USAID program achievements and shortcomings in broadcast and print media. Chapter 6 discusses the USAID-funded programs designed to assist the media sector as a whole. Chapter 7 identifies critical policy and operational lessons.

2. The Media Scene in Russia

The past 15 years have brought significant change to the Russian media. Although the country has far to go in establishing independent and responsive media, the sector has been rapidly transformed. However, the change has not always been linear, and apparent progress has been followed by setbacks and regressions. This chapter looks closely at those developments and the present situation to provide a backdrop for USAID-supported media interventions in Russia.

Under the communist regime that held power from 1917 to 1991, the media came under absolute governmental control. Soviet leaders understood the role of mass media in mobilizing people for revolutionary change, legitimizing their

tenuous hold over the vast and diverse country, and promoting communist ideology at home and abroad. Therefore, the regime controlled the media by promoting state and party ownership, enforcing strict censorship, and, most importantly, institutionalizing a system that mandated self-censorship by journalists. It allowed only trusted party loyalists to manage media outlets; edit newspapers, periodicals, and news bulletins on radio and television; manage the TASS news agency; and control publication of books, films, and documentaries. The regime also centralized the media; information flowed from Moscow to the union’s constituent republics and states. Obsessed with the destabilizing effects of information and ideas emanating from abroad, the regime took every possible step to prevent their flow, although not always successfully.

Winds of Change (1987–90)

The situation began to change with the launch of perestroika and glasnost in the 1980s. The new leadership under Mikhail Gorbachev (who came to power in 1985) sought the help of progressive sections of the media in on-again, off-again efforts to open the Soviet system. A number of Moscow journalists responded to this opportunity with cautious enthusiasm. Such publications as the weeklies *Ogonyok* and *Argumenty i Fakty* and the national dailies, *Izvestia* and *Moscow News*, became energetic in exposing embarrassing secrets from the past, though they were only rarely active in investigating current controversies. It was a paradoxical development: the communist regime allowed journalists much-vaunted freedom, but on a small scale.

Two private news agencies—Postfactum and Interfax—were also founded during this period, delivering news not available through the official news agency. This first wave of free expression was fueled by a desire to “recover” Soviet history and to advance unofficial points of view and priorities. Given the public appetite for disclosures and continuation of government financing, publications gave little or no attention to the economic viability of their enterprises.

A notable development during this period was the 1990 adoption of the breakthrough law on the press and other media. It guaranteed freedom of press, abolished censorship, and, in tandem with other measures to encourage privatization, recognized the right to establish privately owned media. The law also provided for the independence of editorial bodies and journalism collectives, but not for enforceable rights of access to information.

Growth of Commercial Media (1991–95)

Under the presidency of Boris Yeltsin (1991–99), the government of the newly formed Russian Federation significantly reduced its control over the media. The country witnessed increasing privatization and decentralization of the media system and the emergence of independent voices in print and on the air.

The Communist Party press—notably the party’s flagship newspaper, *Pravda*—collapsed during this period. Journalists and other groups outside the capital launched thousands of newspapers and periodicals, opening a new era in the print media. Many newspapers were launched with the intent of making money. A minority targeted at special audiences evolved into profitable or break-even business enterprises, but a significant (even growing) share of general interest newspaper publishers invested in media for purposes of political influence rather than profits or public service. Powerful business interests, local politicians, or wealthy businessmen labeled as “oligarchs” increasingly supported these publications. The unfortunate tradition of political and economic interests patronizing media tended to grow after the mid-1990s, at national as well as regional levels.

Some advertising circulars distributed for free were intended to be a profitable business. High circulation and new forms of advertising also produced substantial earnings for some publications and broadcast outlets—at least until sharp economic downturns cut into disposable income.

Cost savings were not a major concern for all the old-school or upstart papers of the early 1990s.

Newspaper managers willing to echo official political views could tap state subsidies—from both federation and regional budgets—that averaged \$4,100 a year as late as 2001, when 1,956 papers—more than half the estimated total in the regions—received such help (RAMED 2002, 8).

However, as a result of a rapid rise in the prices of newsprint, inadequate advertising revenues, and the decline of state subsidies, print media growth came to a halt and actually reversed. For example, during the Soviet era, the combined circulation of the central newspapers amounted to 100 million copies. That number declined to 24 million in 1992, as broadcast media gained both audience and advertising income (Rantanen 2002, 30). As public hunger for revelations about the past diminished, free television provided entertainment.

The government allowed the partial privatization of Channel 1, creating a new TV giant, ORT. Although the state still owned 51 percent of its shares, the rest were passed to a consortium of banks and other industrial interests. The central government in Moscow retained control of Channel 2 (RTR), and has recently recentralized management. Despite the endurance of state-owned television networks, fundamental changes in the broadcast sector nevertheless occurred in the early to mid-1990s. In particular, several hundred independent regional television stations emerged and developed.

Rise and Fall of Media Empires (1996–2001)

By the end of 1996, a few national media barons had emerged to take control over most of the national television networks and a number of influential dailies and weeklies. Two men, in particular, accumulated vast resources by taking advantage of privatization of the state enterprises, financial manipulation, and their proximity to power. Boris Berezovsky acquired control of some part of television channels ORT and TV-6 (particularly several news and editorial shows); newspapers *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, *Novye Izvesty*, and *Kommersant*, and a number of weekly political, business, and entertainment magazines (Fossato 2001, 345). Vladimir Guzinsky, who owned NTV, a private television network, also

acquired a national reach through his company Media Most. On a smaller scale, Vladimir Potanin created Prof-Media by merging *Russky Telegraph* and *Izvestia* newspapers. These “barons,” like many others, saw the media more as a source of political power enabling them to influence the government rather than as a direct source of profit.

After the 1996 elections, the media barons who had joined hands to elect President Yeltsin started feuding. These so-called media wars were not about policy or ideology, but for privileged access to yet-to-be-privatized state property and influence over the government. In this information war, “the opposing positions of battling oligarchs were proclaimed on different channels’ national news programs and on the pages of the papers they owned” (Internews Network 2002, 4).

The economic crisis of 1998 had negative effects on the media. First and foremost, it brought a 70–90 percent decline in advertising revenues, a rise in prices of imported commodities, high inflation, and a rapid decline in business activity, all of which posed a major challenge to the survival of emerging nonstate media enterprises. The declining economic fortunes of “patrons” who had subsidized favorite media outlets made it difficult for them to continue their assistance at past levels. Ironically, the economic crisis pushed the media toward economic independence, as owners were forced to focus on the business side of their media enterprises. Many independent broadcasters gave added attention to business management. On the other hand, many regional publishers forsook independence for subsidization by local politicians or large enterprises.

Since 1999, the Putin government has sought to increase its influence over the media, particularly the broadcast media. It engineered the downfall of Berezovsky and Guzinsky and liquidated TV-6. In its most recent act of intimidation, the Kremlin fired its own handpicked head of NTV after two years on the job, reportedly because of the network’s continuing attempts to assert some editorial independence. It established a new Ministry of Print and Broadcast Media to play a more active

role in the media sector. The government has been also trying to improve the functioning of state-owned media enterprises. Such efforts—including a push to rewrite the media law—have created apprehension among those who believe in free and responsible media.

Current Status

Several publications such as *Argumenti i Fakty*, *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, and *Izvestia* have substantial nationwide audiences. Most of these newspapers are printed in Moscow, often adding a small supplement to their different regional editions. The country has about 33,000 officially registered publications—most of them tiny, infrequent, and even nonpublishing. Of these, two-thirds are termed newspapers and the remainder magazines (Internews Network 2002, 12).

There is a general consensus among experts that a majority of the regional newspapers are not economically viable. They manage to survive only with political or business underwriting. Their presence poses a major problem for the growth of independent regional print media. It also makes it difficult for international donor agencies to provide assistance to regional newspapers in ways that discriminate between publishers genuinely aspiring to independence and others who have become partisan to one degree or another.

Only four television companies—ORT, RTR, NTV, and Channel 6—have national reach through either direct relay transmission or affiliation rebroadcast agreements with individual regional stations (Internews Russia and USA 2000, 2). In addition, many commercial networks such as RENTV, TNT, and CTC and Russian MTV also broadcast in multiple cities, as does Kultura, a highbrow noncommercial channel.

The most significant development in the broadcast media after the collapse of the Soviet Union has been the growth of regional television stations. There are about 700 commercial regional television stations operating in the country. The profit margins for the stations in large cities are encouraging because of growing advertising markets. The major-

ity of these regional stations produce news, and have trained staff and steady advertising income (Internews Network 2002, 15). Most of them are related to various media groups or holding companies in much the same way that local American stations are affiliated to national networks.

Of the 534 radio stations operating in Russia, 391 are commercial; the rest are owned by the state, municipal bodies, or NGOs (Internews Network 2002, 12). Most of the commercial stations are affiliates of such networks as Europa Plus and Ruskoe Radio. Unaffiliated stations find it difficult to compete with network affiliates and have a limited share of advertising revenues. Most commercial stations conform to the news and entertainment format. The audience of commercial radio has been increasing over time, reaching about 45 percent of households. In addition, foreign radio broadcasters—such as Radio Liberty and the BBC, jammed in Soviet times—are increasingly regarded as reliable sources of information the state seeks to spin or suppress.

3. History and Focus of the Media Assistance Program

Against the backdrop of the preceding overview of the emergence of the media sector in postcommunist Russia, this chapter describes the evolution of USAID’s media programs, their substantive focus, and budgetary allocations. In addition to concentrating heavily on the development of regional media—on the grounds both of the need for them and their seeming prospects for asserting and sustaining a measure of political independence—four general characteristics regarding these programs should be noted.

First, media assistance strategies evolved over time, partly due to rapidly changing conditions, but also due in part to some trial-and-error experimentation that tested new ideas under unprecedented historical conditions. While other postauthoritarian media transitions (including east-central Europe after 1989) provided some shared lessons, post-Soviet Russia and the Commonwealth of Independent States presented unique challenges. Neither the Russians nor the Western donor com-

munity had any experience with the attempted transition by such large, entrenched, centralized economies toward market-oriented democratic systems.

Accordingly, USAID Russia in the earliest years focused on the clearest, most obvious needs: journalism training (often combined with production assistance) to assist overcoming ingrained habits of seven decades of state censorship. Business development and management training also began receiving attention fairly early on. New and evolving challenges required ongoing observation and programmatic shifts (with various levels of effectiveness) by USAID and its partners. Such challenges included the positive development of increasingly sophisticated media and advertising markets together with the entry of politically motivated investment in the media sector by so-called “oligarchs” after the mid-1990s, the financial crisis of 1998, and a multitude of attempts over the years by regional and national authorities to reimpose state controls.

Second, USAID has largely focused on training and technical assistance. Only during the financial crisis of 1998 did the Agency provide limited economic and commodity assistance to selected media outlets. The Eurasia Foundation, which receives about half its funding from USAID, and its offshoot, the Media Viability Fund (MVF)—a recipient of significant startup support—have also provided financial support for specific projects, including facilitating loans. However, USAID has generally avoided direct economic assistance, a strategy that proved to be sensible. Russia is not a developing country lacking in economic and human resources. What it lacked in the past—and perhaps still does—is the technical and organizational expertise in managing commercial media. USAID and its partners have tried to fill this gap by undertaking a wide variety of training and educational programs. Absence of direct economic assistance has prevented media dependence on external assistance and encouraged some local media professionals to build and sustain economically viable enterprises.

Third, USAID has mostly worked with local partners. In the broadcast sector, USAID has collaborated exclusively with Internews/Russia, a local NGO registered under Russian law with an independent board and almost entirely Russian staff and management.¹ However, for reasons of administrative efficiency and improved security of banking transactions (U.S. bank deposits are more secure than those in the Russian system), USAID's funds are channeled through the parent Internews Network, a U.S. NGO.

During the past decade, Internews has reduced its financial dependence on USAID and has earned a reputation as a premier media NGO in Russia. It has also trained local professionals who have assumed practically all training and technical assistance responsibilities. USAID's partner in the print media, the Press Development Institute (PDI), is the successor to the Russian-American Press and Information Center (RAPIC) and the National Press Institute (NPI), and is registered as an independent media NGO. As with Internews, USAID assistance to PDI is channeled through IREX.

Partnership with local institutions has had many advantages. Many people did not view USAID-funded activities as the projects of a foreign power but rather of their own organizations. Such organizations have been more responsive to local needs and political realities. Moreover, such an approach has been quite cost effective.

Finally, USAID has taken into consideration the geopolitical realities of the country from the beginning. The Agency recognized Russia's vast economic and educational resources and its status as a former superpower. Russia is unlike developing or other transition countries that have received USAID assistance. Despite its economic problems, Russia is gradually emerging as a major economic power. Moreover, it has a vast reservoir of educated, trained manpower and its own cultural traditions. Consequently, USAID started with the premise that it is up to Russians to shape the nature and focus of their media sector. The aim of USAID-supported

programs is not to reproduce the U.S. media sector, but to help the Russians develop their own institutions to promote and sustain independent media.

Level of USAID Assistance

Table 1 summarizes USAID media assistance to Russia. It classifies USAID's funding under three categories: mainly for television, mainly for press, and funding for the sector as a whole. The table shows that, roughly speaking, television has received three times as much assistance as the print media. It also indicates that, in addition to direct institution-building activities, USAID has provided assistance for using media for special purposes such as holding elections and preventing domestic violence. Although these two projects may have had positive effects on increasing local media skills and capabilities, that was not their primary intention.

Descriptions of USAID's Programs

A brief description of each program gives an idea of the range of USAID support.

- *Independent Television Project (ITV): \$18.11 million, June 1992–September 2002*
ITV represents USAID's largest and most sustained media assistance activity in Russia. Although aimed primarily at developing independent, regional television, USAID also used this program to support other activities, including media sector association building and media law activities. Internews has been managing this large program since the beginning and has made a remarkable contribution to the growth of regional, independent television stations (see Chapter 3).
- *Emergency Media Assistance Program (EMAP): \$2.27 million, March 1999–August 2000*
This special project was implemented in partnership with Internews in response to the economic and political crisis spawned by the ruble crash of August 1998. The instability of the economy posed a threat to the survival of independent television stations because advertising revenues dried up overnight. Internews used the

¹ Internews/Russia is referred to as Internews in the rest of this report.

grant to support broadcasters' associations and legal organizations, and to develop and distribute television programs to participating television stations.

- *Children's Television Workshop (CTW): \$2.00 million, September 1994–December 1996*
To produce the Russian version of *Sesame Street*, (*Ulitsa Sezam*), USAID and other cofunders supported CTW to work with VideoArt, at that time a leading Russian advertising agency in Moscow. The program was adapted, designed, and developed by the Russian partners, though it built on the tradition of *Sesame Street* and its humanized puppet figures (Muppets). Under the direction of a Russian-speaking U.S. executive producer with previous experience working in U.S. television network news in Russia, more than 300 Russian researchers, writers, directors, artists, and educational specialists were employed to produce culturally sensitive, half-hour shows for a 52-episode series—sufficient for two annual seasons. The episodes were broadcast three days a

week for two years on Russia's first national independent network, NTV, and weekly on Russia's largest network, ORT. *Ulitsa Sezam* has enjoyed high popularity among young audiences. Research has demonstrated that viewers received significant educational benefits, including improvement of skills in the areas of mathematics, communications, and conflict resolution. In 2002, production of *Ulitsa Sezam* became economically self-sustaining. With completely private funding, the program began production of a third season of the program to be aired on the STS network.

- *Press Development Institute (PDI): \$6.3 million, September 1997–September 2002*
This project focuses on the print media, and has been supporting PDI and its predecessor, RAPIC and NPI. Together, PDI/NPI have undertaken a wide variety of activities to support print media, particularly regional newspapers. They have held regular briefings for the press, conducted training programs for print journalists, and provided on- and off-site

Table 1. USAID Media-Related Assistance to Russia
(Budget in million dollars)

	Jun 1992–Sep 2002	Budget
Mainly Television		
Independent Television Project (Internews)	Jun 1992–Sep 2002	18.11*
Emergency Media Assistance Program	Mar 1999–Aug 2000	2.27
Children's Television Workshop	Sep 1994–Dec 1996	2.00
Mainly Press		
Press Institute (RAPIC/NPI/PDI)	Sep 1997–Sep 2002	6.30*
Media Viability Fund (MVF)	Sep 1996–Jul 1997	0.75
Media as a Sector		
Media Development Program (MDP)	Sep 1994–May 1998	10.50
Eurasia Fund Small Grants	1999–2002	3.67
IFES Media and Elections Program	Jun 1999–Sep 2002	0.50
Approximate Total	Jun 1992–Sep 2002	44.12

* The grant of \$1,082,000 to the Independent Television Project (Internews) to administer temporarily the Press Development Institute in 2000–01 has been subtracted from the Internews "Mainly Television" entry and added to the Press Institute "Mainly Press" entry to avoid double counting.

management and legal consulting to print media enterprises. NPI also established a commercial law consulting service to help independent newspaper publishers fight harassment from local and national authorities. The activities of NPI/PDI are discussed in Chapter 5.

- *Media Viability Fund (MVF): \$750,000 (\$500,000 from USAID Russia and \$250,000 from USAID Washington), 1996–97*

MVF facilitates loans to publishers in the former Soviet Union to purchase and install modern printing presses. Since making its first grants in 1996–97, USAID has indirectly supported MVF through the Eurasia Foundation. MVF has provided management and other training, and arranged loans for the purchase of modern printing presses by four Russian publishers. Chapter 5 describes its activities.

- *Media Development Program (MDP): \$10.5 million, September 1994–May 1998*

This project was established by USAID cooperative agreements with Internews and NPI/RAPIC, the predecessors of PDI. The program used grants to help NGOs supporting independent media, assist independent television stations and newspapers become economically viable, and promote the growth of an enabling environment for independent media. Its activities are discussed in Chapter 6.

- *Eurasia Foundation Small Grants: \$3.67 million, 1999–2002*

Eurasia Foundation is a privately managed grantmaking body dedicated to funding initiatives that build democratic and free market institutions in the former Soviet Union. USAID provided this grant to the foundation's civil society programs, which emphasize the financial sustainability of media organizations and a favorable legal and regulatory environment for the free press. Chapter 6 describes the media sector activities undertaken by the foundation.

- *International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) Media and Election Program: \$500,000, June 1999–September 2000*

USAID provided this grant to IFES to promote transparency in Russian elections by promoting balanced and objective coverage in the media. It worked with NPI and Internews to organize a series of media seminars for broadcast and print media journalists to expose them to the established norms of press coverage of elections, their rights and obligations, and the problems that the media face during elections. It also published a training package for distribution among the participants. Although it is difficult to assess its impact on the freeness and fairness of elections, it can be safely said that this project advanced Russian journalists' understanding of free and competitive elections.

4. Contribution to Broadcast Media

As indicated in Chapter 3, Internews has been USAID's major partner in the broadcast media and has received the largest share of assistance. Although Internews has undertaken different kinds of activities to promote independent media in Russia, its primary focus has been on assisting emerging, independent, regional television stations. With dynamic leadership and innovative program strategies, Internews has emerged as a major media NGO in the Russian Federation. This chapter focuses on the activities carried out by Internews during the past 10 years with USAID assistance, including funding under ITV and EMAP.

Evolution of Programs and Strategies

When it started in 1992, the focus of Internews's training programs was on broadcast journalism, as the level of professionalism was extremely low in the country. Even in Moscow, the journalists staffing the first independent stations lacked an understanding of the fundamentals of broadcast journalism. Conditions were undoubtedly worse in

the regions. Under these circumstances, the focus on journalism training was appropriate and proved to be the first step toward the professionalization of the broadcast media.

While reviewing the effectiveness of its training programs, Internews found that its trainees were not able to make use of the skills and knowledge they had acquired. A major barrier was that the managers of the television stations did not understand the norms and techniques of broadcast journalism. To them, some of the practices that their journalists wanted to introduce were almost “revolutionary.” Internews realized that the best solution to the problem was to train the managers along with the journalists. As a result, it launched training programs for managers.

Internews also recognized that the newly established television stations could not survive—much less follow the norms of a free press—unless they were financially viable, operating as profitable business enterprises and using sound business and management practices. Therefore, Internews started a new series of training seminars covering station management, accounting, advertising, and sales. In addition to traditional training seminars involving several dozen participants at once, broadcasting consultants in management and journalism began visiting stations on a much more focused and intensive team basis. The goal was to create a two-pronged plan to enable the news and station managers to reach new levels of understanding.

After a base of stations with a clear understanding of news production, programming, and advertising began to emerge, Internews broadened its focus to include more networking of stations through shared programming and moved on to the next step of successful station growth—broadcast management. It also helped in the production and distribution of programs that could be used by regional television stations. From early on, moreover, Internews worked to improve the enabling environment for the growth of independent broadcast media.

Activities

Training Programs for Broadcast Journalism

A major activity of Internews has been the training of television journalists. It is estimated that nearly 5,000 broadcast journalists have been trained—close to half the total participants in all Internews instructional undertakings. (The actual number might be lower, as some journalists may have received multiple trainings in various journalism disciplines.)

The five-day seminars were designed to teach basic broadcasting and journalism theory, skills, and techniques. Most are held outside Moscow, in different regions. Although originally Internews depended upon western trainers, it is now generally able to find experienced Russian television professionals to conduct the seminars. The use of Russian professionals has cut the cost of the training, thereby enabling Internews to provide training to a larger number of journalists within the same budget.

A typical broadcast training seminar includes a short course in theory, followed by the basics of television journalism—the power of pictures, writing text to pictures, interviewing techniques, camera and sound skills, and editing techniques. Classes number approximately 20 participants and are led by two trainers. Internews and the local host station provide the equipment. Each course pairs a reporter with a camera operator. During the seminar, participants work together or alone to focus on specific skills. Trainees interact in a real-life newsroom atmosphere, looking for local stories to cover, with trainers acting as executive producers or news managers.

In addition to such seminars, Internews has developed advanced training seminars on investigative journalism, TV news magazine production, political reporting, election coverage, and legal issues related to news gathering. Seminars on investigative reporting teach the trainees how to cover in-depth such sensitive issues as human trafficking, child pornography, offshore investment, and capital

flight. By working with Russian organizations such as the Agency for Investigative Journalism and the Guild for Court Reporters, media professionals are able to practice investigative journalism.

Because of the varied forms of political pressure in Russia and a widespread unfamiliarity with the media laws in the country, Internews has supported legal training seminars. They have been largely conducted in conjunction with organizations such as the Moscow Media Law and Policy Center (MLPC)—renamed the Institute for Information Law—and the Glasnost Defense Foundation (GDF). Internews has also organized seminars to teach broadcast journalists the norms and practice of election coverage and reporting.

The short-term training programs have had shortcomings. Some experts have questioned the continuing need for these seminars, as regional television journalists have rapidly grown more sophisticated in basic news production techniques. Others have expressed doubts about the qualifications of the trainees. As one educator familiar with the program told the team: “As a teacher, I could see that the background of some of the people wasn’t high enough. ... The people for the program were not properly chosen, and some were simply sent or chosen because they got to come for free.” Still others have stressed the need for longer training courses. Both USAID and Internews are aware of the problem, and the training program was scheduled to be reviewed in December 2002 to make appropriate adjustments and determine its future direction.

Internews also operates a five-week journalism school. The school goes beyond basic techniques, providing select groups of promising journalists with in-depth instruction on broadcast journalism. The school brings practicing journalists from all over Russia and abroad to teach courses in reporting, camerawork, and editing, as well as supplemental courses on journalistic ethics, legal issues, and investigative journalism. Each session of the journalism school has one primary trainer

and includes 10–15 guest lecturers speaking about specialized aspects of the television industry.²

There is little doubt that these journalism training programs have upgraded the skills and expertise of the regional television stations. Moreover, the contacts established between participants have proven beneficial to their professional development. The short-term seminars have also provided opportunities for host stations to highlight the work of sister stations on their newscasts on an informal basis, with fellow students often taking copies of stories back home to air on their own stations.

Improving Management and Financial Viability

Since the early 1990s, Internews has also focused on improving the management and financial viability of regional television stations, undertaking training seminars on management, marketing and advertisement, and design and technology. The management seminars impart instruction on modern management techniques, newsroom management, and investing. These seminars are conducted in the same manner as the training seminars on broadcast journalism. Managers from Western or Russian stations of similar size and with similar development issues spend several days or weeks recreating real-life scenarios and using case studies from the stations to explore various management and financial issues.

In addition, Internews conducts training seminars on marketing and advertising. Such training has proven essential, since the survival of a station largely depends upon its advertising revenues. These training programs have been extremely popular, and, after broadcast journalism, have attracted the largest number of trainees. Closely related to these are training seminars on design and promotion, as the stations need to design commercials that attract attention.

² The school is operated in cooperation with and under the name of well-known Russian broadcast journalist Vladimir Pozner.

Since technology changes very rapidly in broadcast media, Internews provides training to television stations to upgrade skills and technology on a regular basis. When an independent television station is launched, it usually begins with the most inexpensive equipment it can obtain. The use of such equipment does not require much training and experience; however, once the station becomes more established, it must upgrade its equipment. Therefore, professional technical training is required to help stations learn to use their new and existing equipment as efficiently as possible. Such training includes camera techniques, editing, lighting, and shooting in difficult conditions.

Management training programs are prized by struggling and well-established regional television stations. Over the past decade, about 7,000 people have attended these seminars (Tables 2 and 3).

Programming and Dissemination

In addition to training, Internews has implemented many projects to produce and disseminate television programs for regional television stations.

Local Time was designed as a horizontal news exchange program with 20 participating independent stations. They were required to produce a news spot, first once a month, and then gradually progressing to once a week. A story was produced and edited at the local regional station with the proviso that it must have broader interest outside the region and for other towns and cities in Russia. Often the first pieces were flawed—lengthy and lacking production quality and objectivity. Internews’s Moscow staff used the submissions as opportunities to confer with and critique the stations on both journalistic and technical issues, creating a kind of correspondence course in journalism training. These stories were assembled in Moscow with a taped anchor segment into a 30-minute program; the finished program was returned to the contributing stations by satellite.

In many cases, this was the first original programming many of these stations had ever aired, and information-starved audiences responded overwhelmingly. This response provided the base the stations needed to attract attention and sell advertising. Within months, some of the more energetic stations were building on this success to begin producing their own news and analysis programs, most of which were taped at first and aired only once a week. Eventually, production of *Local Time* ended as the regional stations learned to produce and share stories without filtering them through Internews.

Open Skies was launched as a documentary distribution project to promote the broadcast of high-quality educational programming in 1994. Under this project, stations received programs free of charge. During the first year, *Open Skies* provided seven hours per week of quality documentaries to interested independent regional television stations, but the amount of programming was reduced to three hours in 1996. When the program was conceived, the staff envisioned distributing more Western programming, but the focus gradually shifted to domestically produced documentaries.

Table 2. Number of Internews Trainees, 1992–2002*

Seminars	Trainees
Journalism seminars	4,661
Marketing and advertising	3,313
Management and investment seminars	1,546
Technical seminars	1,040
Promotion and design	651
Legal and elections seminars	354
Journalism school	328

* Figures may include returning students attending multiple seminars and do not include final year totals for 2002

USAID also funded the production of local documentaries through a grant through the MDP. In 1998, Internews moved *Open Skies* to the newly established TNT network.

Since launching, more than 1,000 hours of this documentary educational programming have been shown on national commercial networks in hundreds of cities across Russia (Internews Network 2002, 34). As *Open Skies* continues today, Internews is also using the program as a vehicle to overcome what is described as “an alarming trend towards isolationism that has been emerging in Russia in recent years” (Internews Network 2002, 34).

Open Skies was initially cofunded by the Ford Foundation. In recent years, however, major changes in ownership of several independent national television networks resulted in subsequent changes in their management. This affected previously agreed

to plans and schedules for airing and producing programs by the stations, contributing to programmatic uncertainties. As a result, the Ford Foundation ceased, funding the program.

Provintsia was launched in 1999 by Internews as a new form of video exchange to provide cross-regional, human interest material for morning shows and other programs. *Provintsia* started with a “circle” of seven local stations exchanging materials. Each station sent “evergreen” stories to Internews and received in return a cassette with all the other stations’ stories and the right to use them in their own broadcasts. By 2001, the number of participating stations grew to 25; some editions of the cassettes regularly contained as many as 40 news feature stories.

In 2001–02, a second circle of participating stations was created, allowing two stations from the

Table 3. Internews Trainee Attendance by Year, 1992–2002

	Journalism	Technical Investment	Management and Election	Legal	Journalism School	Marketing Advertising	Promotion and Design	Total
1992	134	0	10	0	0	0	0	144
1993	76	0	120	0	0	0	0	196
1994	98	0	108	0	0	0	31	237
1995	147	68	103	100	0	27	0	445
1996	69	7	39	0	46	25	0	186
1997	88	47	193	18	42	96	12	496
1998	239	157	54	78	20	52	0	600
1999	816	334	91	98	58	1,527	0	2,924
2000	821	84	57	29	46	1,250	290	2,577
2001	1,071	48	234	0	45	78	302	1,778
2002 (partial)	1,102	295	537	31	71	258	16	2,310
Total	4,661	1,040	1,546	354	328	3,313	651	11,893

Source: Internews Russia

same city to participate in *Provintsia* without receiving the same material as a competitor.

Summary

There is little doubt that USAID support has helped Internews make a profound contribution to the growth and success of regional television stations. Although these stations have progressed at varying rates—depending on local markets, political circumstances, and the commitment of managers—practically all have benefited from the programs initiated and implemented by Internews.

Several factors contributed to this success. One is that Internews focused on the relatively small segment of the media eager to receive assistance. When it started its activities, only a few dozen independent, regional television stations existed, although their number has gradually grown. As a result, Internews could establish close and continuous relationships with these stations. Moreover, the entrepreneurs who started these stations, and the journalists who joined them, were relatively young and dynamic; they were eager to learn and profit from any assistance program from any quarter. When Internews launched training projects, they responded with enthusiasm and initiative. Internews has also succeeded because of its emphasis on practical projects. It has designed training and other assistance programs that address the day-to-day problems faced by the regional television stations.³

Internews consciously appealed to the economic self-interest of the managers and journalists, and only indirectly to the ideology of a free press. There has been a distinctly apolitical undertone in Internews's strategy, which has made it acceptable to a wide spectrum of end-users, despite the fact that it was largely funded by USAID. The stated objective of its projects is to make the trainees more professional and the television stations more profitable.

³ In an interview for this assessment, a manager of an independent television station in Nizhny Novgorod cited Internews' understanding of the technical limitations of the regional stations as an important aspect of its training success. He stated that although the stations are shown the levels to which they can aspire, they are also shown how to work better with limited technical capacity.

Another major factor behind Internews's success is its leadership and staff. The director is a dynamic and respected figure in the broadcast community. The staff is well trained, committed, and willing to learn. Managers are not afraid of changing course, even during the middle of a program. Once a project is implemented, they receive feedback through various mechanisms to assess progress as well as failure.

Last, it is important to note USAID's flexibility in implementing funding for Internews's programs as well as its approach of allowing maximum operational freedom. When Internews demonstrated positive results very early, USAID developed a relatively hands-off approach that gave Internews maximum freedom to implement "Russian solutions" where a U.S. model might have failed. This policy continues today.

Challenges and Future Directions

Some local observers expressed two concerns about Internews. First, although local media NGOs applaud Internews's contributions to the growth of independent media, they complain that its presence overwhelms the media development sector. Because of its prominent position, it has acquired an almost monopolistic dominance. As a result, other NGOs are reluctant to offer similar services or undertake similar programs. They are afraid they will not be able to attract funds or capture the interest of regional television stations.

Second, some media experts closely associated with the present government have criticized Internews as a nonindigenous organization because it primarily depends on USAID funding. Such criticism is not justified. Although it primarily depended on USAID for its programs during the 1990s, Internews is diversifying its sources of funding. Moreover, it has a management board that prizes its independence. Both Internews and USAID are quite sensitive to this concern.

One issue of concern about the future directions of USAID's support to broadcast media relates to the focus on assistance to television. Some experts

suggest that USAID should move beyond media education and business development and look for ways to support the development of more cultural and social programs. Because commercial stations give little play to programs on children, women, the disabled, the environment and conservation, and human rights, some critics say that Russian television is becoming too much like commercial television in the West and is abandoning the educational aspect that characterized Russian television during the Soviet era. To counter this criticism, some analysts have suggested that USAID focus on social programming and help develop local capacities and interest in such programming. The Soros Foundation is looking for ways to support content development on a very local level in order to support more cultural and social programs.

Another issue is the shift from training to more formal education. Many analysts are now calling for a redirected focus on the education process in media development—something more formalized than seminars for midcareer professionals, perhaps organized in conjunction with existing university programs. As one expert said with reference to the training programs conducted by Internews, “All of these schools and seminars are piecemeal and they are not recognized in Russia as ‘real’ education but rather just teaching. We need to connect the communications schools somehow.”

Internews, aware of this concern, has taken steps to move beyond training seminars. It acquired an education license in 2001 from the Moscow City Educational Committee that permits it to issue official diplomas and certificates to graduates of its Journalism School and the School of Film and Television. Although this move upgrades Internews’s educational standing, it does not meet the stricter standards of Russia’s conservative critics of independent television, who could implement new legal requirements requiring journalists to have defined educational credentials. This would be a means of controlling or shutting down many independent media outlets. Such a shift toward formalized journalism education will require building cooperative

relationships with large and small regional state universities, a lengthy and difficult process.

5. USAID-Supported Print Media Program

This chapter briefly describes the activities of USAID-supported programs designed to foster the development of independent, regional print media and assesses their achievements. Most such programs are being currently administered through a partnership with PDI. Another program aimed primarily at the print media was the MVE, a joint project of the Eurasia and Soros Foundations, which helped arrange loans to publishers to purchase and install modern printing presses.

Origin and Development

PDI has a distinguished ancestry. Its predecessors, RAPIC and NPI, have been pioneers in exposing Russian journalists, human rights activists, and proponents of Western liberal democracy to the roles and responsibilities of the free press. RAPIC was founded in 1992 as a joint venture of New York University’s (NYU) Center for War, Peace, and the News Media, and the USA and Canada Institute of the Russian Academy of Science, a détente-era thinktank closely associated with the Soviet leadership. RAPIC’s original mission was to improve Russian media coverage (particularly of international security issues) by providing journalists access to a wide range of information, thus contributing to more balanced and accurate reporting.

In the mid-1990s, RAPIC changed its name to NPI, signifying its increased focus on promoting independent and responsible print media in Russia. The institute embraced—but had a patchy record of implementing—a “sectoral” approach to media development. Such an approach analyzes the different components of the media sector—print and broadcast outlets, legal and regulatory regimes, advertising agencies, related industries that produce communication machines and equipment, and training and educational facilities—as part of a dynamic changing environment. The implication of

this approach is that international assistance should focus not on a single element of the sector, but address major constraints to the development of the entire sector. Consequently, the institute focused on activities designed not only to assist newspapers, but also to facilitate the development of civil society and public participation.

USAID signed a cooperative agreement with NPI in 1997—after the expiry of a U.S. Information Agency-RAPIC agreement—to provide a wide range of media assistance and services to independent media. In 2000, after USAID ended its association with the NYU Center for War, Peace, and the News Media, NPI was reborn as PDI, with a commitment to promote reliable, independent print media in Russia. Registered as a Russian NGO with a Russian board of directors and founders, PDI inherited NPI's offices, key staffers, institutional culture, and centers in Moscow, St. Petersburg, Yekaterinburg, Novosibirsk, Samara, and Vladivostok. A regional office in Nizhny Novgorod closed when USAID and NYU ended their relationship.

Activities

Since 1998, NPI/PDI have undertaken the following categories of activities.

Press Briefings and Conferences

A major activity of NPI/PDI has been the operation of the press centers, which continue the RAPIC practice of holding briefings, press conferences, and meetings on topics of national and international importance. These centers facilitate the exchange of ideas and public discussions, thereby promoting political openness and accountability, a central RAPIC priority in its first years. Well-known experts, political leaders, visiting scholars, and professors hold briefings on economic and foreign policy and on ecological, human rights, and nuclear issues. In many regions, NPI centers provide both space and facilities for opposition and civil society activists to hold press conferences and present their views to journalists.

NPI/PDI have particularly focused on human rights and freedom of press issues. During 1997–2001,

they worked with at least 55 human rights organizations in Moscow and other regions, and were instrumental in highlighting numerous cases of human rights violations. Some of the topics covered in the briefings and conferences included the plight of Chechen refugees, torture and other violations by the police, conditions in Russian prisons, and discrimination against non-Slavic Russian citizens. Nuclear safety issues and related environmental concerns have also been frequent subjects of press briefings.

The sheer number of briefings and press conferences organized by PDI and its predecessor is impressive. During its cooperative agreement with USAID (1997–2000), NPI organized over 2,300 briefings and conferences, attended by 57,000 journalists (National Press Institute 2000a, 17). An additional 222 such events were hosted by PDI between November 2000 and June 2001. It is estimated that “approximately 45,000 stories ... appeared based on or informed by NPI Press Center events,” and that presenting those stories “helped to reduce the dependence of Russian journalists on official government sources, helping increase government accountability to the public” (Internews Network 2001).

In the context of the public hunger for access to previously forbidden information, the press center function has been a valid means of advancing press freedom, especially in the first half of the 1990s. It helped improve the access of regional journalists to many issues and topics vital to building an open, democratic order.

Educational and Training Programs

NPI/PDI have also mounted various training exercises—single presentations and seminars ranging from one to five days in length. These sessions generally put forward Western journalistic standards and techniques and examined the possibility of adapting them to Russian conditions. The topics ranged from investigative reporting to layout and design, basic newswriting, methods of generating advertising revenue and raising circulation, and management, information technology, and online internet journalism.

During 1998–2001, NPI/PDI organized 158 training seminars and roundtables on journalism, media management, and media technologies that were attended by 2,700 media professionals. Of these courses, 125 were held outside Moscow. The courses held in Moscow were targeted to regional audiences.

In the beginning, most trainers were foreign experts who stayed in Russia for only a short time. Though well established in their profession, they possessed limited knowledge of the problems facing the Russian media. Often, they lectured rather than gave practical training. “Too much training I’ve seen is not training,” commented a media consultant who has worked extensively in Russia. “It’s yapping. Lecturing. Crowing about the First Amendment. Western trainers talking about ‘how I did it.’ Not enough interactive training, not enough practice in seminars so that people get actual learning, not just theory.” Such training was only superficially useful. It even created tensions between the trainers and the trainees, who resented being lectured by foreigners with scant understanding of the local situations.⁴

Over time, however, qualified Russian instructors better able to deal with the problems faced by the regional media have generally replaced visiting experts. Although foreign consultants are still used selectively when specialized knowledge is required, most now tend to be repeat visitors. They include specialists who have remained as in-country residents for months or years, and therefore apply much more local knowledge of the Russian press than ever before.

Since its establishment in 2001, PDI has increasingly focused on the financial independence of regional newspapers. It has designed two- and three-day seminars with significant practical content, and, with assistance from USAID, the World Bank, and

the Canadian International Development Agency, hired a small cadre of experts who combine technical expertise with knowledge of the Russian print media and its needs. Its experts travel to regional offices to conduct training seminars.

Both the content and quality of the seminars have improved in recent years. The seminars are now more practical and less theoretical. The emphasis is on problem solving. A few enterprising regional centers have been able to tap the services of visiting experts to give special seminars. The training programs have been especially popular with small newspapers, which value the assistance they get from the institute.

Many media observers express a concern, however, that the skills and knowledge imparted during training are not fully utilized. Often the journalists are unable to put the advice they receive into practice because of tight budgets and an unfavorable work environment. GDF President Alexei Simonov described the daunting everyday reality: “You teach a journalist in the provinces how to improve his work, but he goes back to the newsroom, and he’s the only one who knows. No one else there cares.” While there is some substance in the criticism, it should be noted that the utilization of any knowledge occurs gradually; effects may not be immediately visible.

Two weaknesses of the training seminars can be mentioned here. First, while coordinating scheduling and financing, PDI does not always survey its regional centers regarding the needs and interests of local journalists. The training schedules are often more tailored to the availability of instructors and funding than to the needs of local editors and publishers.

Second, there is little or no followup. PDI has not attempted to foster a network of its training graduates, which would reinforce their commitment and promote the utilization of newly acquired skills and information. In addition to training seminars, NPI and PDI have also arranged for onsite training at

⁴ A typical, early example of resistance came from a senior reporter in Moscow, who complained to a U.S. citizen preaching the virtue of objectivity in election coverage. “Let me get this right,” said the Russian. “For 70 years we have been waiting to say what we think. Now you’re telling us not to do this?”

newspapers. Local experts from an NPI/PDI roster provide such consulting. NPI arranged for 84 onsite consultations during its cooperative agreement with USAID. Such onsite help has been useful to the small number of regional newspapers that received it. NPI/PDI published Russian translations of 10 American journalism and management textbooks, which are increasingly being used in journalism training courses.

Legal Services

Because of a general shortage of lawyers specializing in media law, NPI established a commercial law consulting service in 1999. The service, now operated by PDI, performs three critical functions essential for the growth of independent media in Russia's regions.

First, the legal service helps newspapers write and enforce contracts and other legal documents. Since commercial contracts are a recent innovation in Russia, this function is very important. Second, the service explains and clarifies for editors and publishers the often confusing rules and regulations governing media ownership, management, and control. Such assistance also helps in ensuring newspapers' compliance with legal requirements, especially on election campaign coverage and political advertising.

The service assists newspapers, albeit in a limited fashion, to fight spurious lawsuits. This is important because almost all Russian media enterprises share a potentially crippling vulnerability to legal pressures arising from increasingly common defamation-of-character actions brought by political figures before judges who are often subject to political pressure. Aside from the cost of legal defense, the penalty in such cases can be a forced retraction, or, if an editor refuses to apologize, a fine.

In mid-2002, PDI began working with the GDF to encourage publishers to conduct an audit of all the documentation—as many as 300 separate legal forms—of their enterprise. The audit service, which Internews and the Institute for Information Law (IIL) are offering to broadcasters, is intended as a

preventive measure against local political authorities misusing the law to intimidate media owners.

The PDI legal service also responds to requests for assistance, including requests for second opinions to evaluate and support the work of local lawyers across the country. Many questions are routine, involving labor relations, tax law, copyright and author rights, and advertising contracts.

A significant number, however, concern the paper's right to exist. During 2001 alone, "PDI lawyers provided more than 200 individual consultations to the representatives of the print media [editors, journalists, accountants, and others]" (Internews Network 2001, 77). In addition to providing individual consultations, PDI has also been organizing seminars on legal issues in the regions and has developed a database of lawyers in different regions who work with newspapers on media law issues.

Information Services

NPI/PDI have also supported educational programs for training news media professionals in the use of the internet. They developed a series of courses in cyberjournalism; the two most popular are "The ABCs of Online Newspapers: From Concept to Implementation" and "The Internet and Online Journalism." By June 2000, the center had held roughly 90 workshops to train more than 1,500 journalists, journalism teachers, and students in methods of using the internet to gain access to information and disseminate it with greater freedom. Most of the training occurred in Moscow, but 70 percent of the trainees came from the regions.

Summary

USAID's support clearly allowed NDI/PDI to establish venues in five major provincial cities and Moscow, where journalists interested in improving their performance can compare notes and consult outside experts. It has also enabled it to keep watch on the strivings, advances, and setbacks of print media in large and small cities across Russia, and maintain at least informal contact with the most promising enterprises, their editors, and staff.

Above all, USAID’s assistance to NDI/PDI has exposed many more journalists and publishers to western standards of accuracy and objectivity in reporting, ways to seek advertising revenues, and managing a publication as a business.

Challenges

Despite these accomplishments, NDI/PDI’s overall impact on the regional print media scene has been modest. Regional print media have registered only limited progress toward editorial and financial independence during the past five years. A sizable portion of the regional newspapers depends upon the patronage of political leaders, public officials, businessmen, and other interested individuals and groups. These papers cannot survive without help that compromises their editorial independence.

Several factors shed light on the limited impact of USAID’s assistance on the regional print media especially when compared to its remarkable contribution to the regional television stations.

NDI/PDI had to deal with a large number of newspapers. More than 12,000 regional newspapers are registered. Assuming that even half are regularly published, it is beyond the technical and physical resources of a single organization to reach them. Moreover, many regional papers lack the managerial and economic resources to take advantage of the training and other services provided by NPI/PDI. Many editors and publishers represent an old generation that finds it hard to adapt to the new realities. Besides, many newspapers cannot afford to spare staff for training in Moscow or the regional centers. Many more have difficulty affording travel and other costs (since PDI rightly insists that they should share costs).⁵

NPI did not pay enough attention to the issue of the financial viability of newspapers. In direct contrast to Internews’s approach, NPI’s early, primary focus was on press freedom, journalistic standards,

access to information, and supporting civil society organizations. Although this focus undoubtedly had some value in the aftermath of a totalitarian regime, the bigger problem is that journalistic independence generally—though not always—requires financial independence. Unless a media outlet generates enough revenue, it is likely to remain at the mercy of whichever interest group or individual is financing it. Recognizing this fundamental weakness in its earlier approach, PDI has taken steps to promote financial independence of the regional print media.

NPI suffered from many management and organizational problems, and these were inherited by PDI. The leadership is deeply divided and each unit seeks vigorously to guard its territory. Although the situation has slightly improved in recent years, NPI/PDI failed to provide much needed autonomy to their regional centers. They controlled all resources—technical and monetary—leaving little room for local initiative. Consequently, enthusiastic and energetic staffers at some regional centers became frustrated, and some left.

6. Promoting the Media Sector

Previous chapters examined USAID’s programs for print and broadcast media implemented in partnership with Internews and NPI/PDI. This chapter discusses three parallel and related USAID-backed efforts to foster the development of the Russian media sector. The first, originally called the Russian-American Media Partnership Project (RAMP), was later renamed the Media Development Program (MDP). Jointly implemented by Internews and the NDI, RAMP/MDP provided grants for a wide range of initiatives designed to promote independent media. USAID also supported the Eurasia Foundation’s Small Grants program, which gives small grants to civil society organizations that aid independent media. Although focused primarily on the print media, the MVE, discussed above, had an impact on the development of the media sector as a whole

⁵ According to Ludmilla Shevchenko, director of the Yekaterinburg office, she has to underwrite even the smallest travel expenses of newspaper staffers around the Urals who are invited to PDI events. In St. Petersburg, reported Anna Sharogradskaya, some papers are able to contribute to seminar costs—a fairly recent improvement—but most lack such resources.

RAMP/MDP-Supported Projects

USAID initiated the \$10.5 million program to provide Russian media organizations access to Western expertise and technical assistance, and with exposure to the norms of a free press through their partnership with U.S. organizations. As originally conceived, the program was expected to identify interested partners and fund their promising projects. It assumed that the U.S. organizations would also benefit from the collaboration, as it would improve their understanding of and contacts with the growing media sector in Russia.

During the program's first two years program managers realized that the focus on partnership was unrealistic. It was difficult and time consuming to find suitable partners. Even when program staff could locate partners, their priorities were often different. The partners found it difficult to overcome organizational, cultural, and political barriers. In many cases, a majority of project resources were budgeted for use by the U.S. half of the media partnership, whose contribution proved to be of dubious value. As a result, the program dropped the partnership emphasis and changed its name to the Media Development Program. The renamed operation was meant to respond directly to proposals from Russian media and "organizations capable of managing their own grants." In practice, the change meant that most of MDP's funds went to and through Internews and RAPIC/NPI "for special training programs for which they were unquestionably the most qualified administrators" (Media Development Program 1998, 11).

The program consisted of 31 projects involving 66 Russian organizations, 61 U.S. groups, and 9 others based in Europe. The projects ranged from fostering commercial media enterprises to providing infrastructure support and professional training. Projects can be grouped under four categories: education and training, media associations and organizations, innovation and information sharing, and other supporting activities. A representative sample of major projects under each category is briefly mentioned here to give an indication of overall focus and achievements, as well as the challenges of the program.

Education and Training

The RAMP/MDP supported a number of organizations to enhance their institutional capacity or undertake training and educational programs. Some support went to Internews to develop new training activities. For example, a grant of \$235,324 supported Internews for Broadcast Educational Residency Training to assist television stations in evaluating their properties for the purposes of sale or investment. RAMP/MDP gave assistance to the following two journalism schools that are still functioning.

- *Pozner School of Broadcast Journalism.* With a grant from RAMP/MDP, the Pozner School was established in 1997 in Internews's premises in Moscow. Each year, the school conducts a five-week course, taught by some of the most experienced and recognized Russian media and academic professionals. It recruits bright, young, experienced journalists as students. The school combines textbook study with intensive practical newsroom experience. RAMP/MDP funded three initial sessions of the school, including room, board, and tuition for students who came from regions outside of Moscow. Since then, it has attracted funds from different sources. It does not yet have a permanent premise, but the Moscow city government has promised to provide one. The Pozner School, like the BBC School in Yekaterinburg, is one of only a few commercial attempts to address the important market for broadcast education, but so far it cannot exist without long-term subsidies.
- *Ural State University Journalism School.* RAMP/MDP funded a partnership between Ural State University in Yekaterinburg and the University of North Carolina (UNC) at Chapel Hill to enhance Ural State's training capacities by developing two projects: a professional journal for newspaper managers and an upgraded training studio and curriculum in broadcast journalism. Each activity produced mixed results: there were some definite successes, but results were not as great or as sustained as hoped for.

The partner universities and the local Sverdlovsk Union of Journalists did considerably improve the format, usefulness, and readership of the professional journal *Fax Magazine*. This publication evolved in its design and content “from an initially fairly dull academic orientation to a more dynamic focus on legal, ethical and business issues” (Media Development Program 1998, 52). *Fax* filled a new professional information niche and provided a forum for the exchange of practical knowledge among newspaper publishing managers in the Urals region. *Fax* continued publication after the end of the MDP grant. Having thus tested the concept and market niche at the regional level of a self-sustaining journal for media professionals, MDP staff passed this knowledge to and cooperated with the Moscow-based launch of *Zhurnalist*, a revamped national professional magazine for media managers that succeeded in the long term.

The second component of the Ural State/UNC partnership under MDP involved upgrading the training studio and curriculum in broadcast journalism. MDP purchased low-end SVHS cameras and editing equipment; the Ural State journalism department fully remodeled its basement floors into a television training studio. Ural State journalism students received opportunities to get hands-on experience with television reporting, camera work, and editing.

Curriculum development assistance from UNC also helped modernize Ural State University’s television-teaching curriculum—thus improving the general professional level of media graduates throughout the Urals. However, Ural State faculty receptivity to UNC technical advice was lower than hoped for. Accordingly, despite some real achievements, both cultural and technical factors limited the success of the project.

At the end of the grant, it was hoped that project-funded educational resources would continue to benefit Ural State students (Media Development Program 1998, 83), an expecta-

tion that was never fully realized. The educational curriculum remains too focused on academics rather than the craft of practicing modern television journalism. Dean Boris Lozovsky has recognized this limitation and is anxious to remedy it, not least through the acquisition of modern broadcast hardware.

Media Associations and Organizations

RAMP/MDP gave financial and technical assistance to many associations and organizations that continue to play an important role in the media sector. Some examples follow.

- *The Glasnost Defense Foundation (GDF)*, founded in June 1991, has been a watchdog, educator, advocacy group, and continuing testament to the need in Russia—as in the Soviet Union—for defenders of basic civil and human rights. It has received two direct grants from USAID, as well as other support from USAID-supported programs through Internews and NPI/PDI. Over the years, and using a network of media watchers across Russia, GDF built a reputation for accuracy in its reporting on the intimidation and abuse of journalists by the state. The foundation’s handbooks on media law, professional conduct, and even safety issues have been popular enough to be sold rather than given away.
- *Institute for Information Law (IIL)* (formerly known as the Moscow Media Law and Policy Center) has now emerged as a respected training and consulting institution. It received two MDP grants totaling \$482,720 between 1995 and 1997. Housed in Moscow State University’s journalism faculty, the institute is a source of legal expertise for institutions working on media issues. It has attracted funds from many international donor agencies and NGOs, a good indication of the contribution it is making in analyzing media legislation at all levels in Russia, assisting lawyers contesting assaults on press freedom, and collaborating with legal consultants employed by other organizations.

The director and staff of the institute have led or taken part in numerous seminars and training activities designed to make journalists and their employers aware of both the legal problems they face and the legal weapons at their disposal, particularly in their efforts to gain access to information. Such issues are also important to advocacy NGOs. The institute's work, extending beyond the media community, has contributed to a better appreciation of the value of the rule of law in Russian civil society. As a result of the IIL's extensive training and publishing activities during the late 1990s, a community of media law experts has developed. Again as a result of the institute's efforts, the Russian state university system formally adapted a media law component as part of its national curriculum.

Within the media development community, the IIL has recently become the focus of a major collaborative effort to help broadcasters and publishers shield themselves from assault by local authorities (see Chapter 3). The project, known as the Legal Audit, is funded by a one-year Open Society Institute grant. It is a joint effort of IIL, Internews, NPI/PDI, and GDF. The project seeks to enable media managers to examine and regularize the legal documents relating to their registration as enterprises: everything from the original privatization or incorporation papers to the certificates attesting to their compliance with local health, fire, and labor-relations ordinances. The institute has published a number of scholarly documents that have been very well received. The IIL is increasingly asked to help other Eurasian countries in the field of media law and policy.

- *National Association of Teleradio Broadcasters* (NAT) has emerged as an influential association. Established by Russian broadcast industry leaders, it received a grant of over \$400,000 from RAMP/MPD to support its mission of representing television and radio broadcasters

In Chelyabinsk, the mayor attempted to take ownership of the politically independent *Chelyabinskiy Rabochiy* and the modern printing press it acquired with help from the MVF in 1998. That threat was beaten back by an emergency response team of lawyers dispatched from Moscow, who helped the paper reorganize into the shelter of a new and properly registered company.

before Russian legislative and state institutions and providing broadcasters with “technical, educational, and other practical support.” NAT grew from about 70 members in early 1996 to over 130 by the end of the two-year grant period. It now has 350 members, including national, state, and commercial channels and regional, state, and independent stations.

- *Russian Television Development Foundation's* (now the Academy of Russian Television Foundation) *TEFI Awards* is an annual regional and national event similar to the U.S. Emmy Awards. The foundation that organizes the awards is an NGO founded to promote stronger relationships between television program producers and consumers.

Broadcast industry professionals cite the TEFI Awards as a valuable contribution to the development of regional independent television. These awards, created under the guidance of Internews, provide not only a standard to which regional stations can hope to rise but significant opportunities for winners to promote themselves within their own broadcasting markets. The awards signal to the viewing audience that a station has achieved a standard of excellence that is recognized regionally and nationally. In addition to the awards, the foundation organizes seminars and forums and supports the publication of industry textbooks.

USAID has also funded other media associations through Internews, which has provided targeted financial support to the Advertising Federation of the Regions and the Guild of Eurasian Television Designers.

Innovative Initiatives

Under this category come innovative initiatives designed to explore new ideas and approaches to promote independent media. MDP supported many such projects, though its record of success has been mixed. In addition to the MVE, discussed earlier, other examples include the following:

- *Tomsk Community TV.* Under this two-year project, conducted in collaboration with Downtown Community Television (DCTV) of New York, Russia's first community television center was established at TV2 in Tomsk. Modeled after DCTV, the Tomsk Center was designed to educate the local community in producing television programs. DCTV provided equipment and helped train the staff. It also solicited assistance from two corporate donors—Panasonic and AVID. After overcoming significant physical and technical difficulties, the center evolved into a community teaching facility. Tomsk was the only city in Russia at the time to have such high-end random access editing systems.

The center has undertaken many activities, such as holding seminars, producing weekly programs, and organizing Tomsk video festivals. An integral part of the project involved a student exchange: several Russian teenagers visited DCTV in New York, and several students from New York traveled to Tomsk, producing stories to take home for their own local stations. Such exchanges, according to the director of DCTV, helped the U.S. youngsters as much as the Russians. The center still conducts seminars for local residents using an AVID editing system from the program. More often, however, the seminars are conducted to train budding young journalists and television technicians. TV2 has hired five people trained by the center.

- *Electronic newspaper in Vladivostok.* This project supported the publication of the first online electronic newspaper in the Russian Far East. In 1995, the *Tacoma News Tribune* and the *Vladivostok News* started publishing an electronic version of the latter. This grant enabled the Russian newspaper to develop its own independent online newspaper. The *News Tribune* trained the technical and journalistic staff, enabling them to transfer the production from Tacoma. This project also enabled the Russian partner to create a local area network for broad information sharing. The online newspaper is still being published.

- *In the Name of the Law.* An experimental but failed project was a collaborative effort between U.S. and Russian writers and producers to develop and produce a pilot episode of a Russian weekly dramatic series. Moscow Studio Tri-The and Yerosha Productions in New York cooperated on this project, anticipating that the genre had strong commercial potential in Russia—just as *LA Law* and similar series had in the West (Media Development Program 1998, 28). The pilot was also intended for sale on the European television market. Nearly a year and a half after launching the project, no agreement had been reached between the partners on story line or content. In the end, the partners were unable to agree on a screenplay and the partnership was dissolved.

Other Supporting Projects

RAMP/MDP also assisted a number of small and large projects designed to help individual media outlets or support a general infrastructure for their growth.

- *The Volgograd printing press.* This project linked *Gorodskiye Vesti*—a daily paper—with an Alabama consulting firm to acquire and install a used printing press in Volgograd at a total cost of \$475,947. The funds were spent over 18 months, from mid-1996 to the end of 1997. The project, intended to advance the Volgograd publishing company's independ-

ence, has had unintended consequences. The company has become profitable, largely due to revenues from contract printing jobs for outsiders, and the graphic quality of its publications has noticeably improved. The Russian printing technicians greatly impressed their U.S. counterparts with their mastery of the new technology and creative technical adaptations to Russian operating conditions. Moreover, the printing press served as a training ground for printers and technicians from other Russian publications that were acquiring modern equipment on their own or with MVF help. The printing press has remained securely in the private hands of the grantee, who continues to print a broad range of independent newspapers. A significant setback occurred in 1999–2000, however, when several of newspaper titles owned by the company fell into the hands of the city government and lost some of their earlier independence.

- *International conferences.* The program also supported Russian participation in a number of international conferences that exposed the Russian media to the nature, organization, technologies, and norms of the free press. For example, the program funded Russian participation in conferences on new media in the United States, on post-Soviet media in transition in Scotland, and a convention of the National Association of Television Program Executives in the United States.

Russian American Media Entrepreneurship Dialogue (RAMED)

Internews Russia and Internews Network played a central role in facilitating an exercise announced during the November 2001 Bush-Putin summit as a forum for direct contacts between Russian and U.S. media executives. Their dialogue is meant to help foster conditions for the growth of a competitive media sector in Russia, one that is able to deliver a full range of services based on the latest technology and the highest journalistic standards.

Views on the Contributions of the Press Institutes

“The overall contribution of RAPIC, NPI, and now PDI has been limited but significant. The print media scene would have been worse without them. The predecessors of PDI played an important role in the late nineties.”

A well-known observer of the media scene

“The situation of the regional media has deteriorated over the 10 years of Russia’s independence, but it would be nearly hopeless without the help Americans brought. ... The [programs] have given some good people some good ideas and some hope. They just have not been able to connect the isolated success stories into anything wider or deeper.”

A Russian expert

“If I were director of PDI, I would shut down all the regional centers altogether. If they should work, they should work well. They should have strong leaders, normal budgets, and the ability to get things done. Right now, PDI is just a room with a director. ... If you’re going to have centers, they need to work horizontally and this is much harder to do.”

Head of a prominent Russian media NGO

The dialogue has included bilateral meetings and an intensive series of roundtable and working group sessions within the Russian media industry. Participants from some of the most successful media companies in both countries have been able to develop new business connections and a more thorough understanding of each other’s industries. Internews’s organizational work on RAMED has been funded through a modification to the ITV grant.

So far, the RAMED discussions and working groups have produced the draft of a “state of the

industry” report on the Russian media, an analytical tool intended to serve as the basis for the development of recommendations for media reform. However, the study has already sparked tension between the Putin government’s conservative media sector and organizations such as Internews and the industry trade associations it helped build. In fact, during a Russian industry meeting with President Putin in May 2002 that grew out of RAMED, Putin stated openly that Internews is a propaganda tool of the U.S. Government.

Until RAMED, Internews was viewed as an organizing force in raising the level of professionalism in the Russian media and had never been publicly castigated for bias by Russian leaders. Internews’s implementing partners, as well as management its own have expressed concern about this development and have been actively seeking funding from non-U.S. sources.

Eurasia Foundation

The Washington-based Eurasia Foundation is active in all the countries of the former Soviet Union, pursuing efforts to develop private enterprise and civil society as well as strengthen public administration and policy. Its media support is part of its engagement with efforts to promote civil society.

Since its founding in 1992, the privately managed Eurasia Foundation has made more than 6,500 grants worth \$130 million throughout the 12-nation Commonwealth of Independent States, nearly half of them in Russia. Three-quarters of the 1993–2002 funding came from USAID. From early 1993 through September 2002, the foundation used \$3,670,000 of USAID funding for various small (up to \$35,000) media development grants (Koenig 2002, Table 2).

With offices in Saratov, Vladivostok, and Moscow, and with half of its Russian grants going to recipients outside Moscow, Eurasia has put money and advice into the hands of regional editors and publishers, especially to advance legal awareness among journalists. One grantee, an editor on Sakhalin

Island, received a grant in 1997 for computer equipment and a second in 1999 to organize seminars on the law, economics, and journalistic ethics. These drew 350 journalists, jurists, and administrative officials.

Most of the foundation’s recent media grants have focused on improving the economic viability of independent media enterprises. Such grants, which support training, seminars, and publications on management, information sharing, sales and advertising, and audience research, have been made to both established and relatively new organizations. Some recent grantees include Sreda Center for Mass Media Research, Fund for Independent Broadcasting, GDF, and Association of Journalism Teachers and Researchers. The foundation has also funded distance learning and internet initiatives for the benefit of print and broadcast media in various regions.

Many of the small grants by the foundation for private enterprise development also indirectly help independent media outlets. Such grants promote a positive environment for the growth of the private sector and seek to improve the skills and expertise of the managers. For example, in 2001, the foundation gave a grant of about \$35,000 to develop a course on copyright management for the Copyright Holders Association. Anecdotal evidence indicates that the grants have enabled emerging media outlets, associations, and other organizations to launch or sustain existing activities.

Programs’ Contribution to the Media Sector

The above programs have contributed to the growth of organizations, associations, and educational institutions, thereby improving the institutional environment for the growth of independent media in Russia.

As indicated earlier, GDF and IIL, which received funds from USAID, have focused on media laws and their implementation—a major obstacle to the growth of independent media in Russia. Media laws in Russia are ambiguous. There is in practice

a two-tiered system of media laws—federal and regional. The Law on Mass Media, which came into force in 1992, is outdated. A comprehensive media law is yet to be written. Moreover, implementation of the existing laws affecting media has been quite problematic. There is still a shortage of lawyers who can provide legal assistance to newspapers.

Two limitations have adversely affected the impact of these programs on the growth of independent media. First, the focus of RAMP/MDP on partnership rather than the promotion of independent media hindered success. According to the initial plan, all projects had to be collaborative, involving Russian and U.S. organizations. The program sounded quite innovative because it would facilitate technology transfer while building media partnerships between the two countries. The experience showed, however, that such collaborative projects are not the best mechanism for promoting the independent media sector. Because the focus of such projects is generally dictated by the interests of the two parties rather than the perceived needs of the media sector, the goals and outcome of the programs became muddled. The problem with these partnerships is that the goal was not clearly stated from the start. U.S. partners often looked on them as moneymaking opportunities, while Russian partners often perceived them as conduits for hardware—not for continuing, cooperative relationships. Moreover, the very process of identifying suitable partners overwhelmed program managers. The program wasted resources and time in its quest for promoting partnerships.

Second, both RAMP/MDP lacked a coherent strategy to promote independent media in Russia. They funded a number of projects with differing focuses and approaches. Such projects were generally independent of each other and produced no synergy. Their impacts have been isolated and spasmodic. In defense of these programs, however, it can be argued that MDP sowed a wide variety of seeds by supporting diverse projects, thereby increasing the chance that some of them grow to nurture independent and responsible media in Russia. Early on

Comments on Programs' Contributions

“We started with a wrong premise. ... but we realized our mistake. Certainly, we helped the Russian media at a critical stage. ... In retrospect, we should have focused more on building supporting organizations.”

USAID official

“RAMP/MDP was a modest success. It was a learning experience for us. ... One could accomplish more with \$10 million.”

Consultant to RAMP/MDP

“Eurasia Foundation is doing some good work, but it lacks a focus.”

Russian expert

this was a good thing—it helped identify windows of opportunity in a situation of great flux, and it did so with great effectiveness. Moreover, it allowed USAID and its partners to take cutting-edge risks. Some of that risktaking worked out very well; at other times, it failed. Quite often, the mixed results provided media developers with rich experience.

The most successful projects were continued by follow-on USAID programs, other donors, and outside investors.

7. Lessons and Implications

This paper has discussed the evolution of USAID media programs, their achievements and limitations, and their impact on the development of nonstate media in Russia. This chapter seeks to identify a few important lessons that the Russian experience offers for internationally supported media interventions designed to promote independent, responsive media in developing and transition societies. Given Russia's unique circumstances—centuries of authoritarian Czarist and communist rule over a vast land mass and an ethnically and socially diverse population—

USAID media support programs there offer no mechanical models for easy application elsewhere. With that caveat, however, the relative successes and failures of USAID-supported programs do point to two broad conclusions. First, continuity in developing and nurturing program clients—as carried out by Internews Russia—pays higher dividends than episodic contacts with scattered participants. One significant dividend has been the development of a community of more or less independent regional television broadcasters, brought together by Internews and aided in forming associations with the potential of defending their collective independence and improving their professional standards and performance.

Second, indirect action—high-quality, focused training in journalism, management, advertising, design, and technology use—may advance press freedom more effectively than attempts to fit Western models of media independence into a setting where economic difficulties and multiple political pressures hinder such transplants. Again, Internews’s efforts to help broadcasters become technically and commercially stronger appear to have bred stronger Russian practitioners of press freedom than did print media programs that gave initial priority to the dissemination of information (news) that had been off limits.

In addition to these broad conclusions, the following lessons can be mentioned.

1 Carefully planned media programs can make a difference, even in a highly complex political transition, by contributing to the growth of nonstate media.

In Russia, USAID media programs had some notable achievements. USAID has been a major contributor to the growth of regional television stations. A significant number are becoming increasingly independent and profitable. The Agency has also facilitated the growth of many organizations that have played useful roles in strengthening the

media sector. Although efforts in print media have brought few deepseated improvements, there is a general consensus that regional newspaper and periodical journalists and managers might have been worse off without USAID’s support. One obvious lesson is that international donor agencies who find the right partners and fields of operation can formulate and implement programs to help the growth of nonstate media in transition societies, thereby contributing to their political growth.

2 A comprehensive strategy for promoting independent media should focus on a) the economic viability of privatized or newly established media outlets, b) the institutionalization of the norms of professional ethics, and c) enabling other voices to reach wider audiences.

The Russian experience, though limited, points to a long-term strategy that can be followed by USAID and other donors in promoting independent media. The first element concerns the economic viability of media enterprises, helping them run as stable businesses that are equipped to break even or make a profit. Without such financial independence, owners and staff will be vulnerable to outside economic and political interests.

In Russia, USAID and other donors initially focused on training journalists. The broadcast and print media programs were designed to impart skills and knowledge that were neither taught in journalism institutions nor practiced in the media. However, USAID’s partners gradually realized that they should also support development of business and management skills, as both are essential for the growth of independent media. Internews, for example, incorporated business development of regional television stations into training activities that had primarily targeted journalists. On the other hand, PDI and its earlier incarnations could not provide much matching help to regional print media.

Economic realities meant that print outlets got far less advertising revenue than broadcasters; political rivalries diverted what there was of a print advertis-

ing stream into many small channels. NPI/PDI, moreover, had neither the technical and organizational resources nor the will to reach about 2,000 regional papers and periodicals that were attempting to stay independent of state subsidies or powerful patrons.

The success of broadcasters who were helped and the paucity of independent print media testify to the vital importance of business development assistance for privatized or newly established commercial media. As Russia's economy strengthens, USAID should focus on developing programs and strategies that focus on both journalism and business training and education for enterprises capable and willing to put such assistance to practical effect.

The second element is the institutionalization of the norms of journalism: fair and balanced coverage of news, presentation of diverse viewpoints, and editorial independence. In Russia, financial independence makes it more likely—but does not guarantee—that a media outlet will observe such professionalism. Western experience demonstrating that reliable reporting and clear, attractive presentation of information draw both readers and advertisers has guided the success of a number of specialized publications, but it has not proven as convincing to regional editors and publishers seeking a general audience. However, since greater professionalism should, over time, pay dividends to its practitioners, donor-supported media programs should focus on training, professional ethics, and the establishment of professional associations that promote professional norms.

Training of this kind should be extended to managers of television stations, and Internews has begun to do so. By this means, their new understanding of the roles and obligations of journalists will encourage the freedom and support necessary for professional news operations. Internews's short programs for managers have already proved helpful.

The last element of a strategy should be a search for ways to open media of all kinds to views and voices

other than official or commercially self-interested ones. The wider the variety of information and opinion to which citizens have access, the more responsibly they can form their own judgments.

This is not to argue that USAID or other agencies involved in media assistance should simultaneously focus on all these elements. Such a course might not be possible, given constraints of time and resources. What is important, however, is to recognize that the development of an independent media is a long-term process and multipronged efforts are necessary.

3 The term *independent media* can create unjustified complacency in policy circles because it gives the impression that privatized or newly established nonstate media are essentially independent simply if they are not owned by the state.

USAID has widely used the term *independent media* to refer to nonstate media in its policy and program documents. The underlying assumption is that such media are independent because they are not controlled by governmental authorities. The problem is that a most of the privatized or newly established media outlets in Russia are not independent, in the strict sense of the term. Political and economic interests have frequently gained ownership of these outlets to pursue their business and political agendas. Such outlets are not run as private businesses, much less as independent publications. To characterize them as independent is, at best, a misnomer and, at worst, can give the wrong impression that all is well with the nonstate media. The implication is that the growth of nonstate media is a necessary, though not sufficient, condition for the emergence of independent media.

4 USAID's policy of assisting only nonstate media is essentially sound, but program managers should enjoy flexibility in implementing it.

In Russia as elsewhere, USAID has followed a policy of assisting only nonstate media. As the primary

objective of the assistance is to promote commercial media, it makes little sense to provide assistance to state-owned enterprises. While this policy is essentially sound, the Russian experience shows that two factors warrant programmatic flexibility. First, any assistance that helps institutionalize the norms of professional journalism in state-owned media outlets improves the enabling environment for independent media. For example, many state regional television stations in Russia have, at their own expense, sent journalists to Internews's training programs to improve their professional skills. It is reasonable to assume that the exposure to training improved the quality of news coverage by these stations. Second, in many cases, it is difficult to determine the ownership of the enterprise. Although nominally commercial, a large number of regional newspapers get direct and indirect subsidies from the state. On the other hand, many state-owned regional television stations are increasingly asserting their independence. Under these conditions, programmatic flexibility, rather than a rigid adherence to the stated policy, seems appropriate.

5 In transition societies, when concerns about media assistance from former adversaries exist, the prudent course is to focus on skills and training, not on the content.

Internews's programs are designed to improve journalistic, managerial, and business skills and expertise. The underlying assumption is that both news content and coverage will improve as journalists and managers become more professional. Such an approach has been quite prudent. For example, experts agree that as a result of the training provided by Internews, the quality of news reporting has improved in regional television stations. News departments are becoming more sensitive to issues of accuracy, balance, and presentation of differing viewpoints. This is a valuable lesson that USAID can apply elsewhere.

6 As a result of privatization and commercialization, many educational and cultural programs formerly shown on state-owned television have been crowded out by entertainment programming. The designers of USAID media programs should recognize this, and, when possible, take steps to widen access to and increase the quantity of such programs.

Under communism, state television in Russia ran a wide variety of educational, social, and cultural programs. Such programs often exposed the audience to scientific and technological developments, social history, and the rich cultural heritage of Russia. Because such programs do not generate advertising revenues, they have largely disappeared from privatized television stations or even state-owned stations. They have been replaced by popular entertainment programs. Although cable and satellite television is available throughout much of the country, it is still financially out of reach for a great many households. In the United States, these alternatives, along with public television, provide access to many educational and news stations. The situation in Russia, however, is not likely to improve in the near future. USAID should learn from this experience while promoting privatization of the state-owned media enterprises in other transition and developing countries. It can help such countries develop suitable strategies so that people continue to have access to high-quality alternative educational and cultural programs.

Annex: Principal Contacts

Evgeniy Abov, deputy general director, Prof Media, Moscow

Ludmila Alexeeva, chairman, Moscow Helsinki Group

Andrei Allakhverdov, editor, Radio Foundation of Russia

Jon Alpert, director, DCTV and project manager for MDP Tomsk Community Media Center

Manana Aslamazyan, president, Internews Russia

Nina Baliashnikova, coordinator, Russian Mass Media Support Program, Open Society Institute, Soros Foundation, Russia

Dr. Svetlana Balmaeva, dean, TV-Radio Department, Liberal Arts University, Yekaterinburg

Eugenia Benigni, Political Section, EU Delegation of the European Commission in Russia

Raisa Bespechnaya, general director, Academy of Russian Television Foundation

Arina Borodina, media correspondent, *Kommersant*, Moscow

Arkadiy Borotilin, consultant, Interregional Media Consulting Center, St. Petersburg

Lev Bruni, journalist, *Vremya Novostey*, Moscow

Sergei Chervach, deputy editor, *Tomskaya Nedelnya*, Tomsk

Simon Cosgrove, European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights, EU Delegation of the European Commission in Russia

Elena Dubchenko, coordinator, Russian Mass Media Support Program, Open Society Institute, Soros Foundation, Russia

Yosif M. Dzyaloshinskiy, president, Commission for Free Access to Information

Alexandr Gorshkov, deputy director, Investigative Journalism Agency, St. Petersburg

Chris Hamilton, PDI/Freedom Forum Library, St. Petersburg

Anna Kachkaeva, training director, Internews

Mikhail Kaluzhsky, director of operations, IREX (Press Development Institute)

Olga Karabonova, executive director, Press Development Institute

Boris Kirshin, editor-in-chief, *Chelyabinski Rabochii*, Chelyabinsk

Silvia Kofler, head of Press and Information Section, EU Delegation of the European Commission in Russia

Svetlana Kolchenskaya, general director, Volga Independent TV, Nizhny Novgorod

Irma Kumylganova, senior lecturer, Faculty of Journalism, M.V. Lomonosov State University, Moscow

Grigori Kunis, media consultant, St. Petersburg

Olga Noskova, director, NNTV, Nizhny Novgorod

Georgi Kuznetsov, professor of journalism, Moscow State University

Cathy Packer, professor, University of North Carolina School of Journalism, program director, UNCCCH/Ural State University Broadcast Journalism School MDP Program

Vladimir Lapreen, director and chief editor, *Beerja* (Newspaper)

Oleg Panfilov, director, Center for Journalism in Extreme Situations, Russian Union of Journalists

Alexander Levinsky, business editor, *Izvestiya*, Moscow

Alexei Pankin, director, Russian Mass Media Support Program, Soros Foundation, Russia

Grigory Libergal, programming director, Internews Russia

Sam Patten, International Republican Institute, Moscow

Masha Lipman, deputy editor, *Yezhenedelnyy Zhurnal*, Moscow

Irina Pletneva, managing editor, *Tomskaya Nedalya*, Tomsk

Boris N. Lozovskiy, dean, Journalism Faculty, Ural State University, Yekaterinburg

Vladimir Pozner, president, Academy of Russian Television Foundation

Ronan MacAongusa, second secretary, EU Delegation of the European Commission in Russia

Aleksandr Privalov, dean, Higher Journalism School, Higher School of Economics

Jeff Magness, art director, Press Development Institute, St. Petersburg

Andrei Richter, director, Media Law and Policy Institute

Olga Makarova, director, Press Development Institute Vladivostok

Arseniy Roginski, chairman of the board, Memorial, Moscow

Drusilla Menaker, chief of party, IREX (Press Development Institute)

Andrey Safronov, PR Director, Russian National Association of Teleradio Broadcasters

Irina Mikhalova, secretary, National Public Radio, Moscow

Stephen Schmida, regional director, The Eurasia Foundation

Peter Morley, arts editor, *St. Petersburg Times*

Oxana Selekhova, program officer, The Eurasia Foundation

Victor Muchnik, general director and Chief Editor, Tomsk TV2

Anna Sharogradskaya, director, Press Development Institute, St. Petersburg

Sergey Muratov, professor of journalism, Moscow State University

Ludmila K. Shevchenko, Director, Press Development Institute, Yekaterinburg

Dr. Irina Netchayeva, deputy dean, Faculty of Journalism, M.V. Lomonosov State University, Moscow

Victor Shmailov, project director, *Novaya Rabota*, Yekaterinburg

Grigori Shvedov, editor-in-chief, *Memorial*, Moscow

Alexei Simonov, president, Glasnost Defense Foundation, Russian Union of Journalists

Vladislav Sinalitskiy, president, Interregional Media Consulting Center, St. Petersburg

Yaroslav Skvortsov, deputy dean, International Journalism Department, Moscow State University for International Relations

Natalya Skvortsova, project director, Vedomosti; director of the Center of Journalism Technologies, Nizhny Novgorod

Irina Smirnova, manager, Praktika

Irene Stevenson, executive director, Solidarity Center, Moscow

Dmitri Surnin, codirector, Media Viability Fund, Moscow

Lada Tikhonova, press assistant, USIS, Yekaterinburg

Oleg Tregyakov, editor-in-chief, *Delovoy Peterburg*, St. Petersburg

Irina Tsvetkova, director, Press Development Institute, Volga Region

Aleksandr Verzilov, BBC School radio instructor, Rostov State Teleradiocompany, Rostov-on-Don

Tatiana Kondratskaya Vintizenko, editor-in-chief, *Krasnoye Znamya*, Tomsk

Natalya Vlasova, general director, Radio Foundation of Russia

Igor Yakovenko, general secretary, Russian Union of Journalists, Moscow

Irina Yassina, project director, Open Russia Foundation

Anastasia Yevdokimova, assistant to the director, Press Development Institute, St. Petersburg

Victor Yukechev, director, Press Development Institute, Siberia Region

Irina Yurna, program officer, Ford Foundation, Moscow Office

Ravil Zagretidinov, first deputy editor-in-chief, *Delovoy Peterburg*, St. Petersburg

Yassen N. Zassourksky, dean, Faculty of Journalism, M.V. Lomonosov State University, Moscow

Yuliana Zhaboponkova, consultant, Interregional Media Consulting Center, St. Petersburg

Andrei Zinoviev, advertising director, *Chelyabinski Rabochii* (newspaper), Chelyabinsk

Elena Zlotnikova, deputy general director, Kultura; member of the Media Committee of Non-Commercial Partnerships; vice president of the Russian National Association of Teleradio Broadcasters

Nina Zvereva, director, Praktika School of Broadcast Journalism, Nizhny Novgorod

Elena Zyrina, president, Dobraya Volya, Yekaterinburg

Bibliography

- Fossato, Floriana. 2001. "The Russian Media: From Popularity to Distrust." *Current History* October 2001: 343–48.
- Friendly, Alfred Jr., and Alexei Smyslov. 1996. "Russia's Regional Newspapers: A Partial Survey and Proposal for Graduated Support, A Report to the Media Viability Fund." Unpublished.
- Internews Network. 1998. "Independent Television in Russia: Final Report (September 1 1995–August 31, 1998)." Moscow: Internews Network.
- Internews Network. 2001. "Independent Television in Russia Grant No.: 118-G-00-98-00124-00 (August 1998–June 2001): Internews Network/Internews Russia Final Report." Arcata, CA: Internews.
- Internews Network. 2002. "Independent Television in Russia Grant No.: 118-G-00-98-00124-00 Performance Report June 2001–May 2002." Arcata, CA: Internews.
- Internews Russia. 2000. "Emergency Assistance to the Russian Media, Grant No.: 1125 (April 1, 1999–August 31, 2000) Internews Network/Internews Russia Final Report." Moscow: Internews Russia.
- Internews Russia and USA. 2000. "Russian Media Overview." Prepared for RAMED, Moscow.
- Johnson, Eric. 1993. "Television in the NIS—First Edition—November 1993." Washington, DC.
- Koenig, Mark. 2002. "Lessons Learned From USAID/Russia Independent Media Programs, 1992–2002." Draft Background Paper.
- Maslow, Jonathan. 2002. "Nu, Chto? (What to do?) An Evaluation of the Russian Regional Media." *Knightline International 2* (Summer): 26–30.
- Media Development Program. 1998. "Media Development Program: Final Report." Moscow: MDP.
- Media Viability Fund. 2002. "Final Report."
- Mellnick, Keith. 2002. *Russia in the Internet Age: Balancing Freedom and Regulation*. Washington, DC: IREX.
- Mickiewicz, Ellen. 1995. "The Political Economy of Media Democratisation." In David Stuart Lane, ed., *Russia in Transition: Politics, Privatisation and Inequalities*. London: Longman.
- National Press Institute. 1999. "Promoting Media Development in Post-Crisis Russia: A Report on Activities Undertaken Under USAID Cooperative Agreement #118-A-00-97-00274-01." Washington DC: USAID. PD-ABS-448.
- National Press Institute. 2000a. "Mass Media and Elections Project: Final Report (Report Period July, 1999–May 2000)." Moscow: NPI.

- National Press Institute. 2000b. "Preparing Independent Russian Media for the 21st Century: The Work of the National Press Institute. A Final Report on Activities Undertaken Under USAID Cooperative Agreement #118-A-00-97-00274-01." Washington DC: USAID. PD-ABS-910.
- Oates, Sarah, and Laura Roselle. 2000. "Russian Elections and TV News: Comparison of Campaign News on State-Controlled and Commercial Television Channels." *Harvard International Journal of Press Politics* 5: 30–51.
- Price, Monroe E., Andrei Richter, and Peter K. Yu, eds. 2002. *Russian Media Law and Policy in the Yeltsin Decade: Essays and Documents*. The Hague: Kluwer Law International.
- Price, Monroe, and Andre Richter. 2002. "Russian Television and the Russian Public: Uneasy Transformations of Ideas of Public Service." Oxford: Oxford University Programme in Comparative Media Law and Policy Centre for Socio-Legal Studies.
- RAMED. 2002. "Russian Media Industry Report, Draft for Commentary." Moscow: Russian-American Media Entrepreneurship Dialogue.
- Rantanen, Terhi. 2002. *The Global and the National: Media and Communications in Post-Communist Russia*. Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Schoenberg, Cheryl, and Courtenay Dunn. 2000. *The Media in Russia: New Roles, New Rules*. Washington, DC: IREX.
- Sigal, Ivan. 1997. *A Survey of Russian Television*. Moscow: Internews Network. <www.internews.ru/report/tv/>
- USAID. 2002. "USAID/Russia: Strategy Amendment (1999–2005)." Moscow: USAID. PD-ABW-365.

This Evaluation Working Paper can be ordered from USAID's Development Experience Clearinghouse (DEC). To download or order publications, go to www.dec.org and enter the document identification number in the search box. The DEC may also be contacted at 8403 Colesville Rd, Ste 210, Silver Spring, MD 20910; tel 301-562-0641; fax 301-588-7787; email docorder@dec.cdie.org. IBI–International Business Initiatives, Inc., furnished editorial and production assistance.

For more information, contact
U.S. Agency for International Development
Washington, D.C. 20523-1000
Telephone: 202-712-4810
Internet: www.usaid.gov