

Freedom of Expression at the Ford Foundation: History and Renewal

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ACRONYMS

| | |
|--------|---|
| AMARC | Association Mondiale des Radiodiffuseurs Communautaires (World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters) |
| APC | Association for Progressive Communications |
| BIC | Bank Information Center |
| CPB | Corporation for Public Broadcasting |
| CRIS | Communication Rights in the Information Society |
| CSO | Civil society organization |
| CUNY | City University of New York |
| DfID | Department for International Development |
| EMAC | Education, Media, Arts, and Culture |
| FAO | Food and Agriculture Organization |
| FCC | Federal Communications Commission |
| FOE | Freedom of Expression |
| FOIA | Freedom of Information Act |
| GATT | General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade |
| GBS | Global Broadcast Service |
| GTI | Global Transparency Initiative |
| HSF | Helsingen Sanomat Foundation |
| ICANN | Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers |
| ICCPR | International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights |
| ICD | Information and Communication for Development |
| ICESCR | International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights |
| IDRC | International Development Research Centre |
| IFEX | International Freedom of Expression eXchange |
| IGF | Internet Governance Forum |
| IP | Intellectual Property |
| IPI | International Press Institute |
| IPR | Intellectual Property Right |
| IREX | International Research and Exchanges Board |
| IT | Information Technology |
| ITU | International Telecommunication Union |
| JSTOR | Journal Storage |
| KCF | Knowledge, Creativity, and Freedom |
| LINC | Leveraging Investments in Creativity |
| MAC | Media, Arts, and Culture |
| MPF | Media Projects Fund |
| NEA | National Endowment for the Arts |
| NGO | Non-Governmental Organization |
| NPR | National Public Radio |
| NWICO | New World Information and Communication Order |
| OSI | Open Society Institute |
| P.E.N. | Poets, Playwrights, Essayists, Editors, and Novelists (P.E.N. American Center) |
| PBS | Public Broadcasting Service |
| PRX | Public Radio Exchange |
| PSJ | Peace and Social Justice |

Summary

Ford grantmaking has emphasized the interdependence of expressive freedoms and human dignity since the inaugural Foundation mission statements of the 1950s. Support for freedom of expression, both as a set of concrete rights and as a broader commitment to a rich, diverse, and participatory public sphere, has been among the Foundation's most central and enduring commitments. Because freedom of expression is fundamentally an enabler of other rights—political, economic, and cultural—it is likely to remain so.

This report is conceived as both an introduction to the contemporary 'freedom of expression' (FOE) landscape and as an account of recent Ford grantmaking within it. This discussion falls into three sections.

- Part I provides an introduction to traditional and emerging challenges for FOE, including brief accounts of the major concepts and instruments of traditional rights discourse, the converging policy venues that increasingly shape expression, the challenges of media policy and intellectual property rights, and the diverse donor and civil society participants in this sector.
- Part II documents Ford grantmaking history in this area, with a focus on three distinct types of intervention into the public sphere: Media Institutions, Civil Society, and Democratic Participation and Inclusion. This section also identifies a fourth, cross-cutting set of concerns with digital technologies.
- Part III provides a brief set of conclusions and possible avenues for the further development and consolidation of FOE work at Ford.

The central contention of this report is that the forces shaping expressive freedoms have changed in ways that are no longer defined primarily by state power and the traditional mass media—the primary objects of Ford FOE grantmaking in the past half century. The rise of digital technologies and the liberalization of media sectors, especially, have produced an upheaval in the institutions, cultural practices, and forms of governance that shape the public sphere, often in ways that bear only tangential relationship to the speech rights, demands for government transparency that dominate the core FOE tradition.

This report suggests that an effective contemporary engagement with expressive freedoms must increasingly work within the larger set of converging policy and issue domains, ranging from media and technology policy, to intellectual property regimes and development strategies. These are powerful *structural* and *infrastructural* determinants of public life, shaping not just formal rights but also the underlying conditions and possibilities of expression. The project of translating expressive freedoms into these new technological arenas is fragile and incomplete at best, though enriched by a growing number of conceptual advances, socio-technical practices, and forms of political mobilization. Ford has played a small but important role in this process to date.

This report begins and ends with two basic questions: How will Ford advance its core expressive values in the post-broadcast, digital era? How will it determine those strategies? Hopefully, this history of Ford work on freedom of expression provides some guideposts for that inquiry.

Introduction

Freedom of expression (FOE) is often described as a fundamental human right—fundamental because it is a precondition for other rights. In modern democracies, this priority is taken for granted. Even minimal conceptions of citizenship, democracy, public life, and the accountability of power require that information *about* society flow *through* society. Such circulation is a condition of political culture in which power is non-absolute, distributed, and contestable. The core elements of freedom of expression are grounded in this liberal conception of political freedom, and in accompanying notions of human dignity rooted in the capacity to translate the inward freedom of thought into outward expression. In this second respect, especially, recognition of the centrality of FOE greatly predates the emergence of human rights discourse in the 18th century, much less its formalization in international rights architectures in the 20th century. Though profoundly a product of Enlightenment thinking, modern FOE discourse also looks back to classical traditions of thought that

viewed human life as simultaneously individualistic and social—expressive and communicative.

There is no singular definition of FOE. Like other rights discourses, it is a complicated and evolving bundle of concepts, covering a wide range of forms and contexts of human communication. Contemporary discussions of FOE remain strongly shaped by the international rights frameworks of the post-WWII period, in which diverse strands of liberal democratic thought were combined into a powerful—if also unwieldy and incompletely realized—rights framework. Postwar FOE was grounded in the fundamental challenge of monitoring state power, with particular reference to authoritarianism, but it also included concepts of collective cultural identity and notions of personal dignity linked to individual expressive capacities. This encompassing set of claims anchored arguments that FOE was a fundamental human right that enabled other rights. Postwar conventions on human rights largely adopted this view. Begin-

ning in the 1940s, FOE was written into the foundational international rights statements, including the Universal Declaration on Human Rights (1948) and the later International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966).

In the postwar era, FOE activism—both on the part of state and civil society actors—was strongly inflected by cold war tensions and the question of authoritarianism. FOE discourse in the West was oriented around questions of censorship, state control of the press, and the physical safety of journalists and political dissidents. Associations of journalists, human rights organizations, private foundations, and other NGOs engaged in extensive efforts to defend these rights through monitoring, publicity, and persuasion. They emphasized the development of legal frameworks that could secure the independence of the press and the mass media in its diverse social roles and its independence from the state. The dual status of FOE as both a subject of human rights advocacy and a vehicle for advancing it has been reflected in Ford grant-making mission since the 1950s.

Today, authoritarian threats persist and in some countries are on this rise. State-focused FOE activism and its predominantly negative conception of FOE as freedom from coercion remain crucial in these contexts. The past two decades, however, have also seen a dramatic transformation of both the technologies and forms of social organization of human expression. The Internet is the epitome of these changes and—to a large extent—the platform for them, but the process is as much social and political as technological. States and traditional mass media have begun to play diminished roles in this new expressive landscape. A conception of FOE adequate to the new expressive landscape must engage this proliferation of communication channels. It must account for the democratization of opportunities for individuals and small groups to reach mass audiences, and also the vast concentration

of private control over knowledge, expression, and infrastructure.

From one perspective, human rights advocates face a profound challenge in pursuing the goals of FOE in the new expressive environment. Rights advocacy and rights instruments will need to evolve to retain their purchase on this altered communicative landscape. This task is daunting because the technologies and social forms of expression have become so much more diverse and complex, bearing risks and opportunities that operate tangentially to those associated with the mass media. However difficult, this process of evolution within contemporary rights discourse is also an opportunity to articulate what matters in the new expressive environment: how do the values underlying traditional rights discourse translate into the new contexts? How can Ford and other actors promote and extend those rights? The centrality of communication, information, and expression to human experience has made FOE a fulcrum for the expansion of human rights discourse, ranging from issues of cultural identity and integrity, to questions of economic and social development. Some of these issues are longstanding within the international covenants but undeveloped: rights of access to media or group-based expressive rights are notable examples. The changing landscape of expression—both technological and social—raises the prospect of new approaches and possible solutions to this richer array of expressive demands. This work lies largely ahead.

Because Ford's mission is engaged with broad areas of the human condition, it is not surprising that FOE concerns run throughout Ford grantmaking, and that Ford grantmaking has in some important ways tracked the evolution of the concept. By mapping those relationships, and by aiding the Foundation in understanding its investments in FOE, this report is intended to push that process of mutual definition forward.

A Historical Overview of Freedom of Expression at Ford

Ford's support for FOE can be traced back to the 1950 Gaither Report, which outlined the mission that would guide the foundation in its early years. Ford grantmaking would focus on five main objectives: world peace, democracy, economic wellbeing, education, and support for scientific explorations of 'human conduct'.

Concern for protecting and enhancing the 'dignity of man' ran throughout these grantmaking areas, and shaped Ford's broad commitment to FOE. The report articulated a fundamental and still central association in Ford's work between expressive freedoms, diversity, and human flourishing. It also reflected the prevailing view of FOE as an implicitly individual freedom from state or societal constraints. The report noted that:

Human welfare requires tolerance and respect for individual social, religious, and cultural differences, and for the varying needs and aspirations to which differences give rise. It requires freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of worship, and freedom of association. Within wide limits, every person has a right to go his own way and to be free from interference or harassment because of nonconformity.

Two broad directions of support for expressive rights emerged from this foundational document: support for free speech, a free press, and freedom of information—often explicitly reflecting the post-war FOE consensus—and a diversity agenda focused on building alternative capacities for ensuring that marginalized perspectives were represented in broader public discourse. This latter line of work consolidated around public broadcasting and later media production. It was both conditioned on and an outgrowth of

respect for the core FOE principles, but rarely used FOE as a descriptive framework.

STATE, PRESS, AND SPEECH. Several early domestic initiatives were informed by FOE concerns with the coercive power of state and society—perhaps most prominently the Fund for the Republic, which received a \$15 million grant (1953) to investigate McCarthy-era government censorship, assaults on academic freedom, and boycotting and blacklisting activities by private groups.

These concerns found more lasting outlet in international grantmaking, in a context shaped by authoritarianism and the Cold War. An early example was Ford support for the International Press Institute (IPI), a global organization dedicated to the promotion and protection of freedom of the press. In the 1960s and 1970s, press freedoms, open conditions for public debate, independent social analysis, and the free flow of ideas became a major focus of overseas grantmaking, with particular attention to repressive regimes in Latin America, Africa, and Eastern Europe. Ford also cultivated and relied on wider international circuits of press and rights monitoring to protect grantees who engaged in risky forms of public discourse.

The 1975 signing of the Helsinki Accords launched a new round of human rights advocacy and a new round of Ford grantmaking to organizations chartered to monitor compliance. The Accords had specific provisions for freedom of thought, conscience, religion, and belief, anchored in a framework that privileged the role and sovereignty of state actors as both defenders of and potential threats to those rights. Ford grantees at the time included Helsinki Watch, the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights, Human Rights Watch, and Helsinki Committees in Poland and Czech Republic. In other regions, Ford strengthened nongovernmen-

tal advocacy groups as part of a long-term strategy to build a human rights infrastructure capable of defending and advancing FOE. Grants to the University of the Witwatersrand in South Africa supported FOE efforts and legal aid programs at the Center for Applied Law. This general approach to NGO monitoring and legal advocacy continues to mark the Ford approach.

Ford's explicit commitments to FOE continue to be shaped primarily by its human rights work, which has emphasized rights monitoring, freedom of the press and support for political and cultural expression under repressive regimes. This has involved considerable and often long-term investments in institution building: the Committee to Protect Journalists, the West African Journalists Association, and Canadian Journalists for Free Expression (which operates an international FOE clearing house) all received substantial core Ford support.¹ Closely-related lines of work have focused on support for intellectual and artistic freedom, and helped create organizations such as the Foundation for European Intellectual Cooperation and Exchange and the Brazilian Center for Policy and Analysis, established by Brazilian opponents of military rule. Authorship and censorship were primary axes of this work, and continued to inform grantmaking through the 1980s and 90s. The Writers and Scholars Educational Trust, which monitored censorship and published the writings of censored authors, the Article 19 Research and Information Center, and the P.E.N. American Center's Freedom to Write Committee were important beneficiaries of this line of work.²

MEDIA DIVERSITY AND PUBLIC BROADCASTING. The largest and most sustained arc of Ford Foundation investment in encouraging media diversity is the multi-decade, continuing commitment to public broadcasting in the US. This work has undergone several major transitions. From the early 50s to the early 80s, Ford was a principle architect and supporter of the creation of a national public broadcasting infrastructure,

culminating in the creation of both the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) and National Public Radio (NPR). The subsequent creation of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) established a mixed federal and local funding infrastructure for this network, as well as a model for producing and delivering programming to the largely autonomous public television and radio stations around the country. In 1977, after twenty years and \$289 million in grant support, Ford staff concluded that the primary goal of creating the institutions and surrounding regulatory framework for public broadcasting had largely been achieved. One important indicator was the passage of legislation to overhaul the 1934 Federal Communications Act, which provided for the funding and administration of public broadcasting.

Ford's subsequent work in this area shifted focus toward media production that could be disseminated through the public broadcasting system. For eleven years, Ford sponsored a wide range of creative work in genres and perspectives that fell outside the commercial mainstream. Documentary films became its principle output.

Ford grants during this exploratory stage totaled approximately \$32 million. They sponsored some of the most important and enduring social documentaries of the period, such as *Eyes on the Prize* (1987), a television history of the civil rights movement, *Voices of Sarafina* (1988), which documented the musical dedicated to capturing the Soweto riots, and *Stand and Deliver* (1988), about teaching in the public schools. Ford also supported media used in educational and training settings.

In the 1980s, the independent program structure of Ford media production began to be perceived by some Ford staff as a weakness in the work. Although media production clearly supported Foundation goals of diversity and inclusion in the public sphere, it was not strongly integrated with other program efforts. The separate struc-

ture encouraged the treatment of media as a separate programmatic concern, not a vehicle for advancing all program goals. In 1988, Ford media production work was reorganized into the Media Projects Fund (MPF), which was intended to encourage production work across programs, and assist program staff to incorporate media, dissemination, and impact strategies into their grantmaking. The MPF operated through one-to-one internal matching grants with program staff to provide incentives to support media projects. Though initially domestic in orientation, the MPF was extended in 1995 to include grants made through Ford field offices. International MPF grant-making focused largely on the development of media infrastructures, and use of the media as a vehicle for public education. In the eight-year run of the MPF, support for media projects totaled \$88.5 million and involved 86 program officers. Some 135 hours of programming were created, on subjects such as urban and rural poverty, race relations, youth development, and international affairs. Much of this programming was nationally broadcast in primetime slots on television and radio. During this period, staff also began supporting educational outreach and distribution phases of productions that would help amplify the impact of programming content in schools and communities.

THE CONTEMPORARY FOE AGENDA AT FORD. This report focuses on post-1996 engagement with FOE at the Ford Foundation. That year saw a significant reorganization of Ford work on a wide range of expressive concerns. Most significant were the end of the MPF and the creation of the Media, Arts, and Culture unit (MAC) within the new Education, Media, Arts, and Culture program (EMAC). MAC made grants in the fields of arts and cultural institutions, journalism, media production and broadcasting. It also introduced new lines of work on media policy, and became the home of much of Ford grantmaking on the social and cultural impact of emerging digital technologies.

This institutional shift was partly in recognition of ongoing changes in the structural and infrastructural conditions of expression. Ford media work faced complex and interrelated new challenges, ranging from technological factors such as the rise of the internet, to the economic decline of print journalism, to the increasingly hostile environment toward public interest media regulation, which threatened the sustainability of public broadcasting. The potential of the World Wide Web to extend capacities for speech and expression was beginning to be felt. Its impact on content distribution and on forms of collaborative social and cultural production was still several years away. Ford staff recognized that the Foundation's commitment to a diverse and participatory public sphere had to adapt to these new conditions. This process has been incremental, and continues to this day. The largest new commitments in this area have been the creation of the Electronic Media portfolio and the subsequent cross-programmatic International Intellectual Property Initiative. The current Freedom of Expression initiative is another step in this direction.

These projects arose out of a number of Ford-sponsored exploratory initiatives—notably on intellectual property rights, journalism, and media policy. Among the earliest was the 1999 Aspen Institute series on the changing FOE landscape, which focused particularly on journalism. The resulting 'Stone Soup' roundtable brought together a diverse group of professional and philanthropic actors to discuss the economic, social, and technological transformation of the news media, from questions of censorship and professionalism to diversity and localism. From this annual series of meetings emerged a rough consensus about the need to expand the definition of FOE beyond the traditional news and expressive functions of the mass media. Questions of civil rights and technology policy figured prominently in this effort to articulate a new vision. By 2002, these discussions were colored further by the post

9-11 political environment, in which traditional journalistic freedoms were widely perceived to be under new threat, domestically and internationally.

In March 2004, a follow-up meeting was held at Ford to reflect on the Stone Soup findings and develop ways to implement them. One prominent result was a grant to Global Partners and Associates to “expand the role of civil society in freedom of expression debates across fields nationally and internationally.” As this report documents, this work has pursued the goal of making FOE discourse commensurate with the new technologies, social forms, and economic conditions of expression. This work is still in progress, both inside and outside the Ford Foundation. Institutionally, Ford has had a consistent understanding of the importance of FOE to its work on social justice, democracy, and inclusion. This report provides evidence that it is beginning to better understand how to adapt that vision to today’s rapidly changing conditions of expression. The contributions of twenty-one Ford program officers to this new project is a sign of that collectively-felt need.

Because FOE is an underlying condition of Ford’s core mission, much of Ford history can be read through an FOE lens. Ford does little that does not contribute to or depend on open conditions of public discourse. This report sketches this larger framework but focuses on areas where FOE—and related questions about public life—are more central to Ford staff’s conception of their work. Ford’s very substantial investment in US public media is a prominent example, as is the more general commitment to documenting the diversity of the human condition and strengthening the capacities of the excluded to engage in public discourse.

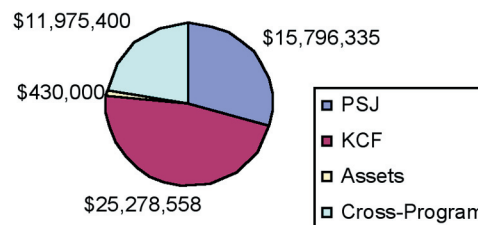
This report privileges the smaller set of grants in which FOE is expressly signaled as a concern—grants that cluster around journalistic and

academic freedom, media and technology policy, artistic expression, and human sexuality. These are located mainly in the Peace and Social Justice (PSJ) and Knowledge Creativity and Freedom (KCF) programs, where FOE figures in some \$53 million of grants over the past decade.

Mapping Ford investments in this area is complicated by the fact that grants often serve multiple purposes which are not always fully signaled in grant documentation. This report is grounded in a broad definition of FOE that encompasses subjects that have been only occasionally treated as keywords or grantmaking categories by Ford staff—among them, intellectual property rights, the communicative dimensions of civic participation, and academic freedom. This analysis suggests that, in the aggregate, Ford investment in these areas is significantly larger, overall, than its commitment to traditional FOE grantmaking in journalism, censorship, and rights monitoring. Of the \$53 million total cited above, the latter total only \$18 million.

In terms of program support, KCF—the recently reconfigured EMAC—is the largest contributor by a significant margin. Cross-programmatic grants between PSJ and KCF figure prominently in both traditional and non-traditional FOE grantmaking, accounting for approximately \$12 million of the total. The Assets program has been a much smaller contributor to all of these lines of work.

Box: Distribution by program of grants specifying FOE



Report Structure

This report is conceived as both an introduction to the contemporary FOE landscape and an account of recent Ford grantmaking within it. This discussion falls into three sections.

- Part I provides an introduction to traditional and emerging challenges for FOE. It provides brief accounts of the major concepts and instruments of traditional rights discourse, the converging policy venues that increasingly shape expression, the challenges of media policy and intellectual property rights, and the diverse donor and civil society participants in this sector.
- Part II documents Ford grantmaking history in this area, with a focus on three distinct types of intervention into the public sphere: Media Institutions, Civil Society, and Democratic Participation and Inclusion. This section also identifies a fourth, cross-cutting set of grantmaking concerns with digital technologies.
- Part III provides a brief account of conclusions and possible avenues for the further development and consolidation of FOE work at Ford.

This report is an element of a larger grant to Global Partners and Associates for “research, convening, documentation and dissemination activities to expand the role of civil society in FOE debates across fields nationally and internationally.” This project is intended to assist stakeholders in articulating and advancing this expanded account of FOE, in part by better understanding the role of traditional FOE instruments in the changing expressive landscape. The report draws on several sets of interviews with Ford program officers: ten conducted by the author and twenty one conducted by Andrew Puddephatt, director of Global Partners. It draws additionally Ford program and field literature, commissioned reports, and a review of individual grant documents available in GBS and the Ford archives.

Part I

The FOE Landscape: Rights Frameworks, Converging Policy Spheres, and Actors

Rights Frameworks

Freedom of expression (FOE) is often described as a fundamental human right in UN rights covenants and other major rights statements. Traditionally, fundamental rights were those intended to protect citizens from their governments. FOE advocacy is rooted in this tradition of civil and political rights—in securing ‘negative’ freedom from external coercion. In modern societies, the absence of government interference with personal speech and the functions of the press have been the cornerstones of this vision.

This civil and political conception of FOE is protected in all international and regional human rights treaties, starting with the foundational postwar rights document, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR, 1946). The now canonical Article 19 outlines the predomi-

nantly individualistic, political view of expressive freedoms:

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Despite the simplicity of Article 19, the UDHR did little to clarify a range of other social, economic, and cultural rights claims, from the right to work and equitable pay, to the right to participate in the cultural life of the community. Support for these latter rights—sometimes called second generation rights—became entangled in cold war politics and produced a split along

socialist-capitalist lines. A political solution to UDHR disagreements was eventually reached by dividing the covenant into two separate agreements, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR, 1966) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (ICESCR, 1978). The ICCPR prioritized the traditional civil and political framework for FOE, while the ICESCR asserted a range of moral rights for individual creators, as well as collective rights of self-determination defined at the level of cultures. Although both agreements are currently in effect and nominally binding—with the US a notable holdout in ratifying the latter—the ICESCR remains vague on collective and cultural rights and has not been widely supported. When a more substantive conversation about collective rights to expression began to emerge at UNESCO in the 1980s, it did so under the new framework of ‘communication rights,’ and prioritized rights of access to communications technologies.

FOE is also protected in a range of regional conventions on human rights that emerged in parallel with the UN process. These include the American Convention on Human Rights (Article 13); The African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights - Article 9, the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (Article 10), and the European Convention on Human Rights (Article 11).

Like other rights discourses, FOE is a bundle of concepts whose elements and inflections vary from setting to setting. FOE is often invoked in the same sentence as freedom of opinion or information. It often includes implicit or explicit rights to cultural participation, however vaguely defined. The next section outlines some of the key rights vocabularies that circulate within contemporary discussions of FOE, including ‘freedom of information,’ the ‘right to cultural identity,’ and the ‘right to communicate.’

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION. ‘Freedom of information’ refers broadly to the right to seek, receive and impart information—often in relation to government activities. In its first session in 1946, the UN General Assembly identified freedom of information as “a fundamental human right” and “the touchstone of all the freedoms to which the United Nations is consecrated.”³ The effective meaning of this right has evolved since the drafting of these international instruments. Most modern interpretations emphasize two related dimensions of this ‘freedom’: a positive obligation upon states to make information about their activities public, and a somewhat more passive construction built around citizens’ right of access to information about state activities. Formal guarantees of freedom of information are not universal. Approximately sixty countries legally recognize a right of access to information held by public authorities.⁴ These are predominantly western democracies, where developed press and civil society sectors constitute the primary ‘users’ of such rights.

In the US, freedom of information was formalized in the well-known ‘Freedom of Information Act’ (FOIA, 1966), which established procedures for petitioning public bodies for the release of information and documents. In the UK, freedom of information legislation came into force only in 2005. ‘Access to information’ campaigns have resulted in the adoption of similar legislation in nearly fifty countries.

The closely-related ‘right to know’ is not part of the UN framework but rather a term used in Europe to describe individual rights of access to data collected by private and public entities. It is most frequently evoked in the context of Data Protection laws established to ensure that individuals can access and correct personal information held in public records and databases.

THE RIGHT TO COMMUNICATE. A ‘right to communicate’ was first proposed by Jean d’Arcy, a French UN official, in 1969:

The time will come when the Universal Declaration of Human Rights will have to encompass a more extensive right than man’s right to information, first laid down ... in Article 19. This is the right of man to communicate. This is the angle from which the future development of communication will have to be ... understood.

D’Arcy viewed the ‘right to communicate’ as a way of redressing a predominantly passive understanding of freedom of expression, which placed no obligation on the state other than to refrain from interfering with acts of expression. This new conceptualization advanced a more expansive definition of state responsibilities that included, especially, guarantees of collective access to the media, especially for the poor.

In the late 1970s, the UNESCO-sponsored ‘International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems,’ led by Nobel Laureate Seán MacBride, incorporated and extended much of D’Arcy’s conceptual framework, and developed a communication rights agenda grounded in the ‘4 Ds’—democratization, decolonization, demonopolization, and development. Enthusiasm for the MacBride Report among developing-country representatives made communication rights the centerpiece of a debate about information, development, and cultural identity at UNESCO in early 1980s. Like the earlier UDHR split, this debate proved polarizing, and marked in particular by sharp opposition from the US government and US-based FOE groups, who argued against any assertion of a right to communicate that might justify state interference or control over the media. UNESCO’s pursuit of the issue led to the withdrawal of the US and the United Kingdom from that body for over a decade. This fracture brought UNESCO’s

political activism in the communications area to an effective end.

In 1988, UNESCO unveiled a ‘New Communication Strategy’ built around the anticipated challenges of post-communist transitions. The new strategy returned to the traditional ‘negative freedoms’ from state influence: freedom of the press, the free flow of information, and the need for an independent and pluralist media. Notably, it avoided the 4 Ds.

With the closure of this debate, discussions of cultural and economic rights around communication stalled for much of the 1990s. This began to change in the context of the World Summit on the Information Society (2001-2005)—a UN-sponsored effort to articulate a global agenda for emerging information and communications technologies. ‘Communication Rights’ became the basis for a new round of policy activism led by civil society actors and operationalized in parallel to the WSIS process. The new networks worked to create a more-integrated approach to individual expression, group identities, the media, new technologies, and the state. Positive rights of access to media and other developmental goals played a central role in this process. The role of intellectual property and technology policy also figured prominently.

As a framework for thinking about expressive freedoms, communication rights found traction especially among South American activists—a reception usually attributed to the history of state manipulation of a formally independent media, and the consequent suspicion surrounding traditional FOE rhetoric. The task of producing a unified rights discourse that could accommodate vast differences in social and political conditions proved difficult however, and opportunities for developing a new set of institutional commitments to the communication rights agenda through the WSIS process did not materialize.

The ‘Communications for Development’ (or DevCom) movement integrates similar developmental priorities in a much less politicized form. The World Bank, the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), and other UN agencies have been the primary sponsors of work in this area. DevCom projects stress technical approaches through which development practitioners can leverage communications technologies for development purposes. DevCom discourse emphasizes the power of traditional and community media and also the relevance of social and cultural rights, although generally via existing UN instruments such as the recent UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (2005).

THE RIGHT TO CULTURAL IDENTITY. The Right to Cultural Identity belongs to a family of cultural rights articulated primarily in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), with derivatives in a variety of regional, and national human rights frameworks. The UDHR states that “everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.”⁵ These rights have never been subject to the degree of attention or elaboration given the ‘negative’ freedoms from state power, but a number of factors have refocused thinking on cultural rights in recent years. The MacBride Commission played an important part in this renewal, as did the later ‘Asian Values Debate’—a dispute over the applicability of Western notions of human rights to ostensibly collectivist Asian cultural values, triggered by post-Tiananmen Square sanctions against China.

A more formal approach to cultural rights was introduced by France into GATT negotiations in the form of the ‘cultural exception,’ asserted in 1993. The cultural exception reflected the view that cultural imports should be treated differently than other goods in trade negotiations in order to protect the distinctiveness of national cultures.

Quotas, tariffs, and content regulation favouring national products have been the principal strategies. Audio-visual goods such as movies and music have been the primary targets.

The number of countries adopting cultural exception rules remains small, with only Canada joining France in implementing explicit rules. Cultural exceptions remain controversial in the free trade environment, both on principle and because the boundaries of national culture are almost always unclear. The U.S., in particular, argued that the cultural exception could be interpreted as applying to goods such as coffee or textiles that are produced from within a distinctive cultural milieu.

Cultural exceptions also operate in tension with universalist conceptions of free speech. Although conceived as tools for supporting national cultures against the homogenizing (and American-inflected) effects of global culture, national cultural frameworks are often contested constructs that privilege some forms of identity over others—a view taken by the US government in recent UNESCO negotiations. Despite these difficulties, there are few other effective cultural rights models. In 2005 UNESCO endorsed the cultural exception in its Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions. Four nations, including the US, abstained from voting.

Converging Policy Spheres

The convergence of once-distinct forms of media and communications around digital technologies is driving a parallel process of policy convergence, as different regulatory and governing bodies seek to apply their jurisdictions to the digital environment. This is a period of considerable regulatory confusion about the organization of digital communications, digital media, and the values that should govern them. Trade

regimes conflict with development agendas. Technocratic models are criticized for their lack of accountability. National differences in content regulation run up against profoundly global flows of media and information, which have weak connections to territorial jurisdictions. The result has been a mix of regulatory activism, conflict, and also innovation as systems of global governance emerge.

To date, FOE advocacy has relied heavily on rights instruments—human, civil, and political—to bring pressure against states and other actors who threaten expressive freedoms. The international declarations of rights developed by the UN are in many respects the cornerstones of this advocacy model. Enforcement, however, is more often a function of regional and national rights frameworks, which often have more effective procedures and remedies for rights abuses.

One finding of this report is that, as FOE discourse begins to adapt to the new conditions of expression, rights instruments may have untapped potential to address broader issues of

access to technology, media localism, and civic participation. By the same token, FOE advocacy will need to look beyond the traditional rights instruments to the mix of governance and regulatory bodies that increasingly define the digital landscape. As in other areas, this abbreviated account will not fully examine the complexity of these venues or the opportunities for interventions within them. It will describe three main areas of policy concern for our expanded approach to FOE: human rights instruments, media policy, and intellectual property rights.

RIGHTS INSTRUMENTS. This report will not discuss in much detail the use of existing rights instruments to support the broader array of expressive freedoms identified in this report. These are questions that must be answered at the tactical level, based on the flexibilities within different rights instruments and the varying political conditions for making and enforcing claims. Many established FOE rights—especially those that go beyond the core civil and political rights—are honored only notionally, or as they serve state purposes. Unpacking these possibilities falls into

NATIONAL PRIORITIES, INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATIONS

Differences in national FOE laws have become sites of conflict as the Internet and other communications technologies make territorial jurisdiction difficult to enforce. The Yahoo Nazi paraphernalia case from France is a notable example. In 2000, the Internet portal site Yahoo.com was sued in France by the Union of Jewish Students and the International Anti-Racism and Anti-Semitism League for allowing Nazi memorabilia to be sold via its auction pages. This was the first time that an online content provider had been asked to enforce national FOE laws on the Internet, and the case provided a revealing example of the difficulties of managing a profoundly transnational media space. Although the

French-language Yahoo portal discontinued sale of such items, French users could still access Nazi memorabilia on the US-based version of the portal. A French judge ruled that the U.S. Yahoo site had to go further, ensuring that French citizens were blocked from these materials regardless of the location of the services. Yahoo responded in US courts, and won a 2001 ruling that the French order had violated Yahoo's First Amendment rights. This ruling was later overturned on appeal by US representatives of the French plaintiffs (2006). Jurisdictional questions were not settled in this ruling, but the practical outcome is that Yahoo now removes Nazi memorabilia from its auction sites.

the current remit of the Global Partners project on FOE. This report, however, will signal several possible points of application:

U.S. First Amendment protections for free speech are among the strongest frameworks for the civil and political conception of FOE, but the First Amendment has only rarely been construed to extend to collective, cultural, or access rights. However, diversity and access have been prominent goals of US media and technology policy, developed through legislation and case law rather than the formal rights tradition. As a core right, the First Amendment has the potential to trump other kinds of restrictions on speech, such as the expansion of intellectual property laws or unfair contractual constraints. This is an area of interest in intellectual property advocacy, and has been the subject of a number of recent—though still largely inconclusive—legal challenges.

Core FOE statements in European countries are similar in their civil and political focus, though they also often include a range of exceptions to permissible speech not found in the US. Hate speech, historical revisionism, and, in the United Kingdom, libel or slander are the most common of these. French law has similar provisions prohibiting incitement to racial or religious hatred.

A number of regional human rights agreements, in contrast, explicitly define social and cultural aspects of expression—and not always in forms amenable to western conceptions of individual rights. The African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights is notable for associating FOE with a wide range of other rights and obligations, such as right to social, cultural, and economic development, and to the preservation of the family. The state is accorded the primary role in asserting these rights, and this state activism has become a regular site of controversy, from proposals to license journalists in accordance with rights to truthful information, to the dif-

iculties of managing contending cultural claims in culturally pluralist societies.

The American Convention on Human Rights (1978) is unprecedented among international and regional human rights instruments in that it prohibits a number of indirect methods of restraining expression, such as the preferential allocation of newsprint or broadcasting frequencies. These prohibitions apply to both private and public actors, and thus potentially establish government obligations in the areas of media ownership, community access to media, and other supports for media diversity. The convention has been ratified by most of the Latin American members of the Organization of American States. The US is not a signatory.

The European Convention on the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (1950), which established the European Court of Human Rights, has been an actively-used instrument for defining the extent of FOE within Europe and for pursuing FOE rights claims. Again, the crucial definitions (in Article 10) are primarily political and civil, with a wide range of caveats regarding the regulatory role of the state and the priority of public order.

MEDIA POLICY. Media policies are often divided into three broad categories: content, structure, and infrastructure. Content regulation takes a variety of forms, from indecency provisions, to educational programming requirements, to mandates for local or national content. Structural regulation typically refers to rules governing the organization of media firms and markets, such as competitive conditions and ownership patterns. Infrastructural regulation refers to the communication technologies and networks through which content is distributed and other forms of communication occur. In Ford grantmaking, structural and infrastructural regulation has been housed primarily under ‘electronic media policy.’ It is a crucial frontier for FOE advocacy.

CONTENT REGULATION. Content regulation raises the most direct FOE claims. Government regulation of content always involves a compromise between the expressive rights of some actors (such as broadcasters) and other, often different definitions of the public interest. In the mass media environment, the scarcity of media channels meant that broadcasting was almost always a regulated field of corporate intermediaries, licensed by the state and with public interest obligations akin to other basic service providers. State ownership of the major TV channels was common in Europe and in others countries influenced by European regulatory structures. In the US, broadcasting was a regulated oligopoly, in which broadcasters became subject to a range of public interest obligations—the fairness doctrine governing political commentary, children’s programming requirements, emergency services, regulations regarding indecency, and so on. Public broadcasting was a major intervention into this regulated space, and carved out a distinctive venue for other opinions and perspectives, but it was very much a product of this model. Nearly all countries with commercial media sectors have a regulatory body that addresses such issues. In the US, this role belongs to the Federal Communications Commission (FCC).

STRUCTURAL REGULATION. Structural regulation addresses broader market conditions and the behavior of media outlets. Although this includes issues such as employment policy and reporting, it has been dominated in the US in recent years by debates about structures of ownership, and by the gradual erosion of ownership limits, premised on the view that diversity in ownership is a proxy for diversity of opinion. This is a significant political issue in the US, but it is also a global phenomenon that has tracked the breakup and privatization of formerly state-dominated media sectors. Advocacy efforts to mitigate this consolidation increasingly struggle with the gap between national regulatory frameworks and global media actors.

INFRASTRUCTURAL REGULATION. Infrastructural regulation refers primarily to policies governing the technologies and networks through which content is distributed. Traditionally, this has not been a prominent area of FOE concern. The mass media provided few opportunities for enhancing speech through technological regulation—with some notable exceptions in the areas of radio spectrum regulation, where both local and transnational broadcasting became a subject of recurrent interest and debate.

Because digital technologies mark, in many respects, the end of the broadcasting bottleneck on speech opportunities, the infrastructural conditions of expressive culture have dramatically changed. Basic questions about power, accountability, and voice in the new expressive environment are being answered through technology policy. Recent US debates over Internet neutrality—the principle that all comparable uses and users of the Internet must be treated equally—are one example. Current debates over the use of the radio spectrum are another, with major decisions to be made regarding private versus public use. Regulatory venues for these decisions vary considerably from country to country, with the FCC in the US retaining the primary role.

GLOBAL MEDIA POLICY. Until the 1990s, the organization of the mass media retained a strong national character. State regulation and public ownership were dominant traditions in many parts of the world. The technologically-limited range of the broadcast media meant that audiences and territorial jurisdictions usually aligned. Patterns of commercial ownership generally followed these two structural determinants, favoring national-organized networks—if also a growing international trade in media content.

The emergence of a global media environment is shaped to a large extent by the end of these two constraints—satellite communications and the Internet have abolished limits on range; liberal-

ization and deregulation have greatly diminished political and economic limits on private ownership. Massive corporate integration and the decline of state-based territorial regulatory authority have been prominent results, as have conflicts between different state traditions of regulation.

The loose alignment of states and broadcast media has long been a subject of international negotiation. Telegraph cables and radio spectrum were shared resources that gave rise to international governance of communications technologies—notably the International Telecommunication Union (ITU), which is now part of the United Nations.

The growth of digital technologies has prompted efforts to reinvent governance for the information era. With the convergence of media around digital distribution, questions of jurisdiction have become unsettled and complex. The ITU traditionally oversees global radio-frequency spectrum allocation and telecommunications standards. The Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers (ICANN) manages the global assignment of Internet domain names and IP addresses—despite being a private corporation based in the US. Trade organizations—notably the WTO—have acquired authority over

rules governing international trade in media and information goods. UNESCO has made modest interventions in favor of national cultural integrity. WIPO has tried to retain leadership over the international regulation of intellectual property—initially by trying to outdo the WTO in intellectual property protection and more recently in recognizing the development role of IPRs. Effective FOE advocacy has to contend with developments in this greatly expanded range of venues. Most importantly, it has to strategize across them, as ‘forum shopping’ and other forms of manipulation of regulatory uncertainty become routine state and corporate strategies for shaping the expressive environment.

The World Summit on the Information Society process, convened by the ITU, was conceived in part as an effort to sort through these differing visions, jurisdictions, and forms of accountability in the international community. Ultimately, this opportunity for examining the direction of the information society proved extremely limited: crucial discussions about financing, development, and the direction of intellectual property regulation were left off the agenda. A relatively modest exception was the decision to continue the consultative process on Internet regulation in

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL'S IGF INTERVENTION

The potential for a merger of state-based and infrastructural approaches to FOE was visible at the IGF meeting in Athens (2006). Amnesty International attended and issued a statement in support of the integration of human rights and FOE concerns into IGF deliberations. The statement focused primarily on state censorship of speech and dissent on the Internet, with particular reference to the emergence of country-level filtering in China (sometimes known as the Great Firewall of China) and the increasingly common targeting of dissidents who commu-

nicate primarily through the internet. The role of Western IT companies in enabling censorship was also cited and criticized. The Amnesty intervention was viewed by some advocates as a promising but largely stand alone intervention, disconnected from longstanding debates and civil society networks engaged in infrastructure and governance work. But it is a sign of the convergence of civil society agendas around the new technologies, and also of the jurisdictional uncertainties in this area, which seem likely to generate new alignments within civil society.

the form of a new Internet Governance Forum (IGF), which includes state, private sector, and civil society participants. The Forum agenda remains broad and tentative, but it has already attracted the interest of FOE advocates interested in both traditional censorship issues and broader questions of access to technology.

INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY RIGHTS (IPRS). IPRs are the legal framework for a system in which the marketplace rather than the state plays the primary role in empowering and limiting opportunities for expression. IP regimes define the relationship between creativity and the marketplace, and through that process play a fundamental role in expressive culture. Copyright, trademark, authors' rights, and other IP instruments determine the legal meaning of such basic issues as originality, sharing, and ownership.

As public culture increasingly becomes commercial culture, IPRs become primary determinants

of the substantive meaning of FOE—affecting not a person's absolute rights to speak, but more fundamentally his or her practical capacity to draw on, comment on, and innovate with the expressive work of others. IP, in this context, is a framework for sustaining creative expression through the marketplace, but it also creates a space in which concentrations of market power can become obstacles to expression. Here the primary danger is not state power but the growth of a regulatory framework that overwhelmingly favors corporate control of the materials of expression.

IP regimes have expanded in recent years through a remarkable process of regulatory activism, driven by the conflation of developed-country corporate and state interests around the goal of stronger IP rights. Expansion, in this context, refers to both the strengthening of existing rights and the creation of new rights governing unmodified aspects of the creative process. The

THE WIPO BROADCAST TREATY

The recently failed WIPO Broadcast Treaty is a prime example of both the convergence of media policy and IPR regimes, and of the threat to FOE posed by the proliferation of new IPRs. The Broadcast Treaty was first proposed in 1997 at WIPO as a means of providing broadcasters protection from signal piracy—a concern for local broadcasters, especially, in an era of easy digital reproduction and global distribution. The proposed new right would apply to all broadcasts, including those that through copyright expiration, public status, or other measures already belonged to the public domain. It would create a new layer of ownership claims, separate from and in addition to whatever copyrights and performance rights also covered the work.

Opposition to the Broadcast Treaty coalesced around the threat it posed to a range of emerg-

ing expressive practices, from the circulation of public domain works to the de facto elimination of fair use of audio-visual materials and the rich Internet culture it sustains. The new right would have tilted the balance within copyright law between the commercial rights of owners and the expressive rights of downstream users.

The redundancy with copyright and the potentially dramatic impact of the Treaty on the dissemination of information generated opposition from a broad coalition of consumer groups, technology NGOs, and Internet companies. Disagreements over webcasting and other provisions also split the Treaty's supporters. The unratified treaty was abandoned in 2007.

number of venues and organizations involved in IP governance has also grown, as corporate lobbies and now public interest advocates test the efficacy of the different jurisdictions in contact with IP policy. Ford plays an increasingly important role in supporting the latter groups (see Section II). IPRs are defined by a mix of national law and international agreements. Global IPR governance has been primarily the responsibility of the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) and, since 1994, the World Trade Organization (WTO). WIPO is the home of international treaties governing the various IP instruments, from the original 19th century conventions on copyrights and patents to more recent agreements that adapt IPRs to the digital environment. These treaties set international standards for IP but generally lacked enforcement mechanisms: countries could and did selectively ratify and interpret them. The Trade Related Aspects of Intellectual Property or TRIPS Agreement was an effort to address this lack of teeth. Adopted by the WTO in 1994, TRIPS incorporated most of the existing WIPO treaties and made them enforceable through the WTO complaint process. This process, and more generally the carrot of WTO entry for developing countries, has made IP compliance a central axis of globalization—one that links expressive freedoms, development, and questions of state sovereignty.

Since TRIPS, the expansion of IPR regimes has proceeded through a practice of ‘forum shopping’ in which provisions adopted in one venue are later imported into another. Corporate and state actors have successfully used this strategy to ‘ratchet up’ standards for copyrights, patents, and other IP instruments. Bilateral and regional trade agreements have emerged as a key vehicle for such activities, and have become the primary means of incorporating TRIPS+ levels of protection into national law.

Donors

Because FOE cuts across so many areas of donor investment, this brief account of donors involved in this field will inevitably be incomplete. In general, FOE grantmaking is still strongly oriented around traditional press freedoms, with a focus on journalist training and advocacy campaigns against censorship and media bias. A second important but often independent body of work privileges access to information and communications technology—generally framed as a development rather than FOE issue. This has been a subject of longstanding interest on the part of development agencies, such as the British DFID and American USAID, as well as from organizations dedicated primarily to media issues, such as the British Broadcasting Corporation, the World Service Trust, the Thompson Foundation, Internews, and the International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX). It has also shaped a range of investments in community media—often under the rubric of ‘Development Communications.’ The World Bank, UNDP, and the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) have made significant investments in community-based media in support of their development goals.

Several public and non-profit donors fund both press-oriented FOE work and work on emergent FOE concerns in technology and media policy, but as in the case of Ford, these projects tend to reside in distinct program areas. With the possible exception of the Open Society Institute, no donors identified in this search have fashioned a unified overall approach.

INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AGENCIES. A number of development agencies have made FOE a core component of their anti-poverty work. Scandinavian, Dutch, British and German governments all have significant FOE programs that support independent media, media law reform, journalist

training and media development. The European Commission also supports freedom of expression programs in a number of countries, focusing on major aid recipients and those in the process of democratic transitions, such as Turkey, Russia, and Nigeria. European funding for freedom of expression and media support is estimated to be over \$100 million annually.

A second major direction of development-agency funding in this area emphasizes access to information technology as a condition of economic growth. The British development agency, DfID (the Department for International Development), works extensively in this area under the rubric of ‘information and communication for development’ (ICD). Economic development, for DfID, is coupled with support for a free and pluralistic media, as well as content production that enables marginalized peoples to participate in development-related decisions. DfID recently entered into a five-year collaboration with the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and the World Bank to improve rural livelihoods through information policy and communications systems development. Until recently, DfID also emphasized the interrelationship between such efforts and the larger global regulation of knowledge and information—notably in exploring the relationship between IPR regimes and development objectives. DfID commissioned one of the definitive global studies of the subject (Commission on Intellectual Property Rights, 2002), which expressed concern that the harmonization of global IP ignored the often distinctive development needs of different countries. This work proved controversial, and DfID has not followed it up.

Other key actors in the ICD field include UNDP, which has focused primarily on advising countries on appropriate information policies, e-government efforts, and digital divide initiatives. UNDP has created a dedicated ‘Information and

Communications Technologies for Development Trust Fund’ which has received approximately \$7 million to help finance ICD activities in 25 developing countries.

The International Development Research Centre (IDRC) of Canada is another prominent donor in this field. IDRC is a publicly-supported research funding institution with longstanding programs on technology, development, and the environment. It has invested heavily in efforts to build connectivity and improve access to technology in the global South, with major programs in Latin America, Africa, and Asia. Notable examples include the Acacia Initiative and Bel-lanet⁶—both focused on the digital divide in Africa. IDRC’s recent five-year plan continues this work, with an emphasis on facilitating access to the knowledge economy. One product of this engagement has been closer attention to intellectual property rights and related advocacy issues.

The largest US donor in the international media field is the US Agency for International Development (USAID). As a government agency, USAID programs align with US foreign policy efforts, and favor US-based organizations. Grants are made to both non-profit and for-profit actors. In substance, much of this work parallels the efforts of other development agencies, with a focus on journalist training and access to information technology as a condition of participation in the global knowledge economy.

US-BASED FOUNDATIONS. *The Open Society Institute (OSI)* has a comprehensive approach to FOE that includes work on freedom of information and of the press as well as media, technology, and information policy. This agenda is grounded not primarily in the language of FOE, but in the Karl Popper’s definition of an ‘open society’ in which citizenship and public life are built on the free exchange of ideas, knowledge and information.

OSI hosts several major programs in this area, including the Network Media Program, which focuses on freedom of expression, journalism training, and media law, and the Open Society Justice Initiative, which funds access-to-information projects. In 2001, OSI merged its programs on libraries, publishing, Internet connectivity, and communications and technology policy into a larger ‘Information Program,’ which emphasizes the creation of new knowledge tools and models of access to information and knowledge. The Information Program, in turn, hosts a number of FOE-relevant projects, including the Open Access Initiative, which supports freely-available online publication of scientific research; the ICT Toolsets initiative, which sponsors the development of software tools for civil society actors; and in 2003, the creation of an ‘Intellectual Property Rights’ program.

OSI’s geographic remit was originally the former Soviet bloc, but in recent years it has diversified and set up autonomous regional foundations within the OSI family. OSI is currently evaluating consolidating its media and information work into a single program that would encompass both the traditional FOE concerns and the newer information policy agendas.

The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation has established lines of work on communications policy, media production, and intellectual property—the last of these framed by concern with the “Long-Term Protection of the Public Domain” and funded at approximately \$1 million a year. The Foundation’s ‘General Program’ supports a range of other efforts to diversify the public domain, with particular attention to public broadcasting and independent documentary film. This media work grants primarily within the United States. FOE grants have also been made through MacArthur’s international human rights portfolio. The defense of human rights during civil conflicts and the development of an international justice system are primary concerns.

The John S. and James L. Knight Foundation was established in 1950 with resources from the newspaper empire of the same name. The Knight Foundation focuses primarily on strengthening journalism and press freedoms, in and outside the US. Through 2005, the Foundation has approved almost 800 grants totaling more than \$260 million. This work focuses heavily on support for public-interest journalism.

The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation invests in scholarly communication and access to cultural resources, primarily in the arts, humanities, and social sciences. They have sponsored and, in some cases, internally managed efforts to help traditional scholarly and cultural institutions—academic journals, university libraries, and museums, among others—effectively transition to digital platforms. The development of digital archives and databases has been a large part of this work, with JSTOR, ArtSTOR, and the DSpace institutional repository as major examples. In recent years, the foundation has shown a growing interest in open-access initiatives and other changes in the social organization of knowledge production, but they have not funded policy work or advocacy.

The Hewlett Foundation’s education program devotes significant resources to promoting ‘Open Educational Resources,’ ranging from freely distributed curricula, to open source software tools, to experiments with institutional practices that can sustain open content production over time. Access to Knowledge, rather than FOE, is the primary lens for this work.

The Rockefeller Foundation has a long tradition of funding media content and community media engagement as part of its socially-oriented arts and culture agenda. It also has a more recent history of investment in intellectual property policy research and advocacy, and contributed greatly to the development of civil society capacity and public interest advocacy around IP. The WIPO Development Agenda and current Ac-

cess-to-Knowledge movements are, to a significant degree, products of this line of work. With the current transition in Rockefeller grantmaking, these lines of work are unlikely to continue in their earlier forms. Rockefeller's focus on innovation and the environment in which it occurs, however, seems likely to inform a revised set of investments in access to knowledge and cultural expression.

EUROPEAN FOUNDATIONS. European foundations working in this area are generally smaller than their American counterparts, but also more specialized. Several have direct ties to media industries and newspapers in particular. Their investments are generally oriented by traditional FOE concerns with press freedoms.

Institut Fritt Ord is a Norwegian foundation funded through profits from its 10% ownership of the media group A-Pressen—one of the three largest media companies in Norway. It has a small international program focused on traditional free expression concerns, with a budget of approximately \$4 million a year.

The Helsingen Sanomat Foundation (HSF) takes its name from the Finnish daily newspaper and media group, which launched the foundation in 2006. HSF provides approximately \$7 million per year in grants, with a focus on journalism and media research.

The Sigrid Rausing Trust is a UK-based foundation that supports general human rights causes, including FOE (accounting for approximately \$1 million per year out of a total annual budget of \$23 million). It has supported a range of media advocacy, media diversity, and journalist training initiatives, and is currently in a period of evaluation of its program priorities.

Democracie en Medie is a Dutch foundation with roots in the 1939/45 underground newspaper Parool. A portion of profits from major Dutch newspapers were allocated to the Foundation, which made small grants in traditional FOE areas. Its controlling stake in Parool has now been sold, providing it with significantly more funds. It is currently evaluating its funding priorities.

Part II

Ford Priorities and Opportunities

The cross-cutting nature of the issues identified in this report makes it easy to read FOE concerns in a wide range of Ford activities. FOE is an enabling condition for many of the Foundation's goals and an explicit subject of some \$53 million in grants over the past decade. This section focuses on mapping and understanding that decade of grantmaking. It reprises much of the general taxonomy of FOE issues developed in the Introduction and in Part I, but also pulls out and focuses on four broad grantmaking objectives:

- Building Media Institutions
- Strengthening Civil Society
- Enhancing Participation and Inclusion
- Understanding and Benefiting from the Digital Transition

Building Media Institutions

The 1950 Gaither report formalized the Foundation's commitment to the postwar FOE consen-

sus and its core civil and political agenda. Because flows of information and expression within societies depended heavily on the mass media, FOE-related grantmaking privileged interventions in and around those institutions, from the defense of freedom of the press, to support for public broadcasting and independent production, to the funding of underlying communications research, policy advocacy, and regulatory reform. Although these initiatives were rarely defined by a compact or explicit FOE rationale, they were unified by a loose commitment to a diverse and accessible public sphere, capable both of enriching human life and supporting core democratic values of public accountability and public engagement. Despite major shifts in grantmaking priorities, notably the turn toward media production in the 1970s and the smaller but growing engagement with media and information policy in the past decade, mass media institutions—the news media and public broadcasting—remain at the center of Ford's vision of democratic public life.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS AND FREEDOM OF INFORMATION. Since the professionalization of journalism in the late 19th century, the news media has been closely identified with the goal of ensuring the free flow of information within societies, including especially information and opinions about government business. This primacy had obvious relevance in the postwar context of authoritarianism, both of the right and the left. Although Ford work in this area had a strong international focus, it was initially grounded in concern for the state of democracy in the US, in the wake of McCarthy-era attacks on political dissent.

In the 1950s, domestic and international FOE strategies partly diverged. The domestic agenda consolidated around the goal of establishing a public broadcasting system, which would support diversity of news, opinion, and general programming, as well as other concerns such as children's programming. International FOE efforts continued to focus heavily on more basic press freedoms, including the protection of journalists from persecution, the monitoring of FOE abuses, and more broadly, efforts to improve the quality of journalism through training and professionalization. These lines of work continue to the present day in grants to the Canadian Journalists for Free Expression for FOE monitoring; to the Journalists for the Defense of Independent Journalism for the creation of a national network of reporters in Argentina; and to the Media Foundation for West Africa for research, advocacy, and training to protect FOE and media pluralism.⁷

Within Ford, these lines of work fall into two main grantmaking areas—the News Media portfolio and the International Freedom of Expression eXchange. The former is a core portfolio within the Knowledge, Creativity, and Freedom program, and focuses on training, ethics, and professional standards in the news media. The latter is a cross-programmatic initiative focused

on supporting NGOs that promote FOE and that protect journalists around the world. In addition to the grants identified above, the IFEX has supported work in Southern Africa, the Arab states, and Russia.

This line of work has also been shaped by Ford investments in the closely-related concept of freedom of information, which has generally focused on access to government proceedings, documents, and data. Freedom of information has received explicit and sustained attention through both the PSJ human rights work and News Media portfolio—sometimes working in collaboration. Over the past decade, Ford has supported challenges to secrecy laws, including efforts to release military information into the public domain, efforts to pass stronger freedom of information laws, and watchdog efforts to promote transparency in both the public and private sector. Among recent grants, Ford supported the creation of the Global Transparency Initiative (GTI) in 2004, a standards-setting effort for comparing access to information at a number of international financial institutions. Grants have also been made to promote public access to reliable reproductive and sexual rights information for women—Article 19's Ford-funded work in Mexico is a prominent example. Improving access to right-to-information laws has also been a goal of Ford-funded advocacy via grants to the Samarthan Centre for Development Support⁸ and other partners in India.

PUBLIC BROADCASTING AND INDEPENDENT MEDIA. The end of the Media Projects Fund in 1995 marked the beginning of a process of reorganization of media and culture activities within Ford. Institutionally, this reorganization resulted in the creation of the Media, Arts, and Culture (MAC) unit within a new, larger Education, Media, Arts, and Culture (EMAC) program in 1996. These shifts did not signal major changes in core grantmaking strategies around FOE, either in regard to journalism or support for public broadcasting

and independent media production. These lines of work continued mostly uninterrupted in the years following the change. Media production and media collaboration across programs on the MPF model continued to be an important focus.

The transition did mark, however, the beginning of a series of meetings, exploratory grants, and other conversations about the direction of Ford's media work in an era of massive technological and sectoral change. In the public media area, this meant not only attention to the content of public broadcasting but also to the technological and policy infrastructures that supported it. The Congressionally mandated (and continually deferred) transition from analog to digital broadcasting provided a target for this conversation, but the underlying issues were much deeper than the shift in broadcast technologies. The future of the broadcast model itself was increasingly in doubt.

The broader challenge for Ford was simple to state, if not to resolve: Ford's public media commitments developed in an era of 'scarce' communications technologies. The analog use of spec-

trum could only support a small number of TV or radio stations. Programming and print journalism were capital intensive, requiring elaborate and expensive distributions channels. Opportunities for individual or group engagement with these media were limited by definition, and managed by a small number of intermediaries. Mass media was not just a technology, it was a cultural and organizational model.

The shift to digital technologies and the explosion of digital media has begun to break this model. Channels and forms of communication have proliferated wildly, and the centralized roles of traditional intermediaries now contend with greatly democratized technologies of production and distribution. The long tradition of Ford investment in the infrastructures, values, and gatekeeping functions of the non-commercial mass media finds itself on uncertain footing in this environment.

After 1996, Ford began to explore and support the growth of new kinds of media institutions, such as web-based aggregators of independently-produced content. Internews was a prominent

LOWERING COSTS FOR INDEPENDENT PRODUCERS

Ford's \$1.2 million grant (2005) to the Station Resource Group (SRG), an alliance of public radio broadcasters, is an example of how the Foundation has encouraged infrastructural innovation within public media. The grant supported the creation of the Public Radio Exchange (PRX), a web-based platform for the distribution, review, and licensing of radio content. PRX is intended to streamline the relationship between content producers and public radio stations—a relationship that has traditionally been mediated by centralized distribution centers and dependent on mass mailings from independent producers to signal new programming. This earlier model has

always imposed high costs on independent producers, both in terms of distribution costs and in the legal fees necessary for making separate licensing agreements with each local station.

PRX allows independent producers and international broadcasters to license their work directly to stations for broadcast and online uses. It provides a user-populated archive for digital audio that can support both the auditioning and delivery of new content for radio stations. The PRX platform leverages the Internet to lower costs for independent producers, and help them reach their intended outlets.

example (discussed below).⁹ But the majority of Ford's investment in this area remained focused on strengthening its traditional public media partners, ranging from core production support to helping them make effective use of new technologies. The centerpiece of this effort is the 5-year, \$50 million initiative on 'Global Perspectives in a Digital Age: Transforming Public Service Media,' a cross-programmatic effort to support public media programming and innovation within public media institutions. PBS, Sundance, and other established intermediaries are major beneficiaries of this initiative. The Center for Social Media at American University (\$3 million, 2005) is another, tasked with making more basic inquiry into the changing meaning and field of possibilities of public media.

The challenges of navigating this new terrain continue to feed back into Ford internal conversations about its mission and grantmaking strategies. 2005 saw another shift in program names as EMAC became the Knowledge, Creativity, and Freedom program. Like the earlier change, this marked less a breakpoint in grantmaking strategies than a recognition of (and aspirational gesture toward) the convergent environment in which Ford increasingly worked.

Strengthening Civil Society

Civil society organizations (CSOs) have been a central part of Ford's vision of democracy and social change since the early days of the Foundation. A rich CSO sector is one in which expert intermediaries are diverse, responsive to broader public constituencies, and effective in engaging public and private power. In the past two decades, the CSO sector has emerged as an important vehicle for developing and advancing concepts of the public interest, especially in the international arena, where CSOs have become de facto proxies for the public on issues ranging from health to trade to security. The fragility

of this role and the thinness of the associational structure of civil society means that the CSO sector is deeply dependent on freedom of expression. This is true of both 'negative' freedoms from coercion and 'positive' freedoms of access to media, rooted in the recognition that civil society's strength is inseparable from its communicative capacities.

Much if not all of Ford's civil society grantmaking can be understood as supportive of FOE in this loose sense. But support for the associational structure of civil society has also been important to Ford's strategy in the media, communications, and technology sectors in a strong sense. Over the past six to seven years, Ford has played a central role in the emergence and rapid growth of public-interest advocacy in the media and communications field, especially in the US and in the growing number of international governance venues. This capacity building has clustered around three broad goals:

- **Governance:** Enabling CSOs and other actors to engage the growing number of international bodies with jurisdiction over important aspects of the communications and cultural landscape (WTO, WIPO, ICANN, UNESCO).
- **Networking:** Building networks of intermediaries that can (1) coordinate, support, and focus local or grassroots public participation and expression; and (2) work effectively with each other and other actors to analyze, monitor, and effect change.
- **Technology Use:** Strengthening the communicative capacities and information resources of civil society, especially through new information technologies.

GOVERNANCE. FOE has become dependent on and, in important respects, vulnerable to the growing range of governance bodies with jurisdictional

claims over communication, technology, and trade. These range from trade bodies like the WTO, which gained broad authority over trade in knowledge and information goods via the 1994 TRIPS agreement. It includes WIPO, the UN-based agency that administers and develops treaties on intellectual property—most recently in areas such as broadcasting and internet distribution. It includes ICANN, the Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers, which governs the allocation of domain names on the Internet. Between 2001 and 2005, it included the WSIS process—the UN’s World Summit on the Information Society—which was intended to build a comprehensive vision of the global information society that could reconcile private sector, governmental, and civil society agendas.

Accountability for these governance bodies has been traditionally weak. Decisions are sheltered from domestic scrutiny by their distance, technical subject matter, and often closed procedures. Since the mid-1990s, Ford has made major investments to address these accountability problems, in large part by funding expanded civil society monitoring and participation in these venues. Support for the mapping and analysis of policies, processes and opportunities for change has also been a major focus.

The WSIS process provided a focal point for these efforts between 2001 and 2005. Grants to the Association for Progressive Communications (APC) in 2003 and 2006 (\$260,000 total) helped mobilize civil society participation

COMMUNICATION RIGHTS FOR THE INFORMATION SOCIETY

The Communication Rights in the Information Society (CRIS) campaign was launched in 2001, in parallel with the UN-sponsored World Summit on the Information Society. CRIS’s primary purpose was to develop a more integrated set of rights claims around communications needs and expressive rights—subjects that the early WSIS process pointedly ignored. The proposed new framework sought to incorporate not only existing FOE traditions and instruments but also the development-oriented communications agenda articulated in the 1980s and 1990s at UNESCO—the so-called ‘new world information and communication order’ or NWICO. CRIS was also responsive to the shifting social capacities and regulatory agendas associated with digital technologies, including the rise of intellectual property rights as a tool for regulating expression and the emergence of open source software as a means of addressing persistent inequalities in the availability of software tools.

The CRIS engagement with WSIS fostered a great deal of civil society activity around tech-

nology and information policy, and raised the profile of civil society groups as participants in a process originally conceived as a meeting between states and the private sector. The formal WSIS agenda remained closed to many of the central questions that motivated CRIS, however—notably intellectual property rights and the practical question of how to fund efforts to address basic inequalities in access to communications technologies. The goal of a synthetic, actionable definition of communication rights proved challenging. Communication rights found more support as a concept with some regional constituencies than with others—notably in Latin America, where it signaled a strong alternative to state and press-oriented freedom of expression. It has had less traction elsewhere, and the prospects of implementing a new rights framework have proved remote. The CRIS campaign was funded in part through the PSJ governance portfolio, totaling some \$900,000 between 2003 and 2006.

at WSIS and in later internet policy conversations. Funding for Syracuse University's Internet Governance Project (\$275,000, 2004), supported research on accountability at ICANN and on civil society networking at WSIS. Although FOE rarely provided a reference point for these initiatives, the WSIS process coalesced civil society efforts to articulate a more comprehensive rights-based approach to the governance and use of the new technologies. Much of this effort focused on a renewed project of articulating and advancing a 'Communication Rights' agenda at WSIS.

NETWORKING. The CRIS campaign was a networking effort that operated both vertically—linking community media activists and other local actors to international policy discussions and movement organizing—and horizontally, among international civil society groups. Ford invested heavily in this networking role, providing grants to a range of intermediaries including the World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters (AMARC), the World Association for Christian Communication (WACC), Panos, the Association for Progressive Communications (APC), Intervozes, and Information Network for the Third Sector (RITS). These groups received over \$3.3 million from Ford in the past decade. Networking among academic researchers and practitioners has also been a major feature of this work, and was a primary objective of grants to the SSRC (\$800,000 in 2001).

Similar efforts have figured prominently in domestic US grantmaking, where the growth and consolidation of the media reform and media justice movements have strengthened capacities to engage debates about media and communications policy and infrastructure. Grants since 2005 to the SSRC, to Consumers' Union, and to the Rockwood Leadership Program institute have figured prominently in this agenda.

Ford efforts in this area have also been complemented by those of other funders. The growth

in civil society capacity around the new challenges of information and communication technologies has been a collective effort, and a priority in particular of OSI, The Rockefeller Foundation, and the MacArthur Foundation in recent years. The emergence of a robust network of institutions and actors who work together on these issues is itself a major achievement of this grantmaking agenda.

TECHNOLOGICAL CAPACITIES. Ford has also recognized the growing dependence of civil society on the new communications technologies, and has worked to enhance civil society capacity through expanded and innovative use of those technologies. This work has included basic inquiry into the role of new technologies in reshaping the relationship between states, intergovernmental agencies, and civil actors—notably through work at the SSRC. It has included training and best practices projects for civil society groups, through such efforts as the Progressive Technology Project (PTP), a technology capacity building organization focused on social change organizations in poor U.S. communities (\$650,000; 2000). Support for this kind of technical assistance has been intermittent however.

Ford has invested more consistently in helping CSOs aggregate and disseminate their work to wider audiences. Although nearly every CSO communications strategy now includes a substantial web component, Ford has supported a range of innovative web-based content aggregators that can support the dissemination of work across institutions, such as independently produced news and other media content. Oneworld.net is an Internet portal that disseminates news and information on development issues and human rights. It was incubated within Ford as a model for civil society communication and now aggregates content developed by over a thousand nonprofit organizations and news services. Oneworld's experience, in turn, led to the founding of Mediachannel.org, which specializes in news and analysis about the media in the US

(\$795,000; 2000; 2003). Both OneWorld.net and MediaChannel also act as clearinghouses for information on FOE.

Enhancing Participation and Inclusion

Ford has long recognized the relationship between social and economic marginality and the lack of voice or representation within polities. This concern aligns Ford's grassroots capacity-building efforts in the political and cultural arenas with the collective and social rights embedded in modern FOE discourse. Ford grant-making on these issues cuts across programs and is not highly coordinated. Approaches have been multi-layered and often interconnected, with 'top-level' support for institutions and regulatory frameworks that encourage access to media on the part of disadvantaged groups; support for civil society intermediaries who can monitor, organize, and engage the state; and broader capacity building that help marginalized groups use media and engage effectively with wider publics. This latter, largely grassroots expressive agenda is closely linked to the broader Ford investment in democratic participation and in its institutional commitment to diverse and inclusive public spheres.

US and international agendas in this area have been informed by similar goals but different expressive environments, forms of marginality, and conditions of grassroots organization. In the US, connecting grassroots-level political and cultural expression to national media and advocacy actors has been a consistent and recurrent part of Ford work. Although the media component of such grants is sometimes modest, these efforts to enhance the collective capacities for expression are a basic concern of contemporary FOE discourse. A wide range of grants can be understood from this perspective, from large grants to the Chicago Council on Global Affairs, which has worked to engage American Muslims in U.S. foreign policy

discourse (\$525,000; 2005-2009) to very modest efforts to bridge the gap between leaders of grassroots organizations and analysts at national policy centers—for example, the Center for Community Change's Taproots Project (25,000; 2005). The importance of media engagement to such efforts was evident in the 2003 grant that established the Media Justice Fund, which links media and social justice activism in the U.S. The Fund has allocated more than \$2 million to grass-roots groups working on media issues, and to groups developing community-based media infrastructure. A series of related grants support public engagement with the content and quality of the media. The Preview Forum (\$1.4 million; 2002-2004); the National Credibility Roundtables (\$1.9 million; 2005), and the Public Engagement Campaigns (\$623,000; 2005) share the goal of stimulating public dialogues about the media's roles and responsibilities, both in general and on issues important to specific communities, such as representations of race or violence.

International work in this area has been strongly inflected by development objectives, and in particular by models of participatory development that have gained attention since the early nineties. The participatory paradigm initially represented a critique of failing top-down development approaches, and emphasized integrating the 'beneficiaries' of development programs more closely into the design and implementation of the work, from the level of identifying needs, aspirations, and forms of sustainable livelihood, to local capacity building. The Bank Information Center (BIC) grant (\$1.1 million; 2004-2006) is a good example of this approach. BIC's mission is to ensure that local communities and civil society organizations contribute to agenda setting at global financial institutions such as the World Bank. The build out of accessible communications infrastructures has also been a recurrent—though not prominent—area of Ford concern, with notable grants to the Association

for Progressive Communications to set up affordable internet service providers in developing countries (\$590,000; 1998, 1999, and 2001).

Support for community media has also been an important part of this agenda, often in a context in which highly centralized or consolidated media industries have reduced media localism and diversity. Ford has a long history of grants to community media organizations and to international associations of community media practitioners. The low costs of radio, in particular, have made it a medium of choice in many community contexts. In Indonesia, PSJ grants have supported the Combine Resource Institution, a network of community radios developed to enable community members to voice their interests and demand greater accountability from elected officials (\$220,000; 2001). Grants to Econews Africa (\$200,000; 1999), Prometheus Radio in the US (\$200,000; 2005), and to international networks such as the World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters (AMARC) (\$435,000; multiple grants) are other examples of this community radio focus.

Cultural and Intellectual Freedom

Ford cultural programs and support for the arts in particular overlap many of the issues discussed above but have generally been viewed as a grant-making area distinct from civil society and policy concerns. Although international FOE discourse has long included a range of cultural rights—both individual and collective—these claims and instruments are not well developed and have remained distant from US FOE discourse in particular, where such collective rights and cultural policy more generally are very weakly articulated.

Arts and culture grantmaking at the Ford Foundation often privileges two broad views of cultural practice: the view of cultural expression as a socially embedded and/or socially representative act; and the critique of a public sphere shaped entirely by commercial pressures. Both views support a diversity-based approach to arts and cultural grantmaking, in which diversity signals both the inclusion of marginalized groups, and more broadly a preference for non-commercial and/or marginalized forms of cultural expression. This approach accommodates both ‘high cultural’ arts institutions and as well as support for popular or vernacular arts practices. Grant-

MARGINALITY AND VOICE

Recent grants in India illuminate the connection between marginality and voice in Ford grantmaking: the Adivasis are among the most neglected and exploited groups in contemporary India; the ‘denotified’ are nomadic groups among the Adivasis that were ascribed criminal status during the colonial period, and who remain stigmatized despite the end of formal state repression. Ford grants to the Bhasha Research and Publication Center (\$194,000; 2006) support forums for expressing the views of Adivasis

and the denotified tribes on public policy and development issues. The production, publication, and circulation of these perspectives provides a form of integration and engagement with wider circles of Indian public discourse. Similar projects have focused on fostering stronger dialogue and capacity for public voice within the Dalit community—notably via the Govind Ballabh Pant Social Science Institute (\$156,000; 2005), which has created a repository of Dalit print culture for Dalit communities.

making in this area has also privileged support for cross-cultural or intercultural dialogue as a means of promoting better social and cultural understanding across charged ethnic or social lines. Here, arts and culture grantmaking is often framed in terms of support for free intellectual inquiry and enriched public debate. Both sets of values—the support of diverse cultural expression in general and of challenging or controversial expression in particular—closely align Ford arts and culture grantmaking with basic precepts of FOE. Although this alignment is rarely explicit in US grantmaking, notable exceptions arise in cases where the arts are not merely a vehicle for expressing ideas, identities, and values, but also for challenging social conventions.

US grantmaking has also focused on questions of structural support for artistic careers, from public policy debates regarding the role of the state in supporting the arts, notably around the ‘de-funding’ of the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) in 1996, to more recent non-profit experiments in supporting artistic livelihoods. The latter includes a recent \$5.5 million grant (2003) to establish Leveraging Investments in Creativ-

ity (LINC), a ten-year initiative dedicated to improving conditions for artists through grants, low cost living, work space, and insurance. The Creative Capital Foundation is another prominent grant recipient (\$1 million; 2003), focused on arts fellowship programs and professional development workshops. Investment in the New York Foundation for the Arts’ database of grant opportunities and resources for individual artists (\$2.5 million) is a third.

INDIGENOUS CULTURAL EXPRESSION. The protection and survival of the traditional arts of indigenous peoples have also figured prominently in Ford arts and culture grantmaking. Much of this work in the 1980s and 1990s focused on the preservation of folklore as part of a larger commitment to heritage preservation. This work was often conceived as contribution to the public visibility and integration of indigenous groups in the larger polity, but rarely focused on developing their contemporary expressive capacities. More recent grantmaking has tended to focus on helping indigenous communities develop institutions and forms of engagement with the state that can ensure the reproduction of the

DIGITAL ARTS AND DIGITAL LITERACY

The digital arts and digital literacy represent a small but significant line of Ford grantmaking. Since the late 1990s, several Ford grants have supported work on electronic literature, the exploration of the Web as an artistic medium, and the use of new technologies to facilitate collaborations between artists and scientists. The Electronic Literature Organization (\$100,000; 2001) received one such grant to promote ‘hypertext’ literature, which involves readers in a more interactive construction of their literary experiences.

Other work has focused primarily on the training and education of content producers and other users of digital tools to better understand

the possibilities and constraints of new digital media. The Global Action project (\$100,000; 2003) hosted media literacy workshops that enabled artists and youth to develop multimedia scrapbooks and educate the project’s target community to use the web as a tool for creating, exhibiting, and commenting on art. The StreamingCulture project at CUNY’s New Media Lab provides multimedia services to help arts and cultural organizations transform their websites into better showcases for their work. Support for the local New York new media arts collective, the Kitchen (\$200,00; 1999), helped create a network of arts organizations that produce and distribute art using digital technology.

traditional arts over time. This is a more holistic but also more complicated agenda that includes preservation, but also sometimes indigenous critiques of the unified public sphere on which earlier preservationist efforts were often based. Indigenous groups are often intensely conscious and protective of their separateness from national and above all commercialized spheres of public life. This is a source of routine tension in Ford grantmaking, as groups negotiate a boundary between local, non-commercial culture and visibility and integration in wider circles of public life. Ford work in this area strongly resonates with the cultural rights embedded within the larger international FOE frameworks, but also shares their difficulties in developing policies and instruments that can manage those boundaries.

DIFFICULT DIALOGUES. The challenge of building a respectful relationship between the expressive practices of indigenous communities and those of modern liberal polities is an example of a wider Ford approach to sponsoring cultural

dialogues that can surface and explore social tensions—whether ethnic, cultural, or political. The recent Difficult Dialogues Initiative (2005) is a prominent example of this approach, and one with an explicit FOE rationale. Conceived as part of a broader Ford effort to combat anti-Semitism, Islamophobia, and other forms of bigotry in the US, Difficult Dialogues is a competitive grants initiative to support the development of academic programs that engage students in constructive dialogue around controversial political, religious, racial and cultural issues. Since its inception, the initiative has awarded 27 grants of \$100,000 to foster campus environments where sensitive subjects can be discussed.¹⁰ A \$600,000 grant to the Thomas Jefferson Center for the Protection of Free Expression supports the management and coordination of these activities among grantee institutions. The U.S.-based, Ford-funded Bridges Program also supports a series of performance events, panels and workshops that use art to explore issues of race, culture and expression.

SUSTAINING THE INDONESIAN TRADITIONAL ARTS

Grants to the SSRC (\$70,000; 2005) and to American University (\$190,000; 2006) supported a collaborative project to navigate the difficult intersection of protectionist arts policies, intellectual property, and traditional systems of artistic production in Indonesia. The project was motivated initially by concern with the impact of new copyright regulation on the traditions of communal ownership in and around canonical Indonesian art forms—Gamelan music, Wayang puppetry, Batik textile making, and other practices. Although the intent of the new copyright law was manifestly to protect the arts from unauthorized exploitation, the Indonesian government had done so through the imposition of a strong property system in which the alterna-

tive to state ownership was private copyright. Many traditional artists perceived both outcomes as threats to their cultural practices, which often depended on an informal and community-bound system of dialogue, sharing, and recognition. The project worked to articulate less dangerous solutions to the underlying problems of artistic recognition and anxiety about the vulnerability of traditional arts practices. This type of dilemma—between the regulation of cultural expression in the commercial economy and the non-commercial norms that structure most traditional artistic expression—runs through much of Ford cultural grantmaking with indigenous groups.

The civil and political dimensions of FOE are often taken for granted in these conversations in the US. They occupy a much more tenuous and explicit place in contexts where the public expression of unpopular views is sometimes met with violence or sanction. In the cultural arena, Ford grantmaking has paid special attention to social rather than state-sponsored forms of repression—notably in Indonesia, where Ford has sponsored a number of projects that explore borders between ethnic and religious groups.

The arts have a privileged place in this process as a tool for fostering cultural understanding and tolerance. This has been the special purview of a small cross-program initiative entitled “Religion, Society, and Freedom of Expression,” which has used artistic performances and exhibitions to raise awareness of issues of cultural difference. A notable example is the \$800,000 grant to Yayasan Desantra for the promotion of cultural pluralism in Islamic schools in Indonesia. Other cross-programmatic efforts have also linked the promotion of tolerance with media strategies. The “Tolerance and Cultural Diversity through the Media” initiative, begun in 2002, has sponsored a series of projects on cultural and religious pluralism in Russia, in the hope of strengthening public interest in the peaceful resolution of ethnic and cultural conflict.

SEXUAL EXPRESSION. Ford’s work on sexuality and reproductive health raises special problems in settings where public representations or discussions of sexuality are controversial or discouraged. Traditional rights instruments have not dealt directly with sexual identity as a form of expression, or with the highly variable cultural boundaries between public and private that mediate human sexuality—although this is beginning to change. Rights to sexual expression remains largely a matter of national law, national rights traditions, and custom. The most notable exceptions to this rule are not models of individual free expression: the African Charter on Human

and Peoples Rights, for example, specifies both individual and state responsibilities in supporting the institution of the family.

Unhindered discussions about sexuality are crucial to Ford public health initiatives and are a core part of the educational agenda within the Sexuality and Reproductive Health program in particular. Promoting stronger and better-accepted conversations about sexuality plays a role in a number of US grants, including the Illinois Caucus for Adolescent Health (\$670,000; 2004), which works to strengthen sex education in schools and Scenarios USA (\$600,000; 2003), which supports youth understanding of sexuality through creative writing and film production.

ACADEMIC FREEDOM. Academic freedom is a traditional focus of FOE advocacy and a topic of longstanding Ford interest outside the US—and intermittent interest within it. Monitoring and media strategies have played a large role in this work, with notable recent grants to Human Rights Watch (\$375,000; 2002) to address the persecution of academic free speech in Asia and the Middle East. Typical investments in this area focus on research into educational conditions and academic freedom, as well as support for academic associations. The relationship between higher education and state has also been a subject of interest in the wake of the dramatic political transformations of the 1990s, with notable investments in South Africa, the Middle East, and Russia.

After September 11th, academic freedom in the United States became a subject of renewed interest. The Difficult Dialogues program described above grew out of concerns with the diminishing climate of tolerance for cultural, religious and political difference. The increased scrutiny directed at academic dissent from US policies, especially in and around Middle Eastern studies, has also been a subject of interest.

Understanding and Benefiting from the Digital Transition

Digital technologies have altered conditions of human communication and expression in ways that FOE frameworks are only beginning to accommodate. Fundamentally, this is the challenge of digital convergence, as the new technologies provide a common medium for once distinctive forms and modalities of human communication: voice, text, and image; one-to-one and one-to-many; synchronic and diachronic. Historically, these different modalities had separate technologies and institutional forms: the organization of telephony differed from broadcasting; print journalism differed from the postal service. These created different opportunities for regulation and governance, as well as different expectations about the meaning of FOE. For much of its history, broadcast television was an ephemeral experience with no expectations of persistence beyond the initial viewing. The development of the consumer VCR in the late 1970s fundamentally changed this relationship, and launched a wave of technological development, litigation and regulation of new users' rights in relation to broadcasting. Now broadcast programming was subject to personal archiving, time-shifting, sharing, and transformative use. Many of the new ways of working with audiovisual material can be articulated as expressive rights—rights to make use of the materials of the shared cultural environment. The nature and boundaries of these rights are still very much in question. What is clear is that the new digital technologies are engines of profound cultural, social and organizational change, and that the expressive landscape is changing in step.

Some of these changes are strongly—even radically—participatory in comparison to older media forms. Participation in audio-visual culture has been democratized in the past decade,

as once expensive professional tools for production and distribution became ubiquitous. The scarcity of broadcast channels has given way to the proliferation of internet-based media, which remain organized in a way that decouples audiences and capacities to speak from traditional broadcast intermediaries. New forms of collaboration and organization via the web are changing what it means to be a creator or author. A vast increase in human capacities for expression is underway.

Other developments are less sanguine, such as the massive privatization of knowledge and communicative infrastructures, and the growth of technological and legal tools to enforce those structures of ownership. These developments mark the growth of new forms of power that circumvent traditional rights discourse and forms of democratic accountability.

As we have partly documented above, the Ford Foundation has sponsored inquiry and capacity building in order to foster stronger accounts of the public interest in these changed contexts. In this process, it has become increasingly cognizant of the dangers—actual and potential—that accompany these developments. As John Santos noted in his program officer's memo in 1999, Ford is in a position similar to the early days of its explorations of public broadcasting. Those explorations were motivated partly by concern with the power of the commercial broadcast media. Today, the privatization of knowledge and communicative infrastructures has begun to prompt similar concern.

Ford interest in these issues also reflects a recognition that the democratic potential of the digital environment needs to be actively articulated, asserted, and won—like any other arena of social struggle. As with other social change agendas, this must happen at several levels at once, from policy advocacy, to institutional capacity building, to grassroots education and organizing. Pos-

sibly because Ford's last major effort to change the structural features of the public sphere was shaped by relatively mature broadcast technologies, there is relatively little program history or staff expertise to draw on in supporting these infrastructural developments. Grantmaking has been concentrated in a few portfolios such as Electronic Media Policy and Media Production and Broadcasting, with important lines of work emerging in the last several years around media, communications, and technology policy, and major cross-program coordination emerging recently around the issue of intellectual property.

INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY. Ford history in the intellectual property area was extensively documented in a 2005 report, "Intellectual Property Rights: Challenges and Opportunities for the Ford Foundation" (Karaganis). Among its findings was that the expansion and harmonization of intellectual property rights had emerged as a serious concern across a wide range of foundation projects, from work on health and education to traditional arts and consumers' rights. At the time, Ford engagement with IP issues was largely exploratory, focused on fact finding and analyzing the impact of changes in IP rights regimes. Much of this work focused on the 2004 application of the TRIPS agreement to developing countries, which had begun to constrain their ability to make decisions about access to many kinds of knowledge-embedded goods, from cultural products to medicines. Ford had also begun to support projects designed to articulate and advance a positive vision of IP rights reform, both in the US and in the global governance space. However, the Foundation had not yet identified IP as a subject requiring a coordinated, cross-programmatic foundation strategy.

This situation has since changed. With the launch of the International Intellectual Property Initiative in 2006, Ford created an infrastructure for coordinating the foundation's approach to IP. The current initiative focuses on three primary

areas of concern: traditional knowledge, access to medicines, and access to knowledge and educational materials. The first and the third of these relate directly to the changing conditions of communication and expressive culture.

This report has already documented Foundation concerns with the role of IP in regulating the expressive practices of indigenous communities—whether as a means of commercializing or protecting those forms of expression. The third agenda—access to knowledge and educational goods—has, in the past two years, become intertwined with an emerging advocacy movement on 'Access to Knowledge,' which has articulated a range of strategies for expanding rights to use and share the fruit of human innovation. This agenda has come to include not just access to knowledge and cultural goods, but also the cultivation of broader capacities to use those goods, following a logic that is also explicit within developmental approaches to expressive rights. The Ford IP initiative has begun to fund projects in these areas, initially with a budget of \$5 million over two years. Major grants have included the Future of Music Coalition (\$150,000, 2007) for work on copyright and music; to the Brazilian Indigenous Institute for Intellectual Property (\$95,000; 2007) and American University (\$190,000; 2006) for work on indigenous knowledge; and the SSRC (\$400,000; 2007) for a comparative project on media piracy.

MEDIA, COMMUNICATIONS, AND TECHNOLOGY POLICY. Media, communications, and technology policy have become areas of significant Ford attention in the past decade as the combination of deregulation and technological change began to remap the expressive landscape, and put at risk some longstanding Ford investments in media diversity and public-interest programming. This policy work has been concentrated in the Electronic Media Policy portfolio within KCF, but extends into a range of other related areas, from media production to global governance. Ford

grants have funded public interest research and advocacy around a series of major policy struggles in the past decade, from the defense of the regulatory frameworks that govern media ownership and public interest programming at the FCC, to efforts to preserve Net Neutrality—the principle of equal access to the Internet that has made it a force for democratizing expressive capacities. The New America Foundation (\$100,000; 2002), the University of Wisconsin (\$100,000; 2000), and the University of Maryland (\$125,000; 2002) have been grant recipients in this area.

More recent grants have focused on building broader infrastructure and capacity in the field. These range from efforts to strengthen social justice activists working on media issues via the Media Justice Fund (\$2.3 million; 2003), to the development of stronger consumers' rights advocacy via the Consumers' Union (600,000; 2005), to efforts to more effectively connect academic research and advocacy in this area (SSRC; 2005; \$750,000; 2007; \$1,500,000).

These lines of grantmaking have not been prominently oriented by an FOE framework. However, they are increasingly legible within and central to a definition of FOE that takes into account the new technological conditions of expression. This linkage has emerged in recent work and begun to define a community of collaborating grantees, such as that between Global Partners, Consumers' Union, and the SSRC around the present FOE initiative. Potentially, these connections will realize some of the hopes for an expanded and cross-cutting FOE discourse articulated in earlier Ford-sponsored inquiries in this area, from the Digital Media Forum (\$200,000; 1999), to the Stone Soup roundtables on the future of the press.

Ford grants have also supported work in this area in a wide range of other national and international contexts, with concentrations on media, IP and telecommunications policies in Brazil (INDECS; \$166,000; 2005) to advocacy and organizing in international governance forums, from the World Summit on the Information Society to efforts to reform ICANN.

Part III

Conclusions

Because FOE in the expanded sense developed here is an enabler of other rights—political, economic, and cultural—it is likely to remain a core concern of the Ford Foundation. The interdependence of expressive freedoms and human dignity signaled in the 1950 Gaither report has not changed.

The central contention of this report, however, is that the forces shaping expressive freedoms have changed in ways that are no longer defined primarily by state power and the traditional mass media—the primary objects of Ford FOE grantmaking in the past half century. The rise of digital technologies and the liberalization of media sectors, especially, have produced an upheaval in the institutions, cultural practices, and forms of governance that shape the public sphere, often in ways that bear only tangential relationship to the speech rights and demands for government transparency that dominate the core FOE tradition.

This report suggests that an effective contemporary engagement with expressive freedoms

must increasingly work within the larger set of converging policy and issue domains, ranging from media and technology policy, to intellectual property regimes and development strategies. These are powerful structural and infrastructural determinants of public life, shaping not just formal rights but also the underlying conditions and possibilities of expression. The project of translating expressive freedoms into these new technological arenas is fragile and incomplete at best, though it is enriched by a growing number of conceptual advances, socio-technical practices, and forms of political mobilization.

An adequate conception of FOE must also recognize positive claims for access to media and communication—claims first elaborated in the 1980s at UNESCO and later through communication rights and communications for development work. These traditions recognize that freedom of expression as a meaningful force for social and political inclusion depends not simply on the atomized right of individuals to express opinions, but also on access to the dominant technologies of expression—today,

radio, TV, and the Internet. Such positive rights claims are implicit in the major international FOE statements, but have been underdeveloped and under-utilized within western FOE advocacy especially.

Above all, a contemporary approach to FOE must contend with growing corporate control over the conditions of expression. Corporate power is grounded not in direct coercion but in the ways that concentrated ownership of cultural materials and communications infrastructures affects the speech opportunities and costs of expression for others. Because our shared culture is overwhelmingly a commercial culture, the assertion of exclusive rights can block traditional but largely informal freedoms to represent, comment on, and explore our shared social condition.

As this report has documented, Ford has substantial lines of works on many of these issues. Its large-scale, cross-portfolio agendas, however, remain grounded in the state and mass media paradigms. Comparatively little attention has been given to the challenges of converging technologies, regulatory processes, and structures of ownership—although grantmaking in these areas has grown in the past decade. This prioritization is not a problem in and of itself: priority setting is inevitable and necessary. But there is risk in treating these new infrastructural concerns as separate from civic and political rights on the one hand and from the goals of media diversity and pluralism on the other, with only peripheral impact on core Foundation strategies. Public broadcasting's biggest challenge—to take the most prominent example—may not be its distance from commercial broadcast models, but rather its similarity as the power of broadcasting declines.

Ford has every interest in helping its public media grantees develop digital media strategies, but it should be open to the possibility that

the end result will not much resemble broadcasting—or possess its traditional gatekeeping structure. Ford staff signaled discomfort with the loss of gatekeepers several times during the preparation of this report. The diminishing role of trusted cultural intermediaries is a source of ambivalence for staff—in large part because it is inextricable from the democratization of communication on the Internet. The preference for trusted intermediaries was an implicit bias of the broadcast model, and one that strongly shaped Ford's investments in FOE. Looking ahead, it seems likely that Ford will have to disentangle its commitment to FOE from these preferences, and learn how to support its underlying values in a more participatory but also more porous, noisy, and fast-changing public sphere.

These are subjects that Ford will need to explore in more depth in coming years. In the meantime, this report offers some modest findings that may provide opportunities for stronger and better-coordinated support for expressive rights:

- Human rights instruments with enforceable FOE provisions may be used to advance the broader expressive aims described here, such as securing community rights of access to media. A number of regional rights agreements have usable mechanisms of redress and enforcement, notably the Inter-American Court of Human Rights and the European Court.
- Advocacy of this kind is traditionally the province of human rights groups, rather than technology or media advocates, and will be most effective if such groups can be brought into closer dialogue with media and technology advocacy. This is one of the purposes of the current Global Partners project. This work can be supported through joint projects, such as Global Partners' collaboration with Consumers' Union around the series of

global FOE convenings, or it could be the result of more targeted civil-society organizing in such venues as the Internet Governance Forum.

- Technology and media advocates, for their part, will benefit from framing their issues in FOE terms when this framing opens up more efficacious forms of advocacy. Emerging conceptual frameworks such as Access to Knowledge are designed to address the discourse around digital technologies and IPRs, but they are also highly pragmatic and aligned with particular regulatory venues, such as WIPO. FOE has its own established venues and instruments, but also a stronger universalizing basis for advancing the many elements common to both agendas. In this process, FOE may be able to provide a stronger unifying discourse for the range of new claims around knowledge, information, and expression in the new digital environment.
- As digital technologies continue to transform the communications landscape, it may be

desirable for Ford to develop more coordinated approaches to practicing its values in the new digital environments. Such practices could follow the model of OSI in supporting open source and open access practices, policies, and tools. It could follow the Hewlett Foundation in targeting open access education materials. It could follow the example of the MacArthur Foundation in exploring the forms of creativity and expression that are emerging outside established knowledge institutions. To date, such work is scattered across a range of programs, portfolios and initiatives. As this report suggests, Ford approaches to FOE and to the public sphere more generally have been strongly shaped by the prevailing technologies of communication and expression.

We end, then, not with a finding but with the two fundamental, largely unanswered questions that have guided this report: How will Ford advance its core values in the post-broadcast era? How will it determine those strategies?

Appendices

Note on Quantitative Data

The figures and graphs presented in this report should be taken as illustrative rather than definitive dollar amounts or number of grants in FOE. Keyword searches on current Ford databases are linked only to a certain set of fields and not to the text of documents uploaded on GBS. This makes it difficult to determine whether a grant addresses FOE issues unless the Grant Recommendation and/or proposal are read. Such documents, when available on GBS, date back only to 2000/2001 – for grants dating further back, files could not always be found in the archives. The following strategy was generally followed in identifying FOE-related grants through the database:

- A review of all grants made by officers who have contributed to the larger FOE project implemented by Global Partners and Associates, namely: Becky Lentz, Martin Abregu, Joseph Gitari, Suzanne Siskel, Ana Toni, Katherine McFate, Bishnu Mohapatra,

Barbara Klugman, Jon Funabiki, Michael DiGregorio, Lisa Jordan, Orlando Bagwell, Roberta Uno, Megan Burke, Leonardo Burlamaqui, Michael Edwards, Ujjwal Pradhan, Alexander Irwan, Meiwita Budiharsana, and Tade Aina

- A keyword search using variations of ‘freedom of expression’, ‘academic freedom’, ‘press freedom’, ‘censorship’, and other terms identified by program officers and inferred through grant documents.
- A review of specific grants identified by program officers in interviews as FOE-related grants.

The scope of the research encompassed FOE-related grants that considered the impacts of the new communications environment. This conceptualization was diffused throughout a range

Acknowledgements

of Ford grants without necessarily being signaled in grant descriptions, warranting in some cases, a budget line-item review to determine how digital technologies were used in the grant. While it is granted that support for website production can fall under the FOE argument of expanding spaces for expression, portions of grants that covered such expenses (when the overall grant was only tangential to FOE) were excluded from the analysis.

Grant supplements were aggregated under the initial grant made. Grant amounts are cumulative of supplements under one grant number, and the duration of the grant includes the durations of individual supplements.

The authors would like to thank the current and former Ford staff who contributed their time to interviews and written communication for this report: Becky Lentz, Alan Divack, Alex Irwan, Philip Yampolsky, Ana Toni, Jeff Campbell, Orlando Bagwell, Larry Cox, Roberta Uno, and Dorinda Welle. Staff of the Archives and Resource Center were very generous with their time and effort: Anthony Maloney, Idelle Nissila-Stone, and James Moske.

Some sections of this report draw on work by Andrew Puddephat in the context of 'Stone Soup' and the current FOE project.

Endnotes

- ¹ Committee to Protect Journalists received \$1,519,000 in general support from 1982-1996; the West African Journalists Association received \$551,450 between 1988 and 1993; and Canadian Journalists for Free Expression received \$805,000 in support from 1993-2001.
- ² The Trust received \$1,717,000 in funds from 1984-1998; Article 19 received \$334,000 in support between 1988 and 1999; and the P.E.N. American Center received approximately \$100,000 from 1978-1982.
- ³ (A/RES/59(1): Para.1)
- ⁴ The best source of information on current trends is the OSF funded <http://www.freedominfo.org/survey.htm>
- ⁵ Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Paris 1948, Article 27
- ⁶ See www.bellanet.org
- ⁷ Canadian Journalists for Free Expression received \$160,000 in funds in 2000 and \$170,000 in 2001. Journalists for the Defense of Independent Journalism received two grants of \$60,000 each in 2000 and 2001. A total of \$503,000 was given to the Media Foundation for West Africa in the years 1997, 1999, and 2001.
- ⁸ The Samarthan Centre received \$110,000 in 1998.
- ⁹ Internews received \$1,146,000 in funds between 1996 and 2001.
- ¹⁰ See <http://www.difficultdialogues.org/projects/> for further information and a list of grantees

FOE Grants by Program

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|---|-----------|---------|--|---|----------------------------------|
| PSJ Canadian Journalists for Free Expression | 1993-1997 | 160,000 | HR | Partial support for the operation of the international freedom of expression exchange network and clearing house. | Larry Cox |
| Glasnost Defense Foundation | 1995-1999 | 620,000 | PSJ/Russia | Support for a media legal defense center for the protection of journalists' rights in Russia. | Steven Solnick, Mary McAuley |
| Article 19 | 1996 | 117,000 | Eastern Africa Southern Africa | Support for a workshop and production of training materials on censorship and informal repression in Africa. | Tade Aina, Alice Brown |
| World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters | 1996-1998 | 74,500 | PSJ/Gov and CS | Support for research and advocacy to promote an enabling policy environment for community radios in Africa. | Fateh Azzam |
| Human Rights Watch | 1997-1999 | 79,500 | Andean Region and Southern Cone (Santiago) | Research and advocacy of freedom of expression in Chile. | Augusto Varas Alexander Wilde |
| Human Rights Watch | 1997-1999 | 45,000 | Indonesia (Jakarta) | Support for participation of Southeast Asian journalists in international meetings relating to freedom of expression. | Mary Zurbuchen |
| Media Monitoring Project | 1998-1999 | 50,000 | Southern Africa (Johannesburg) HR | Support for a nongovernmental organization promoting freedom of expression in South Africa. | Alice L. Brown |
| Press And Society Institute | 1999-2003 | 380,000 | Andean Region and Southern Cone (Santiago) PSJ - Office of the Vice President Media Arts and Culture | General support for activities to promote freedom of expression in Peru and Andean region. | Martin Abregu |
| International Commission of Jurists (Kenya) | 1999-2001 | 200,000 | EMAC/MAC East Africa | Research and policy advocacy on freedom of information. | Joseph Gitari |
| The Network Program | 1999-2001 | 220,000 | Mexico and Central America | Follow-on support to update & expand access to electronic networking tools for civil society organizations throughout Mexico. | Mario Bronfman |

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|--|-----------|-----------|---|--|--|
| Human Rights Watch | 1999-2002 | 7,350,000 | PSJ/HR | Support for an endowment fund, general operating support, and project support to promote refugee protection, academic freedom, and work on Kosovo. | Taryn Higashi, Larry Cox |
| Muwatin Palestinian Institute for the Study of Democracy | 1999-2003 | 330,000 | PSJ MENA | Support for a project providing the public with information on the performance and work of the Palestinian Legislative Council. | Bassma Kodmani |
| University of Hawaii at Manoa | 1999-2001 | 77,600 | PSJ Indonesia (Jakarta) | Support for special issue of the literacy journal "Manoa" on free expression in contemporary Indonesian writing. | Suzanne E. Sikel |
| Article 19 Research and Information Centre on Censorship | 1999-2002 | 100,000 | Eastern Africa (Nairobi) West Africa (Lagos) Southern Africa (Johannesburg) Human Rights | Regional advocacy on freedom of expression at the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights. | Akwasi Aidoo Alice L. Brown Larry Cox Joseph Gitari |
| Progressive Technology Project | 2000-2003 | 650,000 | PSJ/Gov and CS | General support for the provision of intermediary technology technical assistance to community organizing groups including selected grantee organizations. | Urvashi Vaid |
| LOM Ediciones, Inc. | 1999-2001 | 38,000 | Andean Region and Southern Cone (Santiago) HR | Support a publishing house program to promote investigative journalism in Chile on current social issues, through a national competition, publications and debates. | Martin Abregu |
| Matus, Alejandra | 2000-2001 | 37,735 | Andean Region and Southern Cone (Santiago) | Investigate and analyze current media censorship and prosecution of investigative journalists in Chile for a book on freedom of expression in Chile and the obstacles to it. | Martin Abregu |
| Information Network for the Third Sector | 2000-2001 | 150,000 | PSJ/Brazil | Support to develop greater internet access and communications capacity for third sector organizations. | Elizabeth Leeds |
| Human Rights Watch | 2000-2001 | 100,000 | PSJ/MENA | Support for the Arabic language web site and for a regional project on freedom of expression. | Fateh Azzam |

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|---|-----------|-----------|--|--|-----------------------------|
| Information Network for the Third Sector | 2002-2004 | 150,000 | PSJ/Brazil | To implement a process for monitoring and promoting digital inclusion & universal access to the internet in Brazil & engage civil society organizations in communications technology policy formation. | Elizabeth Leeds |
| Association for Progressive Communication | 2003-2005 | 110,000 | PSJ/Gov and CS, Mexico and Central America | For global advocacy on communication rights and national-level activities in Mexico to ensure access to the internet by groups mobilizing for human rights and social and environmental justice. | Lisa Jordan, Pablo Farias |
| Monash University | 2003-2004 | 34,000 | PSJ/China | For research and collaboration with the people's university and the Beijing municipal government on making e-government work for good public governance. | Sarah Cook |
| Center for Human Rights And Environment | 2003-2004 | 100,000 | PSJ/Gov and CS | For the global rights based advocacy program to increase civil society participation in and access to information about hemispheric governance institutions in the Americas. | Lisa Jordan |
| Electronic Privacy Information Center | 2003-2005 | 180,000 | PSJ/Gov and CS PSJ/HR | General support for litigation, research and public education to protect privacy rights, freedom of expression and civil liberties and to promote government transparency. | Urvashi Vaid, Taryn Higashi |
| National Security Archive Fund | 2003-2005 | 300,000 | PSJ/Gov and CS | For a global network on information disclosure among international financial and trade institutions. | Lisa Jordan |
| The Bank Information Center | 2004-2006 | 1,150,000 | PSJ/Gov and CS | For strategic planning and general support to empower citizens in developing countries to influence international processes and decisions which affect them. | Lisa Jordan |
| Article 19 | 2004-2008 | 500,000 | PSJ/Gov and CS | Core support for the global transparency initiative to develop a new network of advocates for transparency at international financial institutions. | Lisa Jordan |

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|--|-----------|---------|--------------------------------|--|--------------------------------|
| World Association for Christian Communication | 2003-2004 | 167,000 | PSJ/Gov and CS | For the communication rights in the information society social movement. | Lisa Jordan |
| Yeshwantrao Chavan Academy of Development Administration | | 112,000 | PSJ India | To train government officials on Maharashtra's Right-to-Information law & facilitate dialogue & networking between government officials & civil society to ensure effective implementation of the law. | Bishnu Mohapatra |
| Smarthan Center for Development Support | 2004-2006 | 110,000 | PSJ India | For training, networking and publication to increase citizens' capacity to monitor implementation of the Right-to-Information law in Madhya Pradesh. | Bishnu Mohapatra |
| Article 19 Research and Information Centre on Censorship | 2005-2007 | 233,000 | PSJ/West Africa (Lagos) | For training, technical assistance and networking to help West African media and civil society organizations strengthen freedom of expression under the African regional human rights system. | Joseph Gitari |
| Chicago Council on Global Affairs | 2005-2009 | 525,000 | PSJ | To provide partial support for a task force to engage American Muslims more fully in contributing to the U.S. Foreign policy discourse. | Megan Burke |
| Information Network for The Third Sector | 2005-2008 | 280,000 | PSJ/Brazil | Support the creation of a center for applied research studies and capacity building on information and communications technologies. | Ana Toni |
| Kabir | 2005-2008 | 172,000 | PSJ India | For a media initiative to popularize the relevance of India's Right-to-Information laws and document best practices and their effective use to promote transparent and accountable governance. | Bishnu Mohapatra, Rekha Kapoor |
| Thailand Environment Foundation | 2005-2006 | 300,000 | PSJ/Gov and CS | To test global public policies on citizen participation and access to information. | Lisa Jordan |
| Article 19 | 2005-2006 | 30,000 | PSJ/Mexico and Central America | To promote public access to reliable, high-quality reproductive and sexual rights information in Mexico. | Mario Bronfman |

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|--|-----------|---------|--|---|---|
| Center for Community Change | 2006 | 250,000 | PSJ | For the Taproots Project to encourage a broader voice for grassroots leaders and create a space for them to participate in defining the questions and parameters of future national policy debates. | Katherine McFate, Michael Edwards, Alta Starr |
| Work Cooperative La Vaca | 2005-2006 | 50,000 | PSJ/Andean and Southern Cone | For the loudspeaker project to amplify the voice of disadvantaged groups on human rights issues. | Martin Abregu |
| Bhasha Research and Publication Center | 2006-2009 | 194,000 | PSJ India | To strengthen the network of adivasi organizations, policy makers and social activists on issues relating to health, cultural & language rights and to promote the human rights of "denotified" tribes. | Rekha Kapoor, Chandra Halstead |
| Canadian Journalists For Free Expression | 2006-2007 | 70,000 | Middle East and North Africa (Cairo) | To create a new generation of human rights volunteers capable of using the internet as a mean for human rights advocacy. | Abdelbasset Ben Hassen |
| KCF Journalists for the Defense of Independent Journalism (PERIODISTAS) | 1999-2003 | 190,000 | Andean Region and Southern Cone (Santiago) Media Arts and Culture | General support for activities to promote freedom of expression in Argentina. | |
| Haleakala Inc | 1999-2001 | 200,000 | MAC | Support to the kitchen for a series of convenings to explore trends in the use of new media technology by creative artists. | John Santos, Christine Vincent |
| Glasnost Defense Foundation | 1999-2002 | 501,500 | MAC/Russia (Moscow) | Support for the protection of journalists' rights in Russia. | Irina Iurna |
| Arab Arts Project | 1999-2002 | 500,000 | MENA | Support for a regional network promoting independent artistic expression. | Emma Playfair, Margaret Wilkerson |
| Media Access Project | 1999-2001 | 200,000 | MAC | Support for strategic planning and for an assessment of the impact of new broadband technologies on democracy. | Pamela Meyer |
| Benton Foundation | 1999-2000 | 200,000 | EMAC/MAC | Support for a digital media forum and a technical and economic assistance fund. | Pamela Meyer |

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|---|-----------|-----------|-----------------------------|--|---------------------------------|
| Union of Journalists | 1999-2000 | 68,000 | EMAC/MAC Russia (Moscow) | Support to the Union of Journalists to maintain publication of the independent newspaper "Sovetskaya Kalmykiya Today," whose editor was murdered in Kalmykiya in 1998. | Irina Iurna |
| University of Southern California | 2000-2003 | 275,000 | EMAC | Support to develop a business plan for the Online Journalism Review, an internet-based journal that examines and critiques the performance of the online news media. | Jon Funabiki |
| Associated Press Managing Editors Association | 2005-2006 | 1,900,000 | KC&F/MAC | Support for a 50-state series of press-public dialogues designed to improve communications between newspaper staffs and the communities they serve. | Jon Funabiki |
| The University of Maryland Foundation | 2000-2001 | 125,000 | KCF/MAC | Support for efforts to ensure that portions of the internet are reserved for public and civic uses, and to develop and fund locally produced civic content. | John Santos |
| Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan | 2000-2004 | 390,000 | Ed, Sex, Religion | Continued support for building women's media and communications as effective tools for women's empowerment. | Meiwita Budiharsana |
| Benton Foundation | 2000-2002 | 615,000 | MAC | Support for the organizational development and expansion of an international civil society internet portal. | John Santos |
| The International Center for Global Communications Foundation | 2000-2001 | 495,000 | EMAC | Support for the organizational development and expansion of an international civil society internet portal. | John Santos |
| One World International Foundation | 2000-2002 | 1,065,000 | EMAC | For operating costs associated with the further development of organizational governance. | John Santos, Becky Lentz |
| Prometheus Radio Project | 2005-2007 | 200,000 | KCF MAC | General support for organizational development, advocacy and expansion of community-based, non-commercial radio. | Becky Lentz, Orlando Bagwell |

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|--|-----------|---------|---|---|-----------------------------------|
| International Women's Media Foundation | 1999-2002 | 15,000 | Media Arts and Culture | Support for the international courage in journalism awards to honor women journalists who demonstrate commitment to reporting the news and preserving a free press. | Jon Funabiki |
| The National Assoc Of Latino Arts And Culture | 2000 | 100,000 | KCF/MAC | Support for planning, research, and development of a public television documentary on Latino artistic and cultural expression in the United States. | Christine Vincent, John Santos |
| Information Aid Network | 2000-2001 | 70,000 | KC&F/W Africa | Support for the establishment of an on-line database to promote freedom of information and good governance in Nigeria. | Sandra Thomas |
| Arab Press Freedom Watch | 2000-2001 | 80,000 | Middle East and North Africa (Cairo) Media Arts and Culture | Support for a process of research, consultation, and planning for a new organization for the protection of freedom of the press in the Arab world. | Bassma Elhusseiny Jon Funabiki |
| EMAC | 2001-2002 | 270,000 | KC&F/MAC | Support for the Digital Media Forum, a forum for collaboration among and between media policy organizations, scholars, and constituency groups. | Jon Funabiki |
| Board of Regents of The University of Wisconsin System | 2000-2002 | 100,000 | EMAC Mac | Support for conceptualization and development of a model for a noncommercial public space on the internet. | Jon Funabiki |
| Yayasan Desantra | 2006-2007 | 864,000 | KC&F/Indonesia | Support for discussions in Islamic religious schools on artistic freedom and tolerance of cultural diversity. | Philip Yampolsky |
| Walker Art Center | 2001-2002 | 150,000 | EMAC MAC | To plan an internet portal linking an international consortium of contemporary arts organizations. | Christine Vincent, John Santos |
| Haleakala Inc | 2001-2002 | 200,000 | EMAC MAC | To plan and organize an art and technology learning network. | Christine Vincent, John Santos |
| Yayasan Utan Kayu | 2001-2003 | 240,000 | EMAC/Indonesia | For the religion, society and freedom of expression project to sponsor arts events and related discussions highlighting issues of cultural difference and the need for tolerance. | Philip Yampolsky |

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|---|-----------|-----------|------------------------|---|---|
| ANO Internews | 2001-2002 | 394,000 | MAC Russia | For grants competitions on cultural programming and to distribute award-winning materials to national and regional television stations. | Irina Iurna |
| Yayasan Badan Penyelenggara Universitas | 2001-2008 | 690,000 | KC&F/Indonesia | For workshops, research and teaching programs to promote appreciation for and tolerance of traditional culture in Muslim schools. | Philip Yampolsky |
| The Electronic Literature Organization | 2001-2002 | 100,000 | EMAC | Partial support for a symposium to promote and facilitate the writing and reading of electronic literature. | John Santos |
| Graduate School and University Center of CUNY | 2001-2004 | 114,800 | KCF MAC | One-time start-up support to a program of technical services for the on-line endeavors of nonprofit arts groups. | Roberta Uno, Christine Vincent, John Santos |
| Foundation-Administered Project (FAP) | 2001-2008 | 1,518,508 | Media Arts and Culture | For evaluation, research and communications activities to enhance the efforts of foundation grantees and others to strengthen the field of news media worldwide. | Jon Funabiki, Becky Lentz Orlando Bagwell Margaret Wilkerson, |
| The New England Foundation for the Arts | 2002-2004 | 1,434,500 | KC&F/MAC | For the first phase of "Preview Forum," a project to bring together citizens and journalists in local communities to discuss news media issues. | Jon Funabiki |
| Benton Foundation | 2002 | 340,000 | EMAC | Core support for the One World U.S. partners' network. | John Santos, Margaret Wilkerson |
| The International Center For Global Communications Foundation | 2002-2003 | 300,000 | EMAC | Core support for MediaChannel.org and to launch african and Latin American regional networks and develop a media and communications policy center. | John Santos, Becky Lentz |
| Electronic Privacy Information Center | 2002-2002 | 100,000 | Media Arts and Culture | General support for public education, litigation & other activities to protect privacy, freedom of expression & democratic values & promote the public voice in decisions on the Internet's future. | Becky Lentz |

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|---|-----------|-----------|----------|--|---|
| New America Foundation | 2002-2003 | 100,000 | KCF/MAC | For research and media advocacy initiatives to defend and revitalize the “information commons” in the emerging digital environment. | Becky Lentz |
| International Society for Arts, Sciences and Technology, Inc. | 2002-2004 | 75,000 | KCF MAC | For the Global Crossings Project, an exploration of artists and scientists who employ emerging technology for creative purposes. | Margaret Wilkerson |
| The Panos Institute | 2002-2003 | 100,000 | KC&F/MAC | Core support for the InterWorld radio project to expand editorial output, decentralize production and increase internet access in targeted regions. | John Santos, Margaret Wilkerson |
| Public Knowledge | 2002-2006 | 800,000 | KCF MAC | General support for advocacy, on-line organizing, research and constituency building related to the information commons. | Becky Lentz |
| Idaho Educational Public Broadcasting | 2003-2004 | 375,000 | KCF | For the FocusWest program, a multimedia project to demonstrate the potential power of digital TV. | Margaret Wilkerson |
| One World International Foundation | 2003-2005 | 600,000 | KC&F/MAC | To develop its global governance operations. | Orlando Bagwell, Becky Lentz |
| Funding Exchange | 2003-2005 | 2,350,000 | KC&F | Start-up support for a national media justice fund to support grassroots advocacy for socially responsible communications policy. | Becky Lentz |
| New York University | 2003-2004 | 100,000 | KC&F/MAC | For a department of culture and communication’s project, “Values in Technology Design: Democracy, Autonomy and Justice.” | Becky Lentz |
| Scenarios USA | 2003-2008 | 600,000 | ESR, MAC | To further develop, refine and expand its model creative writing and film production program aimed at expanding young people’s understanding of their sexuality. | Sarah Costa, Margaret Wilkerson, Cyrus Driver |
| Global Action Project | 2003-2005 | 100,000 | KCF MAC | To strengthen its interdisciplinary multimedia-based programs and explore ways to use the web as both an artistic medium and on outreach tool. | Roberta Uno |

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|---|-----------|-----------|------------|---|---------------------------------|
| Pangea World Theater | 2003-2005 | 50,000 | KC&F/MAC | Start-up support for the Bridges Program, a series of performance events, panels and workshops using art to respond to issues of race, culture and artistic expression. | Roberta Uno |
| ANO Internews | 2003-2004 | 150,000 | MAC Russia | For the culture on TV 2003 competition and other activities to encourage production of documentary films in Russia and promote quality cultural and educational programming on regional television. | Irina Iurna |
| Illinois Caucus for Adolescent Health | 2004-2009 | 674,450 | ESR | For research and community organizing to improve the quality of sexuality education in Illinois classrooms. | Sarah Costa, Cyrus Driver |
| Native Networking Policy Center | 2004-2005 | 150,000 | KCF MAC | Start-up support for the center to ensure equitable and affordable access to and culturally appropriate use of telecommunications and information technology throughout Indian country. | Becky Lentz, Elizabeth Richards |
| Center For Higher Education Transformation Trust | 2004-2005 | 49,000 | KCF | To bring together higher education experts and other stakeholders in three workshops on the impact of changing governance relationships on the autonomy of universities and academic freedom | Ahmed Bawa |
| Station Resource Group | 2005-2009 | 1,200,000 | MAC | Core support for Public Radio Exchange's innovative use of internet technology to strengthen public radio's programming diversity in its broadcast and online services. | Orlando Bagwell |
| The Thomas Jefferson Center for the Protection of Free Expression | 2005-2008 | 659,800 | ESR, KCF | To enable the center to coordinate activities of the Difficult Dialogues initiative. | Jorge Balan |
| Various Grantees | 2006-2008 | 2,700,000 | ESR, KCF | Grants to 27 institutions fostering campus environments conducive to the free discussion of sensitive topics. | Jorge Balan |

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|---|-----------|-----------|--|--|---|
| The Trustees of Columbia University in the City of New York | 2006-2008 | 100,000 | ESR, KCF | For the Heyman Center for Humanities to launch a long-term project on academic freedom with a multidisciplinary, empirical study of policies, practices and opinions on the issue. | Jorge Balan |
| Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey | 2005-2006 | 150,000 | ESR, KCF | For the Network on Family Life to educate youth on sexual health policy issues through interactive, on-line technologies and teen-written content. | Sarah Costa |
| American University | 2006-2008 | 190,000 | MAC Indonesia | To develop recommendations for a sui generis intellectual property system for Indonesian arts and traditional knowledge. | Philip Yampolsky |
| CROSS PROGRAM | | | | | |
| The International Center For Global Communications Foundation | 1996-1998 | 336,500 | PSJ/KCF | Partial support for a weekly news magazine entitled "Rights and Wrongs: Human Rights Television." | Larry Cox, John Santos |
| The Committee to Protect Journalists | 1997-2008 | 1,300,000 | PSJ/KCF | For organization working to protect journalists & media organizations from persecution & to promote freedom of info. & Expression (820-0949). | Larry Cox Jon Funabiki, Sara Rios |
| Canadian Journalists for Free Expression | 1997-2007 | 857,000 | PSJ/KCF | Partial support for activities of a worldwide network of freedom of expression organizations. | Jon Funabiki, Basma El Husseiny, Larry Cox, Alice Brown, Martin Abregu, Suzanne Siskel, Joseph Gitari, Meiwita Budiharsana, Ana Toni, Becky Lentz, Sara Rios, Mouktar Kocache, Abdelbasset Ben Hassen |
| Association for Progressive Communication | 1998-2002 | 591,500 | Assets/Indonesia KC&F/MAC PSJ/Brazil PSJ/Andean and Southern Cone | Support for implementation of a strategic plan to consolidate worldwide networking activities. | Ujjwal Parapak, Becky Lentz, Ana Toni, Martin Abregu |

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|---|-----------|-----------|---|--|--|
| Media Foundation for West Africa | 1998-2001 | 400,000 | PSJ/KCF | Support for research, monitoring & advocacy on media rights, peace & freedom of expression in West Africa. | Aidoo, Akwasi Funabiki, Jon Julius Omozuanvbo Ihonvbere, Christine B. Wing |
| Writers and Scholars Education Trust | 1998-2000 | 400,000 | PSJ/KCF | Final general support for efforts to combat censorship, primarily through publication of "Index on Censorship." | Sara Rios, Margaret Wilkerson |
| University of Chile | 1999-2001 | 210,000 | PSJ/KCF | Support research on and promotion of freedom of expression in Chile. | Martin Abregu, Alex Wilde, Mary McClymont, Jon Funabiki |
| The Aspen Institute, Inc. | 1999-2004 | 1,115,000 | Indonesia (Jakarta) Philippines (Manila) Eastern Africa (Nairobi) West Africa (Lagos) Middle East and North Africa (Cairo) Andean Region and Southern Cone (Santiago) Southern Africa (Johannesburg) Russia (Moscow) Governance and Civil Society Medi | For studies on and a conference to discuss strategies for promoting international freedom of expression and improved journalism. | Jon Funabiki Larry Cox, Martin Abregu Irina Iurna |
| Demos: A Network for Ideas and Action, Ltd. | 2000-2007 | 460,000 | PSJ/Assets | Support for the Democracy 21 project for revitalizing citizen participation and sustaining democracy in the context of significant income inequalities. | Thomasina Williams, Katherine McFate, Brandee McHale, Kilolo Kijakazi, Frank DeGiovanni |
| Media Rights Agenda | 2000-2001 | 170,000 | PSJ/KCF | Support for promoting and strengthening media rights activities in Nigeria and for a research project on "State Repression, Failed Transition and Media Resistance in Nigeria, 1990-1999." | Aida Opoku- Mensah, Jon Funabiki, Julius Ihonvbere |
| Article 19 | 2001-2002 | 200,000 | PSJ/KCF | Support for a regional freedom of information monitoring network and advocacy activities in Sierra Leone. | Larry Cox, Akwasi Aidoo, Anthony Romero, Bradford Smith |

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| Arab Press Freedom Watch | 2001-2006 | 640,000 | PSJ/KCF | To monitor and advocate for the freedom of the press in the Arab world. | Fateh Azzam Basma El Husseiny, Jon Funabiki, Mouktar Kocache, Emma Playfair |
| Isis International-Women's Information and Communication Service, Ltd. | 2001-2003 | 157,300 | PSJ/KCF | To design, implement and develop management strategies for a Spanish-language internet portal to broaden access for Latin American women to information on women's issues worldwide. | Augusto Varas, Nigel Brooke, Pablo Farias |
| Media Foundation for West Africa | 2001-2004 | 500,000 | PSJ/KCF | For research, advocacy, technical assistance and networking to protect and promote freedom of expression and media pluralism in West Africa, with a focus on conflict and post-conflict countries. | Christine Wing Akwas Aidoo Jon Funabiki |
| Lumiere Productions | 2002-2002 | 250,000 | PSJ/KCF/Assets | To develop "Democracy on Deadline," a television documentary on journalistic freedom of expression. | John Santos, Pablo Farias, Joseph Gitari, Jon Funabiki |
| Human Rights Watch | 2002-2004 | 375,000 | HR, EMAC | Core support for the Academic Freedom Program to foster tolerance for secular education & critical thought worldwide, particularly, post-september 11, in Southwest & Central Asia & the Middle East. | Jorge Balan, Larry Cox, Kenneth Wilson |
| Lumiere Productions | 2003-2005 | 760,000 | PSJ/KCF | To produce Democracy on Deadline: the Worldwide Struggle for an Independent Press. | Margaret Wilkerson, Gerry Salole, Martin, Abregu, Irena Grudzinska Gross, Basma El Husseiny, Emma Playfair, Jon Funabiki, David Chiel, Orlando Bagwell, Mouktar Kocache, Julia Oku |
| American Association of University Professors | 2003-2004 | 50,000 | ESR, KCF HR | For activities of the special committee on academic freedom and national security in time of crisis. | Jorge Balan, Larry Cox |

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| Justice Studies Center of the Americas | 2003-2004 | 75,000 | PSJ/KCF | For a collaborative project to improve access to information on justice systems and foster the involvement of civil society organizations in protecting the human rights of the underprivileged. | Martin Abregu, Jon Funabiki |
| Syracuse University | 2004-2007 | 275,000 | PSJ/KCF | For the Convergence Center to conduct research on transnational citizen-inspired change in communication information policy. | Becky Lentz, Lisa Jordan |
| World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters | 2004-2005 | 235,000 | PSJ/KCF | General support to defend and promote freedom of expression by building policy expertise and capacity for community media worldwide. | Martin Abregu, Suzanne Siskel, Joseph Gitari, Becky Lentz, Mariano Aguirre, Ana Toni |
| Press And Society Institute | 2004-2005 | 95,000 | PSJ/KCF | General support for activities to promote freedom of expression in Peru and Andean region. | Jon Funabiki, Martin Abregu |
| Work Cooperative La Vaca | 2004-2005 | 50,000 | PSJ/KCF | For training and advocacy activities to develop communications capacities to improve access to freedom of expression for the underprivileged. | Jon Funabiki, Martin Abregu |
| Information Network for the Third Sector | 2004-2006 | 152,000 | KC&F/MAC | To mobilize a Brazilian chapter of the communication rights in the information society campaign to promote understanding and acceptance of the right to communication as a fundamental human right. | Ana Toni, Becky Lentz, Jon Funabiki |
| Active Voice | 2005-2009 | 623,000 | KC&F PSJ/HR | For three national public engagement campaigns that would use television and film projects to stimulate dialogue across political, cultural and ethnic divides on complex public policy issues. | Margaret Wilkerson, Sara Rios, David Chiel, Taryn Higashi, Orlando Bagwell |
| Govind Ballabh Pant Social Science Institute | 2005-2008 | 156,000 | PSJ/KCF | To establish the Dalit Resource Centre as the hub around which to research, document & disseminate the knowledge base of marginalized dalit communities in the northern Indian state of Uttar Pradesh. | Bishny Mohapatra, Sushma Raman, Sumathi Ramaswamy |

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| Press And Society Institute | 2005-2007 | 200,000 | PSJ/KCF | To carry out research and promote debate on media ownership and freedom of expression. | Martin Abregu, Sara Rios, Denise Dora, Ana Toni, Mario Bronfman, Jon Funabiki |
| Intervozes-Brazil Social Communication Collective | 2005-2007 | 156,000 | PSJ/KCF | To develop the concept of a public communications system for Brazil. | Ana Toni, Margaret Wilkerson, Jon Funabiki |
| World Assoc for Community Radio Broadcasters | 2005-2007 | 125,000 | PSJ/KCF | To create a legal capacity and a network of community radio lawyers in order to defend the rights of community communications. | Ana Toni, Margaret Wilkerson |
| Global Partners and Associates | 2006-2007 | 325,000 | PSJ/KCF/Assets | For research, convening, documentation and dissemination activities to expand the role of civil society in freedom of expression debates across fields nationally and internationally. | Suzanne Siskel Martin Abregu Joseph Gitari Ujjwal Pradhan Alexander Irwan Meiwita Budiharsana, Michael Edwards, Leonardo Burlamaqui, Bishnu Mohapatra, Jon Funabiki, Orlando Bagwell, Michael DiGregorio, Barbara Klugman, Katherine McFate |
| University of Chile | 2006-2006 | 45,000 | PSJ/KCF | For the Institute of Journalism to analyze the role of the media during the Chilean dictatorship, with an emphasis on coverage of human rights issues and freedom of expression. | Martin Abregu, Jon Funabiki |
| World Association for Community Radio Broadcasters | 2006-2007 | 75,000 | Assets/Indonesia KC&F/MAC PSJ/Brazil PSJ/Andean and Southern Cone | To assess the current state of the community broadcasting movement, evaluate the association's past successes and shortcomings and develop a strategic plan. | Ujjwal Parapak, Becky Lentz, Ana Toni, Martin Abregu |

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| Association for Progressive Communications | 2006-2008 | 150,000 | KC&F/MAC PSJ/Gov and CS | For the Communications and Information Policy Program to ensure open, universal and affordable access to the internet. | Lisa Jordan, Becky Lentz |
| Combine Resource Institution | 2006-2008 | 466,100 | PSJ/KCF | To develop a communications and information system of national and regional community radio networks for low-income communities and build institutional capacity. | Alexander Irwan, Philip Yampolsky |
| ASSETS | | | | | |
| State of The World Forum | 2001 | 150,000 | Assets | Support for the forum's "Equal Access" project to use digital satellite broadcasting to deliver human development and HIV/AIDS information to underserved communities in developing countries. | Virginia Davis Floyd |
| Yayasan Talenta | 2005-2007 | 100,000 | Assets Indonesia | To promote the right of "differently abled" women and men to reproductive health information, education and services. | Meiwita Budiharsana |
| Fahmina Institute | 2006-2008 | 180,000 | Assets Indonesia | For a community radio project to promote respect for pluralism, gender equity and human rights in muslim communities | Meiwita Budiharsana |