According to Kader, Prime Minister Nouri al Maliki had given instructions to impose controls and limits on information published on the Internet, because the information being published was currently "out of control."

IRAQ

IRAQ

Iraq has enjoyed wide-ranging freedoms since the forcible ouster of Saddam Hussein and the political upheaval in 2003. However, media professionals and press organizations still operate in a hazardous environment. Local organizations continue to raise warnings about dangers to freedom of the press and expression, particularly in the aftermath of the United States military withdrawal from Iraqi cities.

The Journalistic Freedoms Observatory (JFO), an Iraqi organization that defends journalists and their rights, reports that violence against journalists is climbing. In 2009, JFO reported a rise in attacks on journalists and media professionals to an estimated 262 cases over the course of the year. The report indicates that the Iraqi government has put forth significant efforts to control the free flow of information and has exerted pressure on journalists to prevent them from doing their jobs. The government uses criminal libel and defamation laws to stifle critical media outlets.

In addition, the Iraqi government has tried to restrict information on a national level by imposing censorship and control over the Internet. On July 22, 2009, Farouk Abdel Kader, Iraqi minister of communications, admitted that a proposal had been put forth to control and restrict Internet use in Iraq. According to Kader, Prime Minister Nouri al Maliki had given instructions to impose controls and limits on information published on the Internet, because the information being published was currently "out of control." Kader, who is a member of a religious political party, added that the controls are intended to prevent any political movements or other activities that violate the ethics of the country.

Such instructions seem to contravene article 40 of the Iraqi Constitution, which states: "The freedom of communication, and mail, telegraphic, electronic, and telephonic correspondence, and other correspondence shall be guaranteed and may not be monitored, wiretapped, or disclosed except for legal and security necessity and by a judicial decision."

IRAQ AT A GLANCE

General

> **Population:** 30,399,572 (July 2011 est., *CIA World Factbook*)

> **Capital city:** Baghdad

> **Ethnic groups (% of population):** Arab 75%-80%, Kurdish 15%-20%, Turkoman, Assyrian, or other 5% (*CIA World Factbook*)

> **Religions (% of population):** Muslim 97% (Shia 60%-65%, Sunni 32%-37%), Christian or other 3% (*CIA World Factbook*)

> **Languages:** Arabic (official), Kurdish (official in Kurdish regions), Turkoman, Assyrian (Neo-Aramaic), Armenian (*CIA World Factbook*)

> **GNI (2009):** $69.653 billion (World Bank Development Indicators, 2010)

> **GNI per capita (2009):** $3,330 (World Bank Development Indicators, 2010)

> **Literacy rate:** 74.1% (male 84.1%, female 64.2%) (2000 est., *CIA World Factbook*)

> **President or top authority:** President Jalal Talabani (since April 6, 2005)

Media Specific

> **Number of active print outlets, radio stations, television stations:** Print: 55 newspapers, 32 magazines; Radio: 84 stations; Television stations: 84

> **Newspaper circulation statistics:** N/A

> **Broadcast ratings:** N/A

> **News agencies:** Iraqi News Agency (state-controlled); 10 additional agencies

> **Annual advertising revenue in media sector:** N/A

> **Internet usage:** 325,900 (2009 est., *CIA World Factbook*)

MEDIA SUSTAINABILITY INDEX: **IRAQ**

	FREE SPEECH	PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISM	PLURALITY OF NEWS SOURCES	BUSINESS MANAGEMENT	SUPPORTING INSTITUTIONS
2005	1.27	1.18	1.25	1.02	1.06
2006-07	0.89	1.00	0.94	0.70	1.04
2008	1.62	1.61	1.93	1.25	1.61
2009	1.73	2.13	2.28	1.22	2.00

SUSTAINABILITY — OBJECTIVES

(Scale: UNSUSTAINABLE ANTI-FREE PRESS / UNSUSTAINABLE MIXED SYSTEM / NEAR SUSTAINABILITY / SUSTAINABLE)
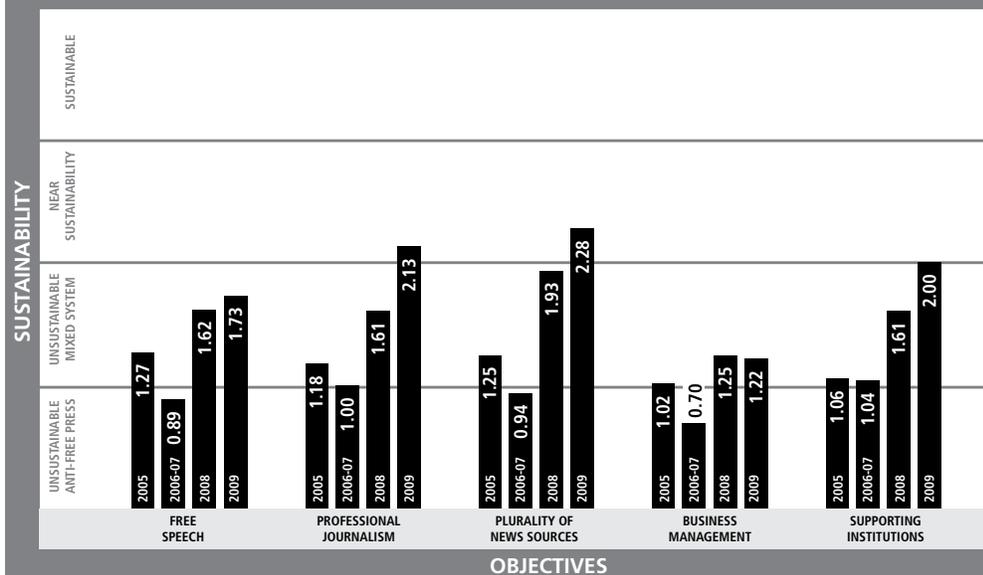
Unsustainable, Anti-Free Press (0-1): Country does not meet or only minimally meets objectives. Government and laws actively hinder free media development, professionalism is low, and media-industry activity is minimal.

Unsustainable Mixed System (1-2): Country minimally meets objectives, with segments of the legal system and government opposed to a free media system. Evident progress in free-press advocacy, increased professionalism, and new media businesses may be too recent to judge sustainability.

Near **Sustainability (2-3):** Country has progressed in meeting multiple objectives, with legal norms, professionalism, and the business environment supportive of independent media. Advances have survived changes in government and have been codified in law and practice. However, more time may be needed to ensure that change is enduring and that increased professionalism and the media business environment are sustainable.

Sustainable (3-4): Country has media that are considered generally professional, free, and sustainable, or to be approaching these objectives. Systems supporting independent media have survived multiple governments, economic fluctuations, and changes in public opinion or social conventions.

OBJECTIVE 1: FREEDOM OF SPEECH

Iraq Objective Score: 1.73

Panelists agreed that the prospects are grim for freedom of journalism and free speech for the near future. They said that the government's efforts to restrict journalists, under pretexts of protecting national security and applying ethical standards on behalf of society, are tantamount to outright censorship. The government's true objectives are to control published content, limit the use of the Internet, and restrict freedom of speech, panelists said.

Asifa Musa, media professor, spoke from an academic perspective and said that such steps have provoked journalists to seek constitutional guarantees for the right of access to information and inalienable legal guarantees for freedom of press and expression. She added that some officials do not want such legislation to pass because they know that freedom of the press could lead to the discovery and publication of incriminating information. In the influential Iraqi media environment, an unfavorable investigation could turn public opinion against them. Consequently, some individuals are not willing to put themselves or their party interests at risk.

Haider al Hasani, reporter for Al Rashid Satellite Television, said that even though Article 38 in the Iraqi constitution guarantees freedom of the press and expression, some recent government moves to restrict Internet cafés violate

> LEGAL AND SOCIAL NORMS PROTECT AND PROMOTE FREE SPEECH AND ACCESS TO PUBLIC INFORMATION.

FREE-SPEECH INDICATORS:

> Legal and social protections of free speech exist and are enforced.

> Licensing of broadcast media is fair, competitive, and apolitical.

> Market entry and tax structure for media are fair and comparable to other industries.

> Crimes against journalists or media outlets are prosecuted vigorously, but occurrences of such crimes are rare.

> State or public media do not receive preferential legal treatment, and law guarantees editorial independence.

> Libel is a civil law issue; public officials are held to higher standards, and offended parties must prove falsity and malice.

> Public information is easily accessible; right of access to information is equally enforced for all media and journalists.

> Media outlets have unrestricted access to information; this is equally enforced for all media and journalists.

> Entry into the journalism profession is free, and government imposes no licensing, restrictions, or special rights for journalists.

Ghasan al Yasiri, reporter for Radio Free Iraq in Baghdad, declared that the current CMC actions are portents of great danger that reflect very negatively on the state of freedom in Iraq. In conclusion, he warned that actions of that kind would lead to the rise of a new Saddam Hussein.

that article. The security authorities have also instructed all media outlets to restrict the types of broadcasts that they make and the equipment they use. The government has even ordered media outlets to provide the state with staff names, addresses, and other personal information. In al Hasani's view, this constitutes a danger to the personal safety of media outlet staff.

The panelists said that they do not perceive the court system as a refuge for journalists seeking respite. For example, the journalist who threw his shoes at former U.S. president George W. Bush in December 2008 received a three-year jail sentence in March 2009. Many journalists viewed this sentence as disproportionate to the crime. Although he was released after serving nine months, he reported being tortured during his time in prison.

Imad al Ibadi, consultant and presenter of political programs for Al Baghdadiya Satellite Television, said that the Iraqi government is following social norms in seeking to control all media outlets by restricting media professionals' work and movements. He expressed the view that governmental and political authorities use all means at their disposal, including extreme violence, to obstruct freedom of expression and access to information. He recalled his own survival of an assassination attempt, in which he was shot four times in the head and body.

The government has begun encroaching on Internet freedom as well, by limiting the number Internet cafés and websites and restricting the freedom of communications. Safaddin al Hachami, a lawyer specializing in media cases, expressed concerns regarding Communications and Media Commission (CMC) interference with the Internet. He said that CMC is using the pretext that the Internet publishes pornography—a common excuse for censorship. Many of the intellectual elite are concerned that CMC's actions might be the first regressive step toward imposing severe censorship of all communications. The Iraqi Ministry of Communications has called for control and censorship of the Internet on the pretext that Internet content is "out of control." The ministry

officially admitted to taking such steps and said it had been instructed to do so by the prime minister.

Societal norms in Iraq prevent expressions of public outrage at the government's actions. Saad Saloum, professor in the Department of Political Sciences at Al Mustanseria University in Baghdad, said that prevailing culture does not favor such freedom. Even in instances where their liberal rights are guaranteed, journalists must not violate the social and cultural taboos regarding sex, politics, and religion when they exercise these rights.

The Iraqi authorities impose strict controls on journalists and media organizations through the CMC. However, CMC regulations were drafted poorly, which makes them at once ineffective and hostile to print and broadcast media. In particular, the regulations impose inappropriate standards for licensing, together with tight restrictions on media content.

CMC's managers are appointed by the government—not approved by the Iraqi Parliament, as the constitution outlines. These appointments have enabled the government to control CMC, and in turn, utilize CMC as an instrument of control over the media. In reaction to the government's manipulation of CMC and the commission's decisions to impose strict regulations, international organizations have spoken out in protest. Recent reports by Human Rights Watch, the Committee to Protect Journalists, and Reporters Without Borders underscore the risks facing the Iraqi media as a result of CMC directives, and state that CMC must turn itself around. Al Ibadi said that CMC imposed a curfew on journalists, acting on direct instructions from the military authorities that rule Baghdad and are affiliated with al Maliki. The curfew prohibits journalists from traveling without permission from CMC and military leadership.

The panelist expressed the belief that it is important for CMC to regain its rightful mission. Panelists said that they would like to see CMC abandon its efforts to ban media outlets or turn licenses into tools of oppression and instead facilitate licensing and promote a general culture against taboos. Ghasan al Yasiri, reporter for Radio Free Iraq in Baghdad, declared that the current CMC actions are portents of great danger that reflect very negatively on the state of freedom in Iraq. In conclusion, he warned that actions of that kind would lead to the rise of a new Saddam Hussein.

Violations against media members this year included 83 cases of assault on journalists or photographers by military and security forces, 37 arrests, and 39 detentions. Ten journalists survived armed attacks, two journalists were seriously wounded, one journalist was kidnapped and killed, and four journalists were kidnapped and released after being tortured.

A total of 14 journalists and media outlets were charged and tried for libel in lawsuits brought by government officials under articles 81 through 84 of the Penal Code Law No. 111 of 1969. Law 111 was inherited from the former regime and contains 15 articles on journalism and libel that impose strict penalties.

OBJECTIVE 2: PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISM

Iraq Objective Score: 2.13

One of the most serious challenges for Iraqi journalists is meeting the standards of professionalism required to build public trust in the media as reputable sources of information to aid in decision-making. Journalism should provide citizens with the information and impetus to demand accountability from their government. However, the largely risk-averse media of Iraq practice self-censorship instead of investigating government failures. Dozens of ongoing lawsuits filed by parties and local officials against journalists and media outlets have left the media cowering. The entrenched culture of the regime and its authoritarian attitude toward its people is at the heart of the self-censorship practiced throughout the Iraqi media.

JOURNALISM MEETS PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS OF QUALITY.

PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISM INDICATORS:

> Reporting is fair, objective, and well sourced.

> Journalists follow recognized and accepted ethical standards.

> Journalists and editors do not practice self-censorship.

> Journalists cover key events and issues.

> Pay levels for journalists and other media professionals are sufficiently high to discourage corruption.

> Entertainment programming does not eclipse news and information programming.

> Technical facilities and equipment for gathering, producing, and distributing news are modern and efficient.

> Quality niche reporting and programming exists (investigative, economics/business, local, political).

Traditionally, the media in Iraq have acted as mouthpieces for their governing powers—money, business interests, and the ruling party—at the expense of standards of quality and professionalism. In most cases, journalism has not evolved under this culture of censorship and has yet to develop a clear journalistic mission and vision.

Partisanship is the principle obstacle to producing quality journalism. Majid al Brikan, a reporter for Sawa Radio in Basra, said that local media organizations have direct associations with party or religious institutions and believe that their roles are to promote and provide information about the groups that fund and own them. This loyalty leads to one-sided reporting and criticism of the opposition without articulating the opposition's position. Outlets lead with stories that promote their parties or foreign funders in the region, even if the reporting is weak. Al Yasiri expressed the belief that editors-in-chief impose most self-censorship in order to preserve the relationships between owners/editors and government officials.

The panelists agreed that most local media organizations fail to get their message across to their audience—to the extent that readers, listeners, and viewers have begun to ignore local news and follow foreign media outlets instead. Al Hachami said that the principal problem with media outlets is a lack of professionally trained staff able to ensure content quality. Saloum pointed out one exception: Iraqi journalists that work in international media organizations and develop proper professional standards. However, the vast majority of journalists have neither the training nor the independence to stray from an outlet's ideological line.

Local satellite networks, radio stations, and newspapers that once were dedicated exclusively to news are starting to produce entertainment, arts, and audience feedback content—an indication that media outlets are beginning to understand and take into account the needs of their audiences. Swalen Botros, journalist and media marketing manager in Baghdad, remarked that change was evident clearly in some of the Iraqi satellite networks—with the exception of party-owned satellite networks and media outlets, which still do not broadcast entertainment shows or more diversified news. Despite their political ownerships, Baghdad's Al Aalam news network, *Az Zaman* Arabic- and English-language daily newspaper, *Al Mashriq* Arabic-language daily newspaper, and *Alwan* arts newspaper include substantial entertainment content, as they understand their readers' demand for non-political news. Television networks such as Al Baghdadiya, Al Sharqiya, and Al Sumaria have been increasing the airtime they allocate to entertainment shows. Botros observed that the change was provoked by bad political news on the one hand and the declining incidence of violence on the other.

However, the ruling party continues to dominate the state-owned media. Despite an estimated $100 million in allocated funding, state outlets still need thorough restructuring to become inclusive and neutral.

Media outlets face many technical and financial problems that limit the quality and diversity of productions. Panelists noted that professionalism and artistic values are particularly low. Musa, speaking as a media professional in academia, said that media outlets do produce acceptable shows using the simple tools available, despite their poor technical capacity and despite how rudimentary the panelists found them from their point of view as media professionals. Moreover, the artistic failures demonstrate that the owners are more interested in news and do not realize the importance of production quality. Botros agreed that clearly, Iraqi media outlets need technical and artistic support to improve the final product delivered to viewers and listeners.

According to the panelists, media owners underestimate their audiences consistently and believe that they have a ready-made, guaranteed audience in their supporters and thus have no need to invest in quality productions.

OBJECTIVE 3: PLURALITY OF NEWS

Iraq Objective Score: 2.28

Despite the multitude of media outlets, the Iraqi media can be divided easily into pro-government or pro-opposition, resulting in a dearth of neutral reporting. Government media outlets have been accused of partisanship and producing propaganda; however, an examination of non-governmental media outlets reveals similar faults. Pro-government media outlets focus on the regime's accomplishments and exclude opposition voices in their programs, while some opposition media outlets concentrate only on the government's failings without including the government's perspective. That analysis holds true for the party-owned satellite networks as well as for those that operate under nationalistic or sectarian philosophies. No media outlet has attained any significant degree of independence, with the exception of some that operate in accordance with the policies of particular non-governmental organizations.

Examples of partisan news coverage abound: the Al Furat channel promotes the views of the Shiite Supreme Council

Party, Afaq Television takes the side of the Shiite Al-Daawa party, and the Al Baghdadiya channel favors the Sunni Islamic Party. Each channel pushes the view of its affiliated party to the fore and ignores the others, without investigating the issues.

Rand Talal, a journalist for the Institute for War and Peace Reporting, said that country has an array of media outlets of differing political and social orientations. Currently, the Christian minority has two radio stations, one religious and one secular, and this is a significant development for Christians in Iraq. However, the ruling party continues to dominate the state-owned media. Despite an estimated $100 million in allocated funding, state outlets still need thorough restructuring to become inclusive and neutral. Talal agreed that while the country has a plurality of news sources, no plurality of viewpoints exists within any one media outlet. As a result, viewers must watch more than one television channel in order to pick and choose credible information from among the news broadcasts.

News agencies receive funding from political organizations as well, which results in further self-censorship and compromised news content. Ali al Khalidi, owner and director of the Baghdad Media Center, said that local news agencies are simply conduits for press releases from the government and other organizations. Agency staff do not verify the accuracy of such news or seek out differing viewpoints before they pass it on to subscribers.

Most media outlets produce at least most of their own news content, and how it differs from official media is primarily a matter or editorial policy.

As reported last year, ownership of media outlets in Iraq is not transparent, nor is management of those outlets. Given the political or religious affiliations of most owners and their intention to use media as a means of promoting their agendas, owners prefer to remain unnamed and management are silent on the matter.

Minority issues are often ignored by the media, unless it is in the interest of either the government or the owners of an individual media outlet to cover them.

OBJECTIVE 4: BUSINESS MANAGEMENT

Iraq Objective Score: 1.22

Scores under this objective have not changed significantly from last year, as internal and external funding from various parties still control the media industry's business practices. With the decline in subsidies from international organizations, hopes of establishing independent, sustainable media are fading.

MULTIPLE NEWS SOURCES PROVIDE CITIZENS WITH RELIABLE AND OBJECTIVE NEWS.

PLURALITY OF NEWS SOURCES INDICATORS:

> A plurality of affordable public and private news sources (e.g., print, broadcast, Internet) exists.

> Citizens' access to domestic or international media is not restricted.

> State or public media reflect the views of the entire political spectrum, are nonpartisan, and serve the public interest.

> Independent news agencies gather and distribute news for print and broadcast media.

> Independent broadcast media produce their own news programs.

> Transparency of media ownership allows consumers to judge objectivity of news; media ownership is not concentrated in a few conglomerates.

> A broad spectrum of social interests are reflected and represented in the media, including minority-language information sources.

INDEPENDENT MEDIA ARE WELL-MANAGED BUSINESSES, ALLOWING EDITORIAL INDEPENDENCE.

BUSINESS MANAGEMENT INDICATORS:

> Media outlets and supporting firms operate as efficient, professional, and profit-generating businesses.

> Media receive revenue from a multitude of sources.

> Advertising agencies and related industries support an advertising market.

> Advertising revenue as a percentage of total revenue is in line with accepted standards at commercial outlets.

> Independent media do not receive government subsidies.

> Market research is used to formulate strategic plans, enhance advertising revenue, and tailor products to the needs and interests of audiences.

> Broadcast ratings and circulation figures are reliably and independently produced.

While media outlets are no longer exclusively state-owned, the dominance of political groups nevertheless undermines any chance of independence or development of a competitive media market.

When media outlets failed in their initial attempts to establish financially sustainable media, they relapsed to dependence on subsidies and political parties. Most media outlets no longer have ethical qualms about obtaining advertising and financial sponsorship in exchange for biased coverage. They have turned themselves into propaganda machines for the organizations that fund them through advertising. This is a widely accepted practice among media outlets and it has become a useful tool for governing bodies. Haider al Badri, editor-in-chief of *Kalkamech* magazine in Babylon, said that Iraqi media outlets still only receive a small part of their income from neutral advertising sources. Revenues from advertising barely amount to the petty cash involved in putting out a publication or establishing a satellite channel.

Media outlets employ illegal means to obtain what advertising they do receive; for example, by offering bribes and kick-backs to advertising agencies, whether those organizations are government agencies or independent businesses.

The Iraqi government and its ministries dominate the allocation of advertising, and this leads outlets to compromise editorial independence in order to obtain government advertisements. The panelists said that they consider such politically motivated allocations to be a new form of government control over editorial freedom. Saloum worries that the practice will turn the remaining independent media outlets into propaganda machines, and that advertising allocation decisions will amount to a declaration of war on the independence of the media.

A weak private advertising market and high publishing and distribution costs deal a double blow to independent print publications. Musa said that the lack of a thriving advertising industry or specialized advertising companies result in media outlets folding or laying off most of their staff. Most Iraqi newspapers incur significant losses as a result of high distribution costs and low advertising revenue. The comparison is simple: it costs newspapers 400 Iraqi dinars ($0.34) to print each copy, before taking into account the salaries of editors and other staff; whereas most newspapers are sold at a cover price of 250 dinars ($0.22) and in small quantities—less than 2,500 copies a day. The security situation is another key factor in the fall in newspaper circulations, because the curfews and traffic restrictions all over Iraq hold up the distribution of newspapers to the villages, rural areas, and remote areas.

Government interference in publishing and advertising also weakens the financial viability of independent publications. Al Brikan said that the party-owned print media that are distributed free of charge have brought down the circulation numbers of other papers.

The market research that is available in Iraq is scarce and unreliable. Al Ibadi said that most Iraqi media outlets do not have market research staff for promoting their products, nor do they carry out studies in order to tailor their product to audiences, because of the mindsets of their bureaucracies. Although a number of Iraqi media outlets and government media centers have developed plans to carry out market research on many issues, the integrity of such research is questionable, according to some Iraqi media professionals. Botros was of the view that polls of that kind almost always have a political backing and are engineered to demonstrate that the Iraqi people support particular political groups, however lacking in credibility the groups are. The pollsters are not considered neutral or professional businesses, and do not turn a profit. The polls carried out every now and then in Iraq in the interests of some political authority are paid for in advance and do not reflect reality. Recently, the National Media Center affiliated with the Iraqi cabinet conducted many polls regarding some of the most important issues in Iraq; however, major subgroups in Iraqi society were left out. The Iraqi satellite channels and radio stations also have carried out polls, but not through any formal scientific process.

OBJECTIVE 5: SUPPORTING INSTITUTIONS
Iraq Objective Score: 2.00

Independent journalists want to practice professional journalism in an independent media environment, but thus far, political influence has hampered efforts to form the institutions that would help journalists achieve this goal. The regime in power operates on the belief that more support to independent media outlets will necessitate greater censorship and attract negative attention to the regime. Without an opportunity to abolish the concept of media freedom entirely, the government instead controls information by relying on financial subsidies to outlets and promises of homes, land, and loans to individual journalists.

NGOs in Iraq manage to provide support to journalists to some extent, thanks to direct guidance and funding from international organizations. However, the panelists found that the Iraqi Union of Journalists and the Federation of Iraqi Media Professionals have become weaker as they have aligned themselves more closely to the government in

exchange for financial privileges, while ignoring harassment and assaults targeting journalists. At the same time, the government is working to gain influence over the journalists' associations in order to control the media by extension—thus returning to the status quo from before 2003.

Botros noted that media associations such as the Union of Journalists and the Federation of Iraqi Media Professionals represent the views of the government, pure and simple. Consequently, they undermine freedom of the press and expression in Iraq, rather than provide even a minimum level of real support. These two groups endorsed the proposed law on protection for journalists, while most journalists opposed it for its restrictions on journalists. The draft law was criticized severely also by a number of international organizations— most significantly by Article 19. Sabah Zngana, researcher and journalist, said that unfortunately, the Union of Journalists has indeed been involved in dealings with the government and it supports the state's anti-media attitudes. This has led professional journalists to quit the union and to retract their support.

A number of organizations remaining in Iraq speak up for the rights and freedoms of journalists. The most important

of these is the Journalistic Freedoms Observatory. However, a lack of coordination among these organizations has hindered their progress in impelling the regime to change certain laws and government directives.

The relative freedom of the seven-year period following the change in power has not resulted in a means to increase the capacity of Iraqi journalists or hone the talents of those willing to play an active part in media organizations. Journalists in Iraq continue to depend on technical support from relevant international organizations. Al Brikan agreed that journalists need ongoing professional development courses, since academic study alone is not enough to create professional journalists. Journalists need an organization to refine their creative abilities through development programs, whether in the field of journalism per se or through media management. Iraqi journalists themselves are at least partly to blame for not developing their capacities, given the new opportunities to practice journalism. Talal noted the lack of organizations specializing in professional media development and all its artistic, technical, and editorial aspects. Training projects do not succeed in developing the media because they are carried out by non-specialized institutions and organizations, he said. Real development for journalists comes from working with professional media organizations abroad.

Daily newspapers and magazines have been relatively immune to sectarian rivalry and security and economic problems. However, they are failing to achieve their desired business goals because of government pressure and censorship. Panelists expressed concern that even with the prevalence of Internet and social networking websites, censorship might become tighter, especially in light of the government's covert intentions to control CMC.

Al Khalidi observed that printing in Iraq is not free, as the country's printing houses censor publications unofficially. The government has confiscated publications criticizing corruption and has raided printing houses in Baghdad. They include the printing houses Al Maghreb, Al Ganoub, and Al Kawthar and a booklet entitled *Where did Iraq's money go?*

SUPPORTING INSTITUTIONS FUNCTION IN THE PROFESSIONAL INTERESTS OF INDEPENDENT MEDIA.

SUPPORTING INSTITUTIONS INDICATORS:

> Trade associations represent the interests of private media owners and provide member services.

> Professional associations work to protect journalists' rights.

> NGOs support free speech and independent media.

> Quality journalism degree programs that provide substantial practical experience exist.

> Short-term training and in-service training programs allow journalists to upgrade skills or acquire new skills.

> Sources of newsprint and printing facilities are in private hands, apolitical, and unrestricted.

> Channels of media distribution (kiosks, transmitters, Internet) are private, apolitical, and unrestricted.

List of Panel Participants

Sabah Zngana, researcher and journalist, Diyala

Haider al Badri, editor-in-chief, *Gilgamish*, Babylon

Safaddin al Hachami, media lawyer, Baghdad

Rand Talal, journalist, Institute for War and Peace Reporting, Baghdad

Imad al Ibadi, presenter, Al Baghdadiya Satellite Television, Baghdad

Majid al Brikan, reporter, Sawa Radio, Basra

Ali al Khalidi, owner and director, Baghdad Media Center, Baghdad

Haider al Hasani, reporter, Al Rashid Satellite Television, Mesan

Asifa Musa, media professor, Baghdad

Ghasan al Yasiri, reporter, Radio Free Iraq, Baghdad

Swalen Putris, journalist, media marketing manager, Baghdad

Saad Saloum, professor, Department of Political Sciences, Al Mustanseria University, Baghdad

Moderator and Author

Ziad al Ajili, executive director, Journalistic Freedoms Observatory, Baghdad

The Iraq study was coordinated by, and conducted in partnership with, the Journalistic Freedoms Observatory, Baghdad.