

Evaluating Discrepancies Between Public And Professional Assessments Of Media Freedom

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A B S T R A C T

Media Freedom at the level of the nation-state historically has been indexed by professional or elite evaluators. Surveys of the general public about media freedom provide an alternative—or complementary—strategy for assessing the level of media freedom in a country. This paper examines the correspondence between the assessments of media freedom by the elite and by the public. It finds that the elite evaluators and public largely agree in their assessments of media freedom. It then examines discrepant cases to determine if outliers represent methodological errors, cases where the public either lagged behind the elite assessments or anticipated them, or cases where there was a substantive difference between the elite and the public because they were measuring different things. The last of these explanations seems to be the likely one, given the data available.

Presented to the Midwest Association for Public Opinion Research, Chicago, Nov. 21 & 22, 2014.

Media Freedom at the level of the nation-state historically has been indexed by professional evaluators, who rely on multiple data sources to arrive at country-level scores. Freedom House (FH), a nongovernmental organization based in New York and Washington, has been conducting such evaluations on an annual basis since 1980. Reporters Without Borders (RWB), another nongovernmental organization based in Paris, has been doing parallel work since 2002. In 2010, Gallup began asking individual citizens to assess the level of media freedom in their own country on its World Poll surveys. This effort has produced the first alternative—or complementary—strategy for assessing the level of media freedom in a country.

In general, the public and the elite evaluators reach roughly similar conclusions. For example, in 2013, the simple Pearson Product Moment correlation between the Gallup World Poll measure of freedom and the Freedom House measure of freedom was .67. Clearly, however, there are disagreements between what the public thinks and what elite evaluators believe to be the case in some countries around the world.

This paper examines those discrepancies between the evaluations of media freedom by elite evaluators and by the public. Single-year discrepancies are differentiated from discrepancies that are consistent across time.

Related Literature

Media freedom is recognized as a fundamental human right in Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Two organizations, Freedom House and Reporters Without Borders, every year assess levels of press freedom among countries around the world relying on expert evaluators. They examine characteristics of media systems, such as access to diverse sources of information, political or economic pressures on journalists, bloggers and media

organizatons (such as arrests or physical attacks), legal and regulatory frameworks, and judicial protection for press freedom.

The information provided by these press freedom indexes is used by governments, non-governmental organizations, and media scholars. These ranking and ratings often have been criticized by those who are evaluated or by their governments (France Presse, 2006; Font de Matas, 2010), as well as by academics (Holtz-Bacha, 2011). The criticism ranges from pro-U.S. or pro-Western bias to lack of conceptual precision or lack of methodological detail and clarity.

The creation of the RWB index has been perceived as an alternative tool to the FH ranking. In 2006, for example, the German political opposition accused the ruling coalition of doing nothing to strengthen the "defaulted and endangered" media freedom in the country, when Reporters Without Borders downgraded Germany by five ranks (Spiegel Online, 2006). Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi's spokesman Paolo Bonaiuti said in a plenary session of the European Parliament: "The left has made them (the press freedom indices, author's note) become famous like Pink Floyd. (...) Why do 27 left-wing European MPs accuse Italy over a lack of freedom of information when everybody knows it's not true?" (Adnkronos, 2010). His statement followed a change in the status of the Italian media from "free" to "partly free" in 2009. The Malawi government in 2011 argued that the RWB report did not properly reflect the media situation, when the country plunged 67 places in the index (Media Institute of Southern Africa, 2012). Two Walter Cronkite School of Journalism and Mass Communication professors criticized the 2012 RWB ranking of the U.S. (Grobmeier, 2012) when the arrests of journalists who participated in the "Occupy" movement led to a drop of 27 places in the index. (The Freedom House measure for that year showed only a one point drop in the country's numerical score.)

Public support for institutions has been an important area of research in political science. Listhaug and Wiberg (1995) argued that confidence in institutions is an indicator of acceptance of or support for the legitimacy of the political system. According to Norris (1999), confidence in institutions is one of the dimensions of the broader concept of political support. Norris and Inglehart (2009) saw confidence in political institutions as an indicator of regime support. Listhaug and Wiberg (1995) made a distinction between confidence in private institutions and confidence in government institutions.

Becker and Vlad (2010) examined the relationship between press freedom measured by Freedom House and Reporters Without Borders and media freedom assessed in two international general public surveys. One was a 2007 BBC World Service Poll that included five questions dealing with the media in a survey conducted in 14 countries (BBC World Service Poll, 2007). One of the questions asked respondents to use a 5-point scale to indicate how free they thought the media in their country was to report the news accurately, truthfully and without bias. The survey was conducted in October and November of 2007. Samples were national in nine of the 14 countries and urban-only in the other ones. Sample sizes ranged from 500 to 1,500.

WorldPublicOpinion.Org (2008), based at the University of Maryland, conducted a survey in 28 countries and territories that included questions regarding the media. In a majority of countries, the respondents were asked how much freedom the media in their country have. Sample sizes varied from 597 to 2,699.

The relationship between the measure of public perceptions of media freedom and the Freedom House measure of press freedom for the 14 countries included in the 2007 BBC World Service Poll was slight at best. The Pearson Product Moment Correlation Coefficient was .31, while the Spearman rho was .23. The correlations between the BBC World Service Poll

measures and the Reporters Without Borders were similar, with a .37 Pearson r and a .25 Spearman rho.

The relationship between the WorldPublicOpinion.Org measure of press freedom from the point of view of the general public and the Freedom House measure was considerably stronger, a .81 with Pearson r and a .76 with Spearman rho.

The Reporters Without Borders evaluations produced a similar .70 (Pearson) and .71 (Spearman). The researchers argued that the different findings were the result of different measurement of public assessments of press freedom. The BBC World Service Poll used an anchored scale and the WorldPublicOpinion.Org measure used verbal descriptions. The BBC question also was reverse coded; that is, respondents were asked to go from 5 to 1 rather than the reverse, which is more common.

English (2007), Becker and Vlad (2009), Becker, Vlad and English (2010) and Becker, English and Vlad (2012) used data from the Gallup World Poll to examine the relationship between confidence in the media and press freedom. Based on analyses of surveys conducted in approximately 100 countries in three years, the authors concluded that public beliefs about the openness of the society mask a real relationship between confidence in the media and press freedom. In 2007, 2008 and 2009, confidence in the media relative to confidence in other institutions in society was found to be negatively associated with press freedom when the society is open. Confidence in the media relative to confidence in other institutions, however, was positively related to press freedom when the society was closed.

In the most recent and robust of these analyses (Becker, English and Vlad, 2012), the researchers found correlation coefficients of .74 and .64 (Spearman's rho) between a measure of media freedom from the Gallup World Poll and the ratings of press freedom of Freedom House

and Reporters Without Borders, respectively. These findings are based on an analysis of a measure of press freedom used in surveys conducted in 134 countries around the world in 2011. The results replicate findings from 2010 from a smaller sample of 111 countries (Becker, English & Vlad, 2011).

Expectations

The research undertaken so far has shown a strong relationship between the elite measures of press freedom and between assessments of media freedom by the public. While the relationship has been shown to be strong, it is far from perfect. And the analyses have been limited to only a small number of years.

The goal of this paper is to extend that analysis across time and to examine outliers; that is, countries that do not show a match between the elite assessments and the assessments by the public. Both methodological and substantive explanations for those outliers will be examined.

Outliers can occur for at least three different reasons. First, the outlier can be a methodological artifact, resulting from error of measure either in the elite assessment or in the public opinion survey. Second, the measures could lag each other. The elite measures might reflect change that the public has not yet seen. The reverse also could be true. Third, two measures might actually measure two different, but related concepts and, in the outlying countries, the differences between the concepts manifest themselves. The third explanation is the most interesting, for it suggests that an ideal measure of press freedom might actually take into consideration both an elite assessment and an assessment by the public.

Methods

The best known and most widely used measure of the press freedom is that of Freedom House (Becker, Vlad & Nusser, 2007). Freedom House was founded in 1941 to promote

democracy globally. Since 1972, Freedom House has published a global survey of freedom, known as *Freedom in the World*, now covering 195 countries and 14 territories (Freedom House, 2014). This indicator is widely used by policy makers, academics, and journalists. In 1980, as a separate undertaking, Freedom House began conducting its media freedom report—*Freedom of the Press: A Global Survey of Media Independence*—which in 2013 covered 197 countries and territories (Freedom House, 2014).

To measure the press freedom concept, Freedom House attempts to assess the legal, political, and economic environments of each country and evaluate whether the countries promote and do not restrict the free flow of information as well as whether journalists and media outlets in each country are able to work free from repercussions for their reporting. In 2013, the research and ratings process involved around a hundred analysts and senior-level advisers (Freedom House, 2014). These analysts and advisers gather information from professional contacts, staff and consultant travel, international visitors, the findings of human rights and press freedom organizations, specialists in geographic and geopolitical areas, the reports of governments and multilateral bodies, and a variety of domestic and international news media. The ratings are reviewed individually and on a comparative basis in a series of six regional meetings with the analysts, ratings advisers with expertise in each region, other invited participants and Freedom House staff. Freedom House then compares the ratings with the previous year's findings. Major proposed numerical shifts or category changes are subjected to more intensive scrutiny. These reviews are followed by cross-regional assessments in which efforts are made to ensure comparability and consistency in the findings. Freedom House asks the raters to use 23 questions divided into three broad categories covering the legal, political and economic environments. Each country is rated in these three categories and assigned a value

from 0 to 100, with the higher numbers indicating less press freedom. Each country also is given a global ranking of not free, partly free or free.

Reporters Without Borders (RWB) has released a Worldwide Press Freedom report and ranking of individual nations annually since 2002. Based in Paris, RWB defends journalists and media outlets by condemning attacks on press freedom worldwide, by publishing a variety of annual and special reports on media freedom, and by appealing to governments and international organizations on behalf of journalists and media organizations.

RWB (2014) bases the score for each country on responses of its selected panelists to a questionnaire with six general criteria: pluralism, media independence, environment and self-censorship, legislative framework, transparency, and infrastructure. There was a major change in the method used to compile the index in 2013, including the use of a new questionnaire.

Quantitative questions about the number of violations of different kinds are handled by RWB staff. They include the number of journalists, media assistants and citizens who were jailed or killed in connection with their activities, the number of journalists abducted, the number that fled into exile, the number of physical attacks and arrests, and the number of media censored. The rest of the questionnaire, which is sent to outside experts and members of the RWB network, focuses on issues such as the degree to which news providers censor themselves, government interference in editorial content, or the transparency of government decision-making. Legislation and its effectiveness are the subject of more detailed questions. Questions about concentration of media ownership and favoritism in the allocation of subsidies or state advertising have been added or expanded. Similarly, discrimination in access to journalism and journalism training is also included.

In 2014, the questionnaire was sent to 18 freedom of expression groups, to its network of 150 correspondents around the world, and to journalists, researchers, jurists and human rights activists. In 2014, RWB received completed questionnaires from a number of independent sources for 180 countries. RWB said some countries were not included because of a lack of reliable, confirmed data.

Detailed analyses of these two measures have shown that they rate most countries similarly (Becker, Schneider & Vlad, 2012). The Freedom House measures are more focused on institutional characteristics of journalism and media content in the countries, while the RWB measures are focused more on the freedom of individual journalists. The RWB measures give more weight to physical attacks on the press.

The Gallup World Poll regularly surveys adult residents in more than 160 countries and areas, representing more than 98% of the world's adult population. In most cases, randomly-selected, nationally-representative samples of the entire civilian, non-institutionalized, age 15 and older population of each country are used. Exceptions include areas where the safety of interviewing staff is threatened, scarcely populated islands in some countries, and areas that interviewers can reach only by foot, animal, or small boat. Gallup typically surveys 1,000 individuals in each country, with at least 2,000 surveys being conducted in large countries like China, Russia and India.

Telephone surveys are used in countries where telephone coverage represents at least 80% of the population or is the customary survey methodology. In Central and Eastern Europe, as well as in the developing world, including much of Latin America, the former Soviet Union countries, nearly all of Asia, much of the Middle East, and all of Africa, an area frame design is used for face-to-face interviewing.

Once collected, the data set goes through a rigorous quality assurance process before being publicly released. After review by the regional directors, Gallup scientists perform additional validity reviews. The data are centrally aggregated and cleaned, ensuring correct variable codes and labels are applied. The data are then reviewed in detail for logical consistency and trends over time. Once the data are cleaned, weighted, and vetted, the final step is to calculate approximate study design effect and margin of error.

Gallup is entirely responsible for the management, design, and control of the Gallup World Poll and is not associated with any political orientation, party, or advocacy group and does not accept partisan entities as clients. Any individual, institution, or governmental agency may access the Gallup World Poll regardless of nationality.

In each country, a standard set of core questions is fielded in each of the major languages of the respective country. Beginning in 2010, the Gallup World Poll included a measure of public perceptions of media freedom. The question is: “Do the media in this country have a lot of freedom, or not?” Response categories are “Yes” and “No”, with Don’t Know and Refused coded if volunteered. The item cannot be asked in some of the countries in which the Gallup World Poll is fielded due to government censorship or, in some cases, the likelihood of interference with data collection. The data are aggregated by country, and the percentage of people in a country saying “Yes”, i.e., that the media in the country are free, is computed for each country for which the measure was used. In a few cases where multiple waves of data were collected in the same year, additional weighting was applied to properly determine an average for the year which takes into account samples sizes across waves. This is a non-elite measure of media freedom (Becker, English & Vlad, 2012).

Findings

The beginning point for the analysis was an examination of the distributions of the measures of press freedom by Reporters Without Borders (Reporters sans Frontieres) and Freedom House and of media freedom in the Gallup World Poll. These are shown in Charts 1-3.

Considerable variability in the shape of the distributions is evident both within measures by the same organization over time and among the measures of the three organizations. The Reporters Without Borders changes reflect some methodological alterations across time, while the World Poll changes can reflect different countries included in the sample across the four years for which data are available. Both the Reporters Without Borders and Freedom House samples are relatively consistent. Freedom House includes the largest number of countries each year making up a near census of countries around the world.

None of these distributions is normal. There is, in fact, no reason to expect that they should be. The Freedom House measure does have an artificial clustering around 40 and 70. Historically, these are the break points for deciding to classify a country as Not Free (1-40), Partially Free (41-70), and Free (71-100) in the maps and other designations of countries around the world created by the organization. The clustering is not excessive, particularly in the most recent year.

Table 1 shows the Pearson Product Moment Correlation Coefficients for the four Reporters Without Borders, four Freedom House and four World Poll measures of media freedom. Each of the measures is highly consistent across time (yellow highlight). The two elite measures (Reporters Without Borders and Freedom House) are more highly correlated with each other (blue highlight) than either is with the public opinion measure (green highlight). The Freedom House measure is consistently more highly correlated with the World Poll measure

than is the Reporters Without Borders measure (green highlight). A replication of this analysis using Spearman's rho rather than Pearson's r shows the same pattern. The Spearman's rho coefficients are consistently smaller, but still show strong relationships.

Because the correlations between the Freedom House measures and the World Poll measures are consistently stronger across time than are the correlations between the Reporters Without Borders and World Poll measures, the analysis that follow focuses on those two measures. The number of cases for the correlations is roughly the same whether the Reporters Without Borders or the Freedom House measures were used. An added advantage of using the Freedom House measures is that the report from that organization contains detailed narrative country essays that are connected to the scores on each of the countries each of the years.

Charts 4-7 show the scatter plots for the relationships between the Freedom House measure of press freedom and the World Poll media freedom measure in years 2010-2013. The charts also shows the regression lines. In order to evaluate the discrepant cases across the four years, outliers were identified based on the standardized residual. Only a small number of cases had standardized residuals of 2.0 or greater, a common standard for identifying outliers. A larger number had standardized residuals of 1.0 or greater. To create a manageable number of countries for analysis, cases with a standardized residual of 1.5 or greater were singled out for analysis. Table 2 lists any country with a standardized residual of 1.5 or greater during any of the four years of analysis. Countries for which Gallup did not field a survey on a given year are shown in grey in the relevant lines in Table 2. An empty line on a given year means that the country was not an outlier that year.

As a first step, each of the outliers was examined to determine if there was any methodological explanation for the deviation from expectation. Since the Freedom House

procedures have been consistent across time, the focus was on changes in the World Poll procedures. In Bahrain in 2013, Gallup switched to telephone contacts and included non-Arab expatriates for the first time. The data overall did not change much in 2013 from previous years. In Kuwait, Gallup switched to telephone in 2013 and included non-Arab expatriates for the first time. There is some evidence in the data generally of a mode and sample explanation for the changes in the trend for 2013. In Liberia in 2010, the World Poll was conducted in English only. In 2011 and 2013, English and Pidgin English were used. Overall, there is some bias toward higher education in some of the years, but because weighting was used, it is unlikely to explain the shift in data trends on this item.

Afghanistan is an outlier in two of the four years under study. In both cases, the public gave a more optimistic assessment of media freedom than do the evaluators at Freedom House. In 2010, the public assessment predicted to a score of 49.5 on the Freedom House measure, but the actual Freedom House score was 26. In 2013, the gap was much the same. The public opinion assessment predicted a Freedom House measure of 59.4, when the actual score was 35.

This general pattern of the public overstating media freedom relative to what the evaluators at Freedom House concluded is more pronounced in Table 2 than the reverse. (In no case does a country show a mixed pattern over time.) Afghanistan is joined by Azerbaijan, Bahrain, Cambodia, Egypt, Kazakhstan, Kuwait, Laos, Liberia, Pakistan, Paraguay, Rwanda, Sri Lanka, Tajikistan, Thailand, Tunisia, the United Arab Emirates, Venezuela and Vietnam—a total of 19 countries

Higher percentages of residents in Cambodia, Rwanda, Sri Lanka, Tajikistan, and Vietnam consistently say their media are freer than any other countries with media classified as “Free” by Freedom House. Residents in these countries often respond more positively about

things in their country as measured by other survey items than what outside sources would expect. This trend remains consistent each year Gallup has interviewed in these countries. Of these 19 countries, 3 or 4 were classified as having Partly Free media by Freedom House in the years under study (Thailand has oscillated on the border between the categories), while 15 or 16 have media classified as Not Free by Freedom House. Within this Not Free cohort, a significant minority have much more closed media environments, i.e. they score in the bottom 20 points of the 0-100 Freedom House scale. In such repressive environments, a tendency towards self-censorship or a “fear factor” may account for some of the positive resident responses in the Gallup study. Countries falling into this category are either those where the vast majority of media outlets are under state control and self-censorship among journalists is widespread—such as Kazakhstan, Laos, and Tajikistan—or countries where some dissident or independent views are expressed but where the negative state-sponsored repercussions against the press in the form of arrests and detention is very high—such as Azerbaijan, Bahrain, and Vietnam, which have all seen extensive legal pressure against independent voices. For the only year Tunisia showed such a discrepancy (prior to the Arab Spring revolt), it also followed this model.

A larger number of these 19 countries are rated Not Free, but score better in the Freedom House report than the first group; in most, there is a significant opposition and/or independent press and considerably more media diversity and vibrancy, but there also exists a high level of repercussions against journalists, either in the forms of legal charges and imprisonment, and/or a high level of physical attacks being directed at journalists as a result of what they write by either state or non-state actors. Countries falling into this category include Afghanistan, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Thailand, and Egypt. For example, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and Egypt have recorded very high levels of physical violence against journalists, while in Thailand reporters

and other media content producers have been subjected to harsh fines and jail terms under repressive laws. Several of the countries rated in the worse performing scores of the Partly Free category, such as Liberia and Paraguay, also follow this model. For this cohort, the public's idea that the media are "free" to report is to some extent correct as there is a great deal of diverse and critical media content; the reason they then score badly on the Freedom House index relates to the level of post-production repercussions against them.

An additional factor may also be at play in two of the countries that show the largest and consistent discrepancy in this category—Cambodia and Rwanda. Both are post-conflict societies that experienced widespread political and social conflict, as well as genocide. As a result, the public perceptions in these polls may be exceedingly rosy, as current conditions are being compared to exceedingly negative past situations.

The 12 countries where the public is more critical than the evaluators are Congo (Brazzaville), Estonia, Haiti, Iceland, Jamaica, Japan, South Korea, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Mauritania, and Montenegro. In general, these are more developed countries which seem to have a very demanding population when it comes to assessment of the media. Haiti is an exception, and the 2010 earthquake may have had an impact on perceptions of media coverage, among other things. A similar political effect may be the case in Mauritania, where a "velvet coup" in 2008 and political transition in 2009 may have made the public unduly negative on the issue of media freedom, among other rights, for at least several years afterwards (Mauritania recorded a discrepancy in the 2010 and 2011 coverage periods, but not since then). Other event-based explanations for a discrepancy in a single year may also be at play in Japan, which noted a discrepancy in 2011, the year of the Fukushima earthquake, which highlighted and intensified the traditionally high level of self-censorship in the Japanese press. Respondents in Latvia and

Lithuania are much less likely to say their media are free, despite having a “free” media as classified by Freedom House. Lithuania has lost some ground in elite media freedom measurements in recent years due to actions taken against BNS news agency. It could be that this news event has had an impact on perceptions, although the data has remained fairly consistent year over year.

Of these 12 countries, 4 are rated Partly Free by Freedom House, while 8 are classified in the Free category. It is hard to draw more general conclusions for the countries in this cohort, except to note, as above, that countries rated as freer by Freedom House often also rate badly in terms of public perceptions of trust or confidence in the media; i.e. the public tends to be more cynical about the media in terms of quality, and this may also spill over into perceptions of freedom. The fact that all 3 Baltic States have showed a discrepancy in at least 1 of the 4 coverage years would also bear further investigation, in case there is some sort of common negative effect which could be explained by their past history of forcible inclusion into the Soviet Union.

Only six countries are outliers in all of the years for which data are available. They are Cambodia, Rwanda, Tajikistan and Vietnam, in which the public is more positive than the elite evaluators, and Latvia and Lithuania, in which the public is more critical of the media than the elite evaluators. In all other cases, deviation as measured by the criterion set here of 1.5 standardized residual units is episodic.

Conclusions

Clearly, the public and the elite evaluators largely agree in their assessments of media freedom. Those countries the elite evaluators feel are largely free also generally are seen by higher than expected percentages of their citizenry as free, and those countries the elite

evaluators find lacking in media freedom have higher than expected percentages of the populace that shares that view. Countries given middling scores by evaluators are those in which the public has a mixed assessment of freedom.

Small deviations from this pattern can largely be viewed as random measurement error. More discrepant cases, and particularly those that persist across time, suggest other forces at work.

Thirty-one cases were identified by examining outliers with at least a 1.5 standardized deviation score or residual between the predicted value by the elite evaluator based on the public opinion assessment and the actual value assigned by the elite evaluator. Only six of those cases are consistent across all years for which data were gathered. Four of those were countries in which larger than expected percentages of the population state that the media are free, but the elite evaluators assign the country a more critical score. Two cases are where larger than expected percentages of the public are more critical of the media than are the elite evaluators. The cases suggest that the former are countries in which the population is either unwilling to state negative views, including of their media, or overly optimistic about the nature of the institutions that serve them. The latter two countries seem to represent overly critical assessments of the performance of institutions in society.

Earlier analysis (Becker, English & Vlad, 2011) found that those countries in which the public overestimates the level of press freedom relative to what the professional evaluators say is the case are also those with higher levels of confidence in the media. Conversely, those countries in which the public underestimates the level of press freedom, according to the evaluators, are those in which there is a low level of confidence in the media. It also is the case that those countries in which the public is more positive about media freedom than are the elite evaluators

are those in which public institutions are evaluated highly in general, and those countries in which the public is critical of freedom relative to the elite evaluators are countries in which confidence in key institutions is low. The public, it seems, lumps institutions together. And this lumping extends to the sense that the media are free or not. The data suggest there is an overall confidence assessment that people bring to the questions posed, and this has great impact on how all the measures behave.

Sorting out the explanations for these patterns is crucial, and the analysis here is only a start. It seems likely, for example, that Lithuania and Latvia have something in their past that would explain the overly critical assessment of institutions. They are both Baltic states never comfortably included in the Soviet Union, and that history, no doubt, encourages a negative view of institutions. But everything about their present and past is not the same. For example, a quarter of the Latvian population is classified as Russian (26.2%), while, in Lithuania, the figure is only 6.6% (CIA Factbook, 2014).

The starting point for these analysis was an interest in determining if outliers represented methodological errors, cases where the public either lagged behind the elite assessment or anticipated them, or cases where there was a substantive difference between the public and the elite because, perhaps, they are measuring different things. The last of these explanations seems to be the more likely one, given the limited amount of data available.

In terms of methodological differences regarding the question of what is being measured, one crucial factor that seems to be at play in at least a number of cases concerns the idea of “media freedom.” If viewed simply as the ability of media outlets to report about a range of issues, the public’s more positive assessments in a number of cases may not actually be at odds with Freedom House measurements, for the reason that the Freedom House methodology

measures the ability of journalists to report freely *without fear of repercussions*. In countries scoring more harshly on the Freedom House indicators, the harsh score may simply be picking up the high level of repercussions, which is a factor that the public may simply not be taking into account when answering the question.

This conclusion raises an important question about the proper way to assess media freedom in a country. Should it include both an assessment of how well the country meets measurement criteria as determined by elite, objective observers from outside the country and an assessment of media freedom as measured by people who live in that system and experience it daily? Conceptually, the answer to that question is probably negative, i.e., media freedom does not necessarily mean that the public believes the media are free and vice versa. It might well be that having a public that sees the media as free is an additional element of what it means for a media system to be free. Or it could be that a free media where the public shares that assessment has a different impact than a free media that the public does not feel is free. Of course, it is possible that a media that are not free, but that the public believes are free could have an impact not predicted based on the assessment of media freedom lacking inclusion of the public component.

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Chart 1. Reporters Without Borders Press Freedom Measures 2010-2013

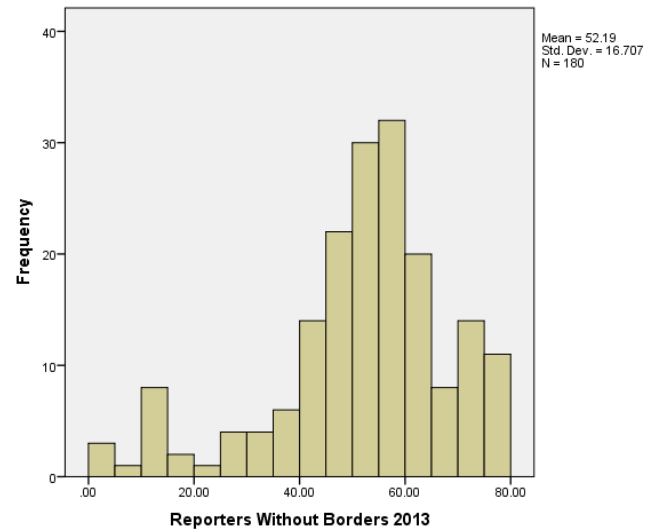
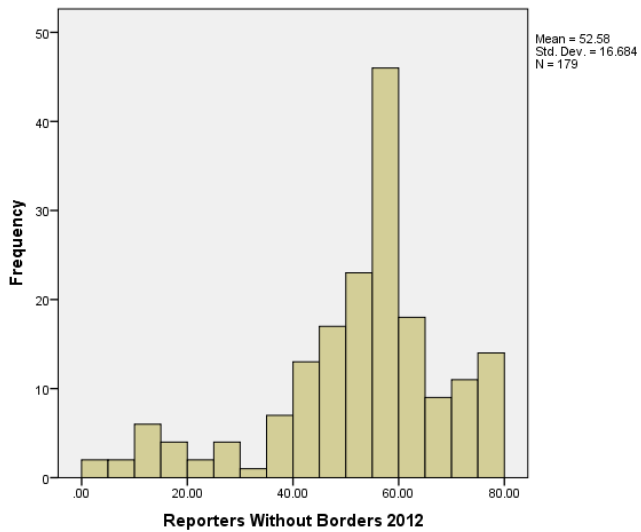
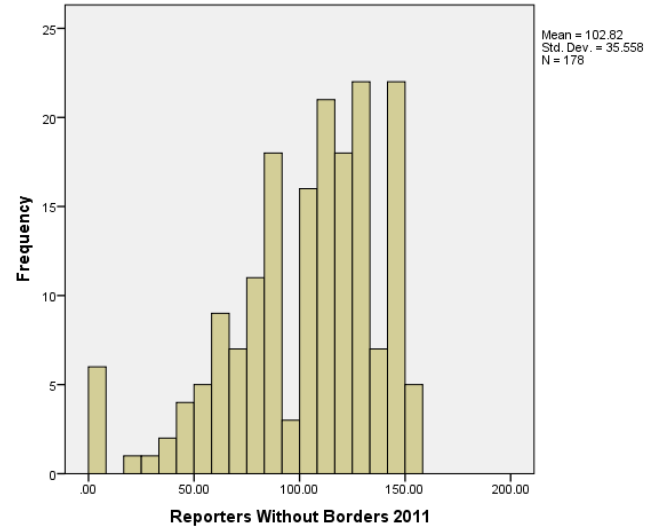
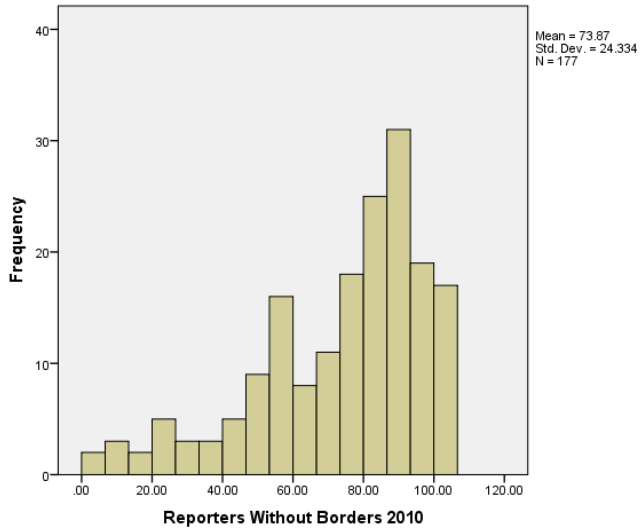


Chart 2. Freedom House Press Freedom Measures 2010-2013

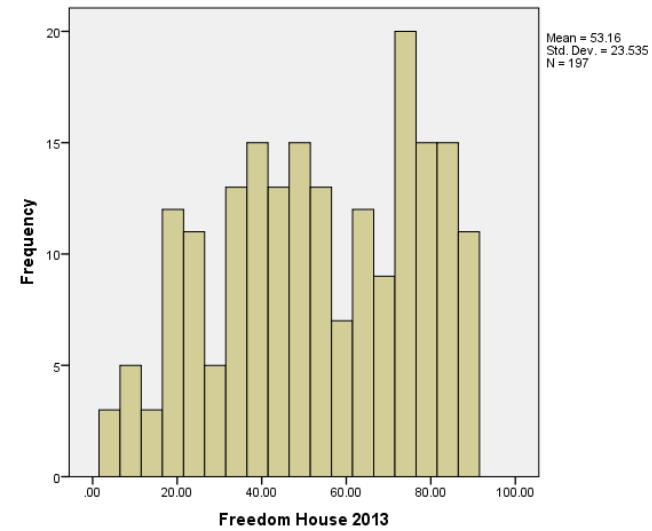
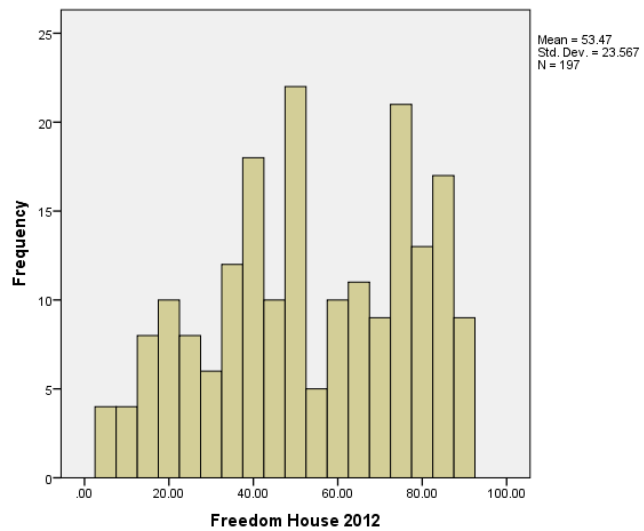
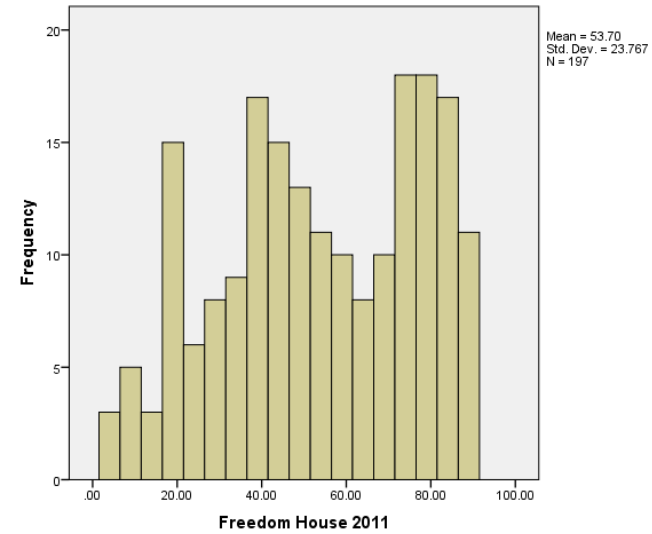
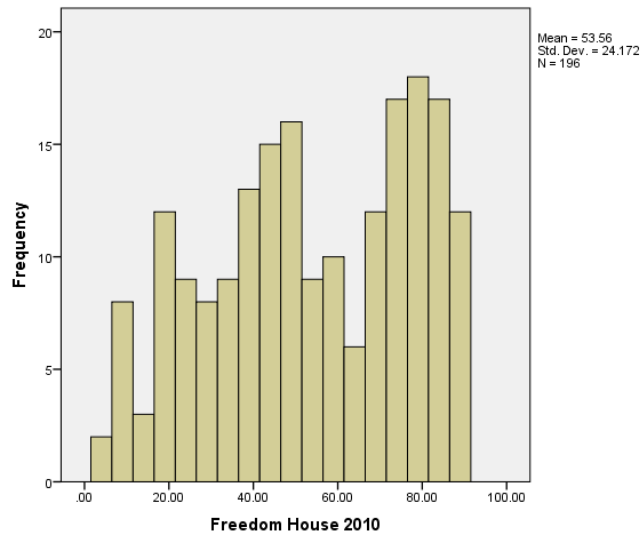


Chart 3. World Poll Media Freedom Measures 2010-2013

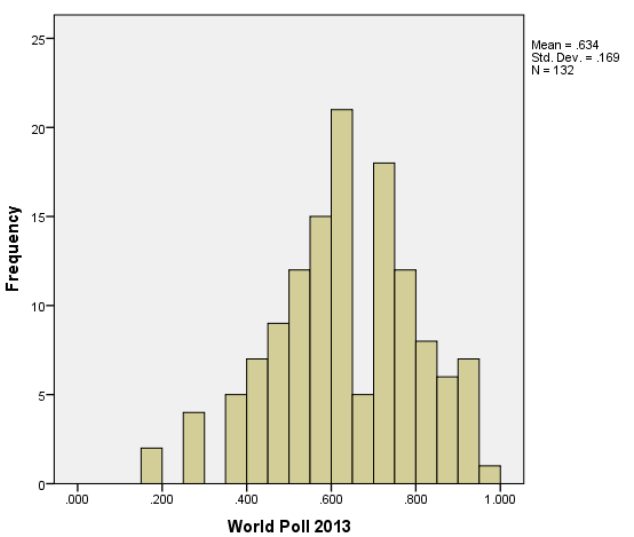
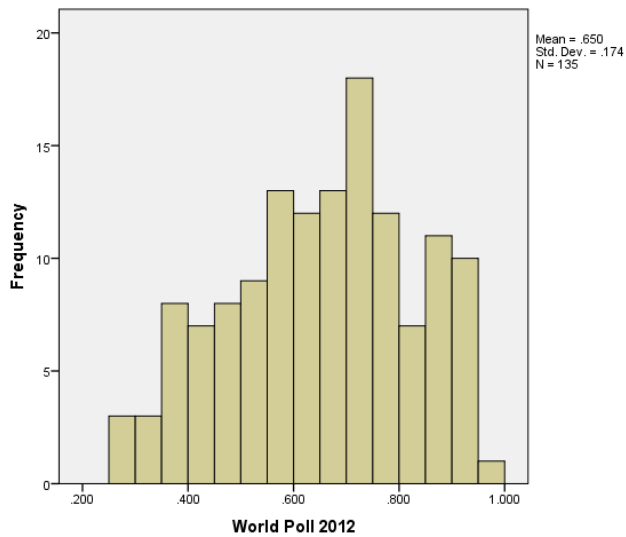
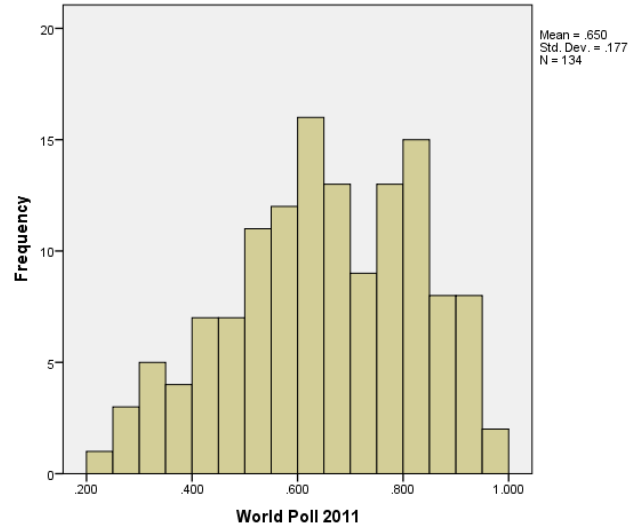
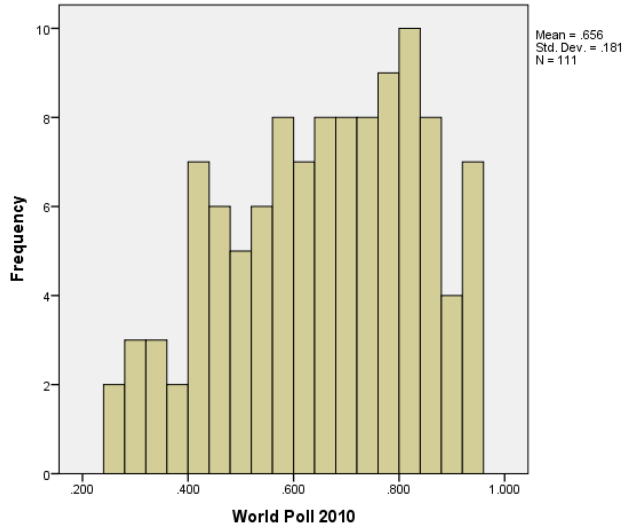


Chart 4. Elite and Public Assessments of Media Freedom 2010

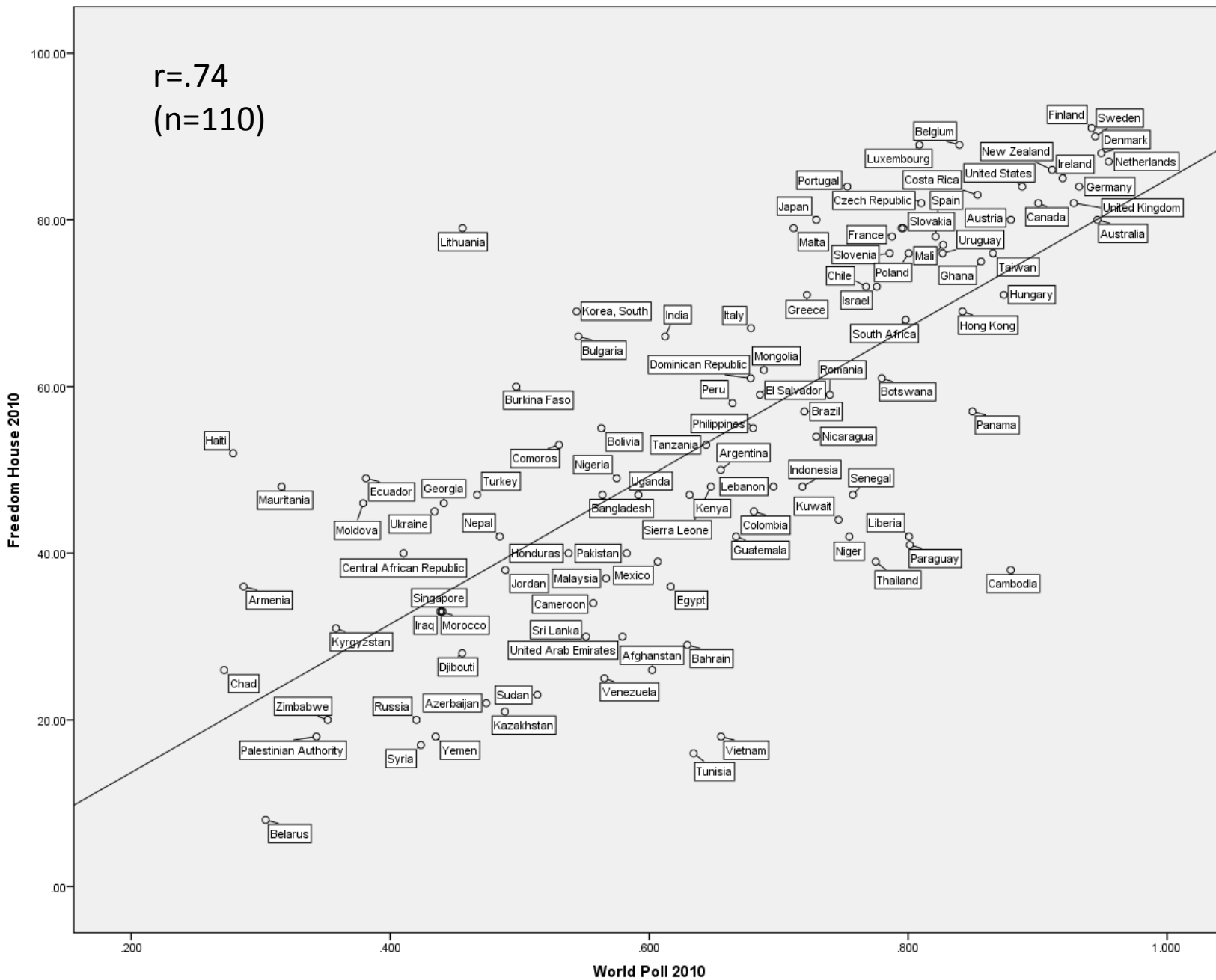


Chart 5. Elite and Public Assessments of Media Freedom 2011

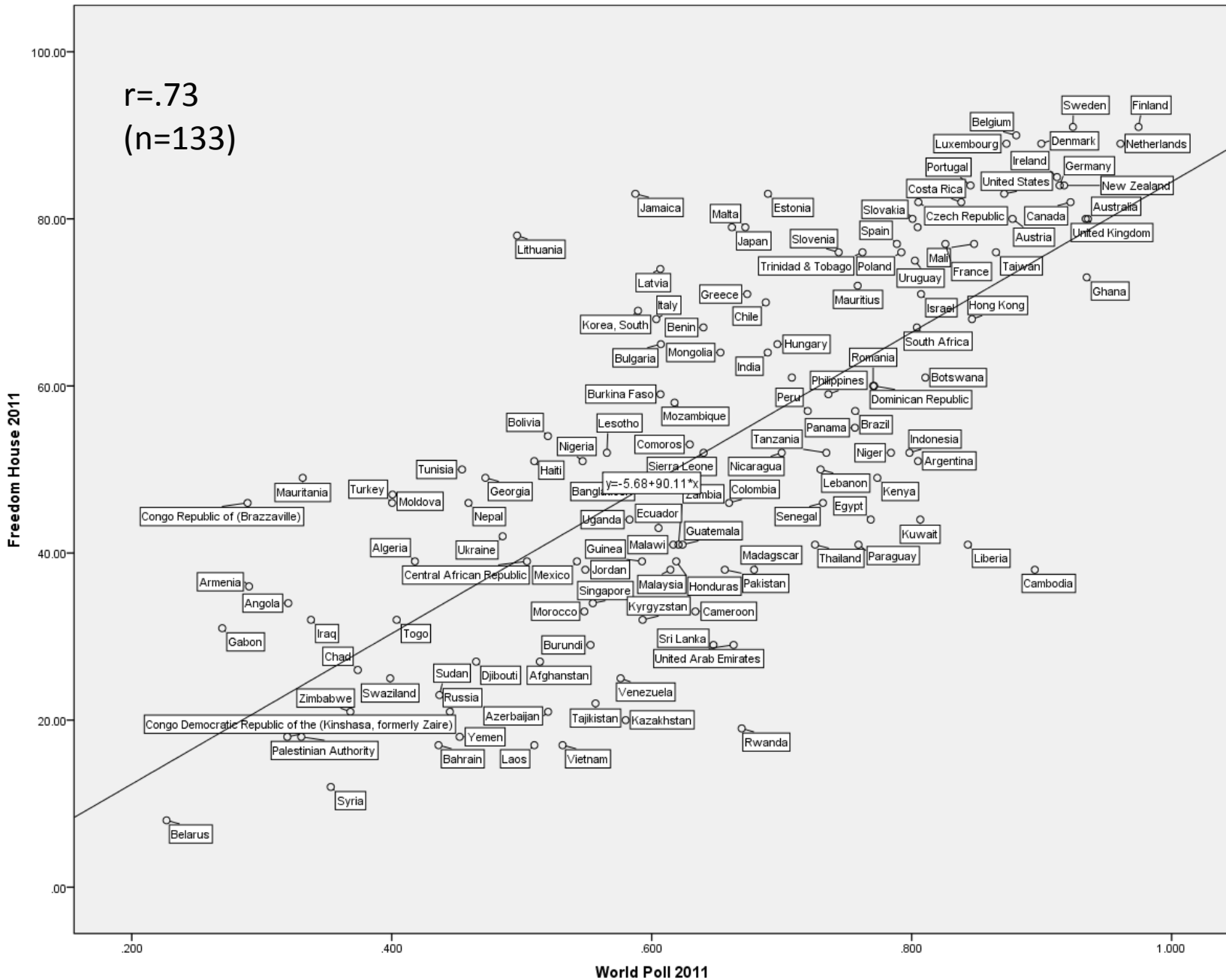


Chart 6. Elite and Public Assessments of Media Freedom 2012

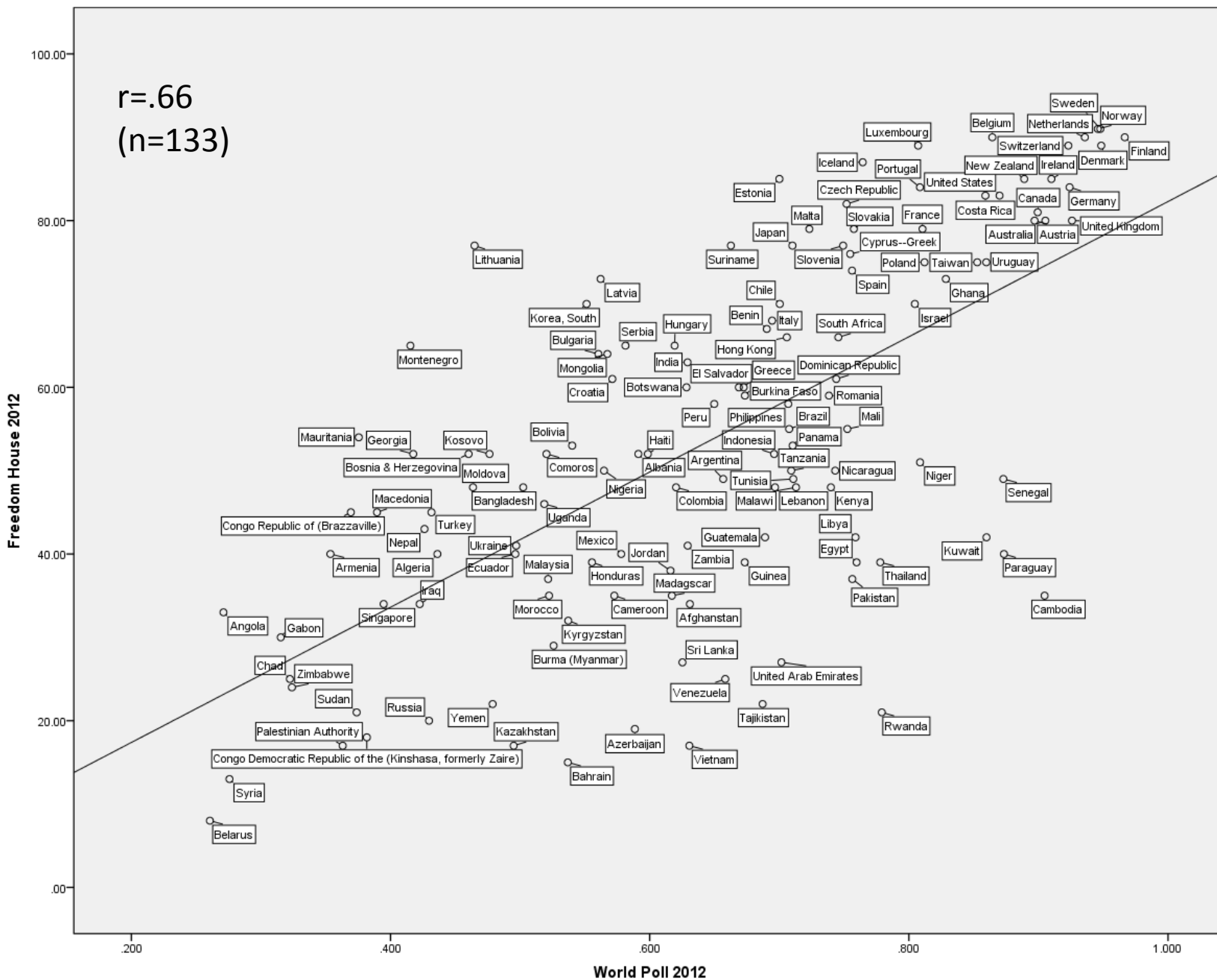


Chart 7. Elite and Public Assessments of Media Freedom 2013

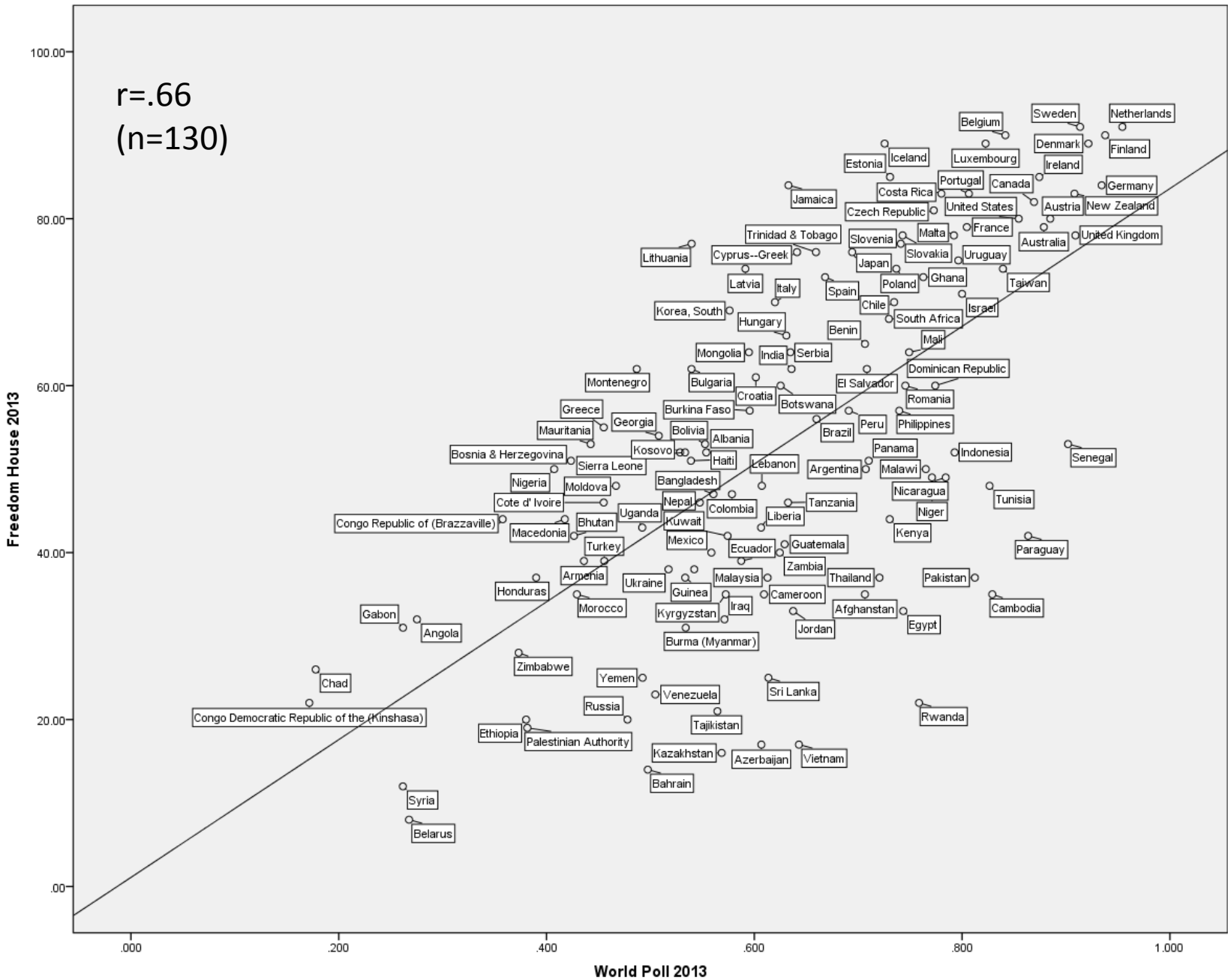


Table 1. Correlation Matrix Reporters Without Borders, Freedom House and World Poll Measures of Media Freedom

		RWB 2010	RWB 2011	RWB 2012	RWB 2013	Freedom House 2010	Freedom House 2011	Freedom House 2012	Freedom House 2013	World Poll 2010	World Poll 2011	World Poll 2012	World Poll 2013
Reporters Without Borders 2010	Pearson Correlation	1	.924	.912	.898	.862	.844	.834	.830	.593	.582	.515	.461
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
	N	177	177	176	175	174	174	174	174	110	133	134	131
Reporters Without Borders 2011	Pearson Correlation	.924	1	.946	.936	.858	.865	.855	.855	.570	.603	.549	.496
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
	N	177	178	177	176	174	175	175	175	110	133	134	131
Reporters Without Borders 2012	Pearson Correlation	.912	.946	1	.994	.844	.858	.865	.864	.587	.591	.583	.506
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000		.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
	N	176	177	179	178	176	177	177	177	110	133	134	131
Reporters Without Borders 2013	Pearson Correlation	.898	.936	.994	1	.849	.863	.873	.874	.590	.589	.577	.517
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000		.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
	N	175	176	178	180	178	179	179	179	110	133	134	131
Freedom House 2010	Pearson Correlation	.862	.858	.844	.849	1	.986	.979	.975	.741	.727	.622	.621
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000		.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
	N	174	174	176	178	196	196	196	196	110	133	133	130
Freedom House 2011	Pearson Correlation	.844	.865	.858	.863	.986	1	.994	.989	.749	.733	.664	.659
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000		.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
	N	174	175	177	179	196	197	197	197	110	133	133	130
Freedom House 2012	Pearson Correlation	.834	.855	.865	.873	.979	.994	1	.996	.733	.717	.659	.664
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000		.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
	N	174	175	177	179	196	197	197	197	110	133	133	130
Freedom House 2013	Pearson Correlation	.830	.855	.864	.874	.975	.989	.996	1	.736	.712	.656	.662
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000		.000	.000	.000	.000
	N	174	175	177	179	196	197	197	197	110	133	133	130
World Poll 2010	Pearson Correlation	.593	.570	.587	.590	.741	.749	.733	.736	1	.913	.905	.838
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000		.000	.000	.000
	N	110	110	110	110	110	110	110	110	111	111	107	103
World Poll 2011	Pearson Correlation	.582	.603	.591	.589	.727	.733	.717	.712	.913	1	.924	.857
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000		.000	.000
	N	133	133	133	133	133	133	133	133	111	134	121	118
World Poll 2012	Pearson Correlation	.515	.549	.583	.577	.622	.664	.659	.656	.905	.924	1	.920
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000		.000
	N	134	134	134	134	133	133	133	133	107	121	135	124
World Poll 2013	Pearson Correlation	.461	.496	.506	.517	.621	.659	.664	.662	.838	.857	.920	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	
	N	131	131	131	131	130	130	130	130	103	118	124	132

Table 2. Casewise Diagnostics: World Poll Press Freedom as Independent Variable and Freedom House Press Freedom As Dependent Variable

(Standardized residual greater than or equal to 1.5; others not shown.)

Country	2010				2011				2012				2013			
	Std. Residual	Actual Value	Predicted Value	Residual	Std. Residual	Actual Value	Predicted Value	Residual	Std. Residual	Actual Value	Predicted Value	Residual	Std. Residual	Actual Value	Predicted Value	Residual
Afghanistan	-1.595	26.00	49.4838	-23.48379									-1.530	35.00	59.3911	-24.39110
Azerbaijan									-1.843	19.00	48.9122	-29.91221	-2.143	17.00	51.1660	-34.16595
Bahrain	-1.556	29.00	51.9068	-22.90683					-1.831	15.00	44.7157	-29.71568	-1.765	14.00	42.1427	-28.14266
Cambodia	-2.453	38.00	74.1231	-36.12308	-2.486	38.00	74.9527	-36.95266	-2.438	35.00	74.5628	-39.56283	-2.164	35.00	69.5085	-34.50850
Congo (Brazzaville)					1.724	46.00	20.3719	25.62806								
Egypt													-1.846	33.00	62.4331	-29.43314
Estonia					1.786	83.00	56.4486	26.55139	1.666	85.00	57.9600	27.04001				
Haiti	2.125	52.00	20.7090	31.29103												
Iceland													1.759	89.00	60.9539	28.04614
Jamaica					2.405	83.00	47.2588	35.74122					1.924	84.00	53.3162	30.68378
Japan					1.685	79.00	53.9486	25.05140								
Kazakhstan					-1.789	20.00	46.5846	-26.58463					-2.007	16.00	48.0115	-32.01153
South Korea	1.678	69.00	44.2987	24.70131												
Kuwait					-1.548	44.00	67.0080	-23.00796	-1.783	42.00	70.9301	-28.93006				
Laos					-1.565	17.00	40.2537	-23.25367								
Latvia					1.683	74.00	48.9909	25.00907	1.617	73.00	46.7680	26.23203	1.512	74.00	49.8954	24.10462
Liberia	-1.707	42.00	67.1373	-25.13733	-1.972	41.00	70.3087	-29.30871								
Lithuania	2.889	79.00	36.4642	42.53575	2.620	78.00	39.0568	38.94319	2.350	77.00	38.8759	38.12405	1.968	77.00	45.6243	31.37565
Malta					1.623	79.00	54.8830	24.11701								
Mauritania	1.628	48.00	24.0348	23.96520	1.669	49.00	24.1959	24.80413								
Pakistan									-1.573	37.00	62.5278	-25.52777	-1.952	37.00	68.1221	-31.12206
Paraguay	-1.779	41.00	67.1882	-26.18821					-1.973	40.00	72.0197	-32.01971	-1.903	42.00	72.3508	-30.35083
Rwanda					-2.397	19.00	54.6310	-35.63102	-2.673	21.00	64.3715	-43.37154	-2.614	22.00	63.6870	-41.68704
Sri Lanka					-1.593	29.00	52.6725	-23.67248	-1.534	27.00	51.8897	-24.88970	-1.676	25.00	51.7234	-26.72338
Tajikistan					-1.513	22.00	44.4944	-22.49441	-2.151	22.00	56.9095	-34.90947	-1.673	21.00	47.6744	-26.67441
Thailand	-1.755	39.00	64.8402	-25.84021					-1.558	39.00	64.2755	-25.27551				
Tunisia	-2.468	16.00	52.3370	-36.33699												
United Arab Emirates					-1.687	29.00	54.0681	-25.06810	-1.916	27.00	58.0873	-31.08734				
Venezuela									-1.823	25.00	54.5725	-29.57250				
Vietnam	-2.460	18.00	54.2162	-36.21617	-1.696	17.00	42.2112	-25.21119	-2.177	17.00	52.3253	-35.32533	-2.329	17.00	54.1474	-37.14738
Montenegro									1.857	65.00	34.8607	30.13928				

No World Poll

Appendix Table 1. Gallup World Poll Media Freedom Data 2010-2013

GALLUP

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Country	Year	Yes	No	DK/RF	N Size
Afghanistan	2010	60%	33%	7%	1,000
Argentina	2010	66%	25%	10%	1,000
Armenia	2010	29%	47%	24%	1,000
Australia	2010	95%	4%	1%	1,000
Austria	2010	88%	9%	4%	1,000
Azerbaijan	2010	47%	38%	15%	1,000
Bahrain	2010	63%	25%	12%	1,001
Bangladesh	2010	56%	23%	20%	1,000
Belarus	2010	30%	45%	25%	1,013
Belgium	2010	84%	12%	4%	1,003
Bolivia	2010	56%	35%	8%	1,000
Botswana	2010	78%	19%	3%	1,000
Brazil	2010	72%	21%	7%	1,043
Bulgaria	2010	55%	24%	21%	1,000
Burkina Faso	2010	50%	45%	6%	1,000
Cambodia	2010	88%	8%	4%	1,000
Cameroon	2010	56%	44%	1%	1,200
Canada	2010	90%	8%	2%	1,007
Central African Republic	2010	41%	44%	15%	1,000
Chad	2010	27%	72%	0%	1,000
Chile	2010	77%	19%	4%	1,007
Colombia	2010	68%	25%	7%	1,000
Comoros	2010	53%	45%	2%	1,000
Costa Rica	2010	85%	10%	5%	1,006
Cyprus	2010	80%	16%	4%	1,005
Czech Republic	2010	81%	8%	11%	1,005
Denmark	2010	95%	4%	1%	1,000
Djibouti	2010	46%	50%	5%	1,000
Dominican Republic	2010	68%	27%	5%	1,000
Ecuador	2010	38%	58%	4%	1,000
Egypt	2010	62%	21%	17%	1,011
El Salvador	2010	69%	28%	3%	1,001
Finland	2010	94%	3%	2%	1,000
France	2010	79%	17%	4%	1,004
Georgia	2010	44%	35%	21%	1,000

Question: Do the media in this country have a lot of freedom, or not?

Country	Year	Yes	No	DK/RF	N Size
Germany	2010	93%	5%	2%	1,007
Ghana	2010	86%	11%	3%	1,000
Greece	2010	72%	22%	6%	1,000
Guatemala	2010	67%	28%	6%	1,014
Haiti	2010	28%	48%	24%	504
Honduras	2010	54%	33%	14%	1,000
Hong Kong	2010	84%	13%	3%	756
Hungary	2010	87%	7%	6%	1,008
India	2010	61%	13%	25%	6,000
Indonesia	2010	72%	13%	15%	1,080
Iraq	2010	44%	43%	13%	1,000
Ireland	2010	92%	7%	1%	1,001
Israel	2010	78%	19%	4%	1,000
Italy	2010	68%	22%	10%	1,000
Japan	2010	73%	21%	6%	1,000
Jordan	2010	49%	29%	22%	1,000
Kazakhstan	2010	49%	27%	24%	1,000
Kenya	2010	63%	35%	2%	1,000
Kuwait	2010	75%	22%	3%	1,004
Kyrgyzstan	2010	36%	49%	15%	1,000
Lebanon	2010	70%	28%	2%	1,019
Liberia	2010	80%	18%	2%	1,000
Lithuania	2010	46%	36%	18%	1,001
Luxembourg	2010	81%	14%	5%	1,002
Malaysia	2010	57%	28%	16%	1,000
Mali	2010	83%	14%	3%	1,000
Malta	2010	71%	20%	9%	1,008
Mauritania	2010	32%	64%	4%	1,000
Mexico	2010	61%	33%	6%	1,000
Moldova	2010	38%	45%	17%	1,000
Mongolia	2010	69%	17%	14%	1,000
Morocco	2010	44%	42%	14%	1,006
Nepal	2010	48%	25%	26%	1,000
Netherlands	2010	95%	4%	1%	1,001
New Zealand	2010	91%	5%	4%	750
Nicaragua	2010	73%	21%	6%	1,000
Niger	2010	75%	21%	4%	1,000
Nigeria	2010	57%	43%		1,000
Pakistan	2010	58%	21%	21%	1,030
Palestinian Territories	2010	34%	55%	10%	1,000
Panama	2010	85%	10%	5%	1,000
Paraguay	2010	80%	15%	5%	1,000
Peru	2010	66%	27%	7%	1,000

Do the media in this country have a lot of freedom, or not?

Question:

Country	Year	Yes	No	DK/RF	N Size
Philippines	2010	68%	27%	5%	1,000
Poland	2010	80%	8%	12%	1,000
Portugal	2010	75%	13%	12%	1,002
Romania	2010	74%	13%	13%	1,000
Russia	2010	42%	37%	21%	4,000
Senegal	2010	76%	23%	1%	1,000
Sierra Leone	2010	65%	26%	9%	1,000
Singapore	2010	44%	46%	10%	1,001
Slovakia	2010	79%	10%	11%	1,007
Slovenia	2010	79%	18%	3%	1,002
Somaliland region	2010	80%	19%	1%	1,000
South Africa	2010	80%	17%	3%	1,000
South Korea	2010	54%	40%	6%	1,000
Spain	2010	82%	15%	3%	1,000
Sri Lanka	2010	55%	34%	11%	1,030
Sudan	2010	51%	39%	9%	896
Sweden	2010	94%	4%	2%	1,002
Syria	2010	42%	31%	27%	1,006
Taiwan	2010	87%	9%	5%	1,000
Tanzania	2010	64%	35%	1%	1,000
Thailand	2010	77%	13%	10%	1,000
Tunisia	2010	63%	31%	6%	1,026
Turkey	2010	47%	38%	15%	1,000
Uganda	2010	59%	40%	1%	1,000
Ukraine	2010	43%	39%	18%	1,000
United Arab Emirates	2010	58%	20%	22%	1,029
United Kingdom	2010	93%	5%	2%	1,000
United States of America	2010	89%	11%	1%	1,005
Uruguay	2010	83%	10%	8%	1,000
Venezuela	2010	57%	33%	11%	1,000
Vietnam	2010	66%	8%	27%	1,000
Yemen	2010	44%	36%	21%	1,000
Zimbabwe	2010	35%	62%	3%	1,000
Afghanistan	2011	51%	31%	18%	1,000
Algeria	2011	42%	57%	1%	2,001
Angola	2011	32%	58%	10%	1,000
Argentina	2011	80%	15%	4%	1,000
Armenia	2011	29%	52%	19%	1,000
Australia	2011	94%	5%	1%	1,010
Austria	2011	88%	8%	4%	1,004
Azerbaijan	2011	52%	33%	15%	1,000
Bahrain	2011	44%	30%	27%	2,010
Bangladesh	2011	58%	18%	24%	1,000

Do the media in this country have a lot of freedom, or not?

Question:

Country	Year	Yes	No	DK/RF	N Size
Belarus	2011	23%	52%	25%	1,007
Belgium	2011	88%	7%	5%	1,002
Benin	2011	64%	19%	17%	1,000
Bolivia	2011	52%	42%	6%	1,000
Botswana	2011	81%	14%	5%	1,000
Brazil	2011	76%	19%	5%	1,042
Bulgaria	2011	61%	24%	15%	1,006
Burkina Faso	2011	61%	36%	3%	1,000
Burundi	2011	55%	44%	1%	1,000
Cambodia	2011	89%	8%	3%	1,000
Cameroon	2011	63%	36%	1%	1,000
Canada	2011	92%	7%	1%	652
Central African Republic	2011	50%	35%	15%	1,000
Chad	2011	37%	58%	5%	1,000
Chile	2011	69%	27%	4%	1,009
Colombia	2011	66%	31%	3%	1,000
Comoros	2011	63%	33%	4%	2,000
Congo (Kinshasa)	2011	32%	46%	23%	1,000
Congo Brazzaville	2011	29%	64%	7%	1,000
Costa Rica	2011	84%	13%	4%	1,000
Cyprus	2011	80%	15%	5%	1,005
Czech Republic	2011	81%	10%	10%	1,000
Denmark	2011	90%	9%	1%	1,005
Djibouti	2011	46%	44%	9%	1,000
Dominican Republic	2011	77%	19%	4%	1,000
Ecuador	2011	61%	37%	3%	1,003
Egypt	2011	77%	17%	6%	5,296
El Salvador	2011	71%	25%	4%	1,000
Estonia	2011	69%	23%	8%	1,007
Finland	2011	97%	2%	1%	1,000
France	2011	83%	14%	3%	1,001
Gabon	2011	27%	71%	2%	1,000
Georgia	2011	47%	31%	22%	1,000
Germany	2011	92%	6%	3%	3,273
Ghana	2011	93%	6%	1%	1,000
Greece	2011	67%	28%	5%	1,000
Guatemala	2011	62%	29%	9%	1,000
Guinea	2011	59%	24%	17%	1,000
Haiti	2011	51%	35%	14%	504
Honduras	2011	62%	32%	6%	1,002
Hong Kong	2011	85%	14%	2%	1,028
Hungary	2011	70%	23%	7%	1,014
India	2011	69%	6%	25%	3,518

Do the media in this country have a lot of freedom, or not?

Question:

Country	Year	Yes	No	DK/RF	N Size
Indonesia	2011	80%	9%	11%	1,000
Iraq	2011	34%	53%	13%	2,000
Ireland	2011	91%	7%	2%	1,000
Israel	2011	81%	15%	4%	1,000
Italy	2011	60%	34%	6%	1,005
Jamaica	2011	59%	26%	15%	506
Japan	2011	66%	26%	8%	1,000
Jordan	2011	55%	28%	17%	2,000
Kazakhstan	2011	58%	21%	21%	1,000
Kenya	2011	77%	22%	1%	1,000
Kuwait	2011	81%	16%	4%	2,000
Kyrgyzstan	2011	59%	33%	8%	1,000
Lao People's Democratic Republic	2011	51%	37%	12%	1,000
Latvia	2011	61%	29%	11%	1,006
Lebanon	2011	73%	25%	2%	2,007
Lesotho	2011	57%	42%	2%	1,000
Liberia	2011	84%	14%	2%	1,000
Lithuania	2011	50%	36%	15%	1,000
Luxembourg	2011	87%	9%	4%	1,000
Madagascar	2011	68%	30%	2%	1,000
Malawi	2011	62%	38%	0%	1,000
Malaysia	2011	61%	22%	17%	1,000
Mali	2011	85%	13%	2%	1,000
Malta	2011	67%	22%	10%	1,004
Mauritania	2011	33%	57%	10%	2,000
Mauritius	2011	76%	22%	2%	1,000
Mexico	2011	54%	40%	6%	1,000
Moldova	2011	40%	40%	20%	1,000
Mongolia	2011	65%	19%	16%	1,000
Morocco	2011	55%	31%	15%	2,001
Mozambique	2011	62%	36%	2%	1,000
Nepal	2011	46%	29%	25%	1,000
Netherlands	2011	96%	3%	1%	1,000
New Zealand	2011	92%	6%	3%	1,000
Nicaragua	2011	70%	24%	6%	1,003
Niger	2011	78%	18%	3%	1,000
Nigeria	2011	55%	35%	11%	1,000
Pakistan	2011	66%	18%	17%	1,000
Palestinian Territories	2011	33%	57%	10%	2,000
Panama	2011	76%	21%	4%	1,000
Paraguay	2011	76%	20%	4%	1,000
Peru	2011	72%	22%	6%	1,000
Philippines	2011	74%	23%	4%	1,000

Do the media in this country have a lot of freedom, or not?

Question:

Country	Year	Yes	No	DK/RF	N Size
Poland	2011	79%	9%	12%	1,029
Portugal	2011	85%	9%	6%	1,000
Romania	2011	77%	15%	8%	1,008
Russia	2011	44%	36%	19%	2,000
Rwanda	2011	67%	11%	22%	1,000
Senegal	2011	73%	27%	0%	1,000
Sierra Leone	2011	64%	31%	5%	1,000
Singapore	2011	55%	39%	6%	1,000
Slovakia	2011	80%	11%	9%	1,012
Slovenia	2011	74%	21%	4%	1,001
Somaliland region	2011	88%	11%	1%	2,000
South Africa	2011	80%	16%	4%	1,000
South Korea	2011	59%	36%	5%	1,001
Spain	2011	79%	19%	3%	1,006
Sri Lanka	2011	65%	22%	13%	1,000
Sudan	2011	44%	43%	14%	2,000
Swaziland	2011	40%	57%	3%	1,000
Sweden	2011	92%	5%	3%	1,006
Syria	2011	35%	41%	23%	1,011
Taiwan	2011	86%	9%	5%	1,001
Tajikistan	2011	56%	26%	18%	1,000
Tanzania	2011	73%	24%	3%	1,000
Thailand	2011	73%	20%	7%	1,000
Togo	2011	40%	43%	17%	1,000
Trinidad and Tobago	2011	76%	19%	5%	504
Tunisia	2011	45%	47%	8%	2,034
Turkey	2011	40%	51%	9%	1,001
Uganda	2011	58%	41%	1%	1,000
Ukraine	2011	49%	36%	15%	1,000
United Arab Emirates	2011	66%	17%	16%	2,036
United Kingdom	2011	94%	5%	2%	3,346
United States of America	2011	87%	12%	1%	595
Uruguay	2011	80%	12%	8%	1,000
Venezuela	2011	58%	37%	5%	1,000
Vietnam	2011	53%	12%	35%	1,000
Yemen	2011	45%	29%	25%	2,000
Zambia	2011	62%	36%	2%	1,000
Zimbabwe	2011	37%	63%	1%	1,000
Afghanistan	2012	63%	18%	19%	2,000
Albania	2012	59%	31%	10%	1,029
Algeria	2012	44%	54%	2%	2,027
Angola	2012	27%	57%	16%	1,000
Argentina	2012	66%	29%	5%	1,000

Do the media in this country have a lot of freedom, or not?

Question:

Country	Year	Yes	No	DK/RF	N Size
Armenia	2012	35%	49%	15%	1,000
Australia	2012	91%	6%	3%	1,002
Austria	2012	90%	8%	2%	1,001
Azerbaijan	2012	59%	31%	10%	1,000
Bahrain	2012	54%	30%	16%	1,000
Bangladesh	2012	50%	25%	25%	2,000
Belarus	2012	26%	47%	27%	1,052
Belgium	2012	86%	8%	6%	1,001
Benin	2012	69%	22%	9%	1,000
Bolivia	2012	54%	39%	7%	1,000
Bosnia and Herzegovina	2012	46%	48%	6%	1,005
Botswana	2012	63%	27%	10%	1,000
Brazil	2012	71%	25%	4%	2,005
Bulgaria	2012	56%	29%	15%	1,000
Burkina Faso	2012	67%	30%	2%	1,000
Cambodia	2012	90%	8%	2%	1,000
Cameroon	2012	57%	38%	4%	1,000
Canada	2012	90%	8%	2%	1,002
Chad	2012	32%	65%	2%	1,000
Chile	2012	70%	25%	5%	1,003
Colombia	2012	62%	33%	5%	1,000
Comoros	2012	52%	47%	1%	1,000
Congo (Kinshasa)	2012	38%	48%	14%	1,000
Congo Brazzaville	2012	37%	59%	4%	1,000
Costa Rica	2012	86%	11%	3%	1,000
Croatia	2012	57%	26%	17%	1,000
Cyprus	2012	75%	20%	5%	500
Czech Republic	2012	75%	15%	10%	1,005
Denmark	2012	95%	4%	2%	1,001
Dominican Republic	2012	74%	21%	4%	1,000
Ecuador	2012	50%	45%	6%	1,003
Egypt	2012	76%	19%	5%	4,186
El Salvador	2012	67%	30%	3%	1,000
Estonia	2012	70%	19%	11%	1,004
Finland	2012	97%	2%	1%	1,000
France	2012	81%	16%	3%	2,005
Gabon	2012	32%	62%	6%	1,000
Georgia	2012	42%	34%	25%	1,000
Germany	2012	92%	6%	2%	1,004
Ghana	2012	83%	9%	8%	1,000
Greece	2012	67%	28%	5%	1,000
Guatemala	2012	69%	24%	8%	1,000
Guinea	2012	67%	23%	10%	1,000

Do the media in this country have a lot of freedom, or not?

Question:

Country	Year	Yes	No	DK/RF	N Size
Haiti	2012	60%	29%	11%	504
Honduras	2012	56%	41%	4%	1,000
Hong Kong	2012	71%	26%	3%	1,006
Hungary	2012	62%	26%	12%	1,004
Iceland	2012	76%	14%	9%	1,002
India	2012	63%	17%	20%	12,620
Indonesia	2012	70%	8%	22%	2,000
Iraq	2012	42%	50%	8%	2,000
Ireland	2012	91%	7%	2%	1,000
Israel	2012	80%	16%	4%	1,000
Italy	2012	69%	27%	4%	2,007
Japan	2012	71%	23%	6%	1,000
Jordan	2012	62%	25%	14%	2,000
Kazakhstan	2012	50%	29%	22%	1,000
Kenya	2012	74%	19%	7%	1,000
Kosovo	2012	48%	44%	9%	1,024
Kuwait	2012	86%	10%	4%	1,000
Kyrgyzstan	2012	54%	35%	12%	1,000
Latvia	2012	56%	30%	14%	1,001
Lebanon	2012	70%	27%	3%	2,013
Libya	2012	76%	19%	5%	1,002
Lithuania	2012	46%	42%	12%	1,000
Luxembourg	2012	81%	14%	6%	1,001
Macedonia	2012	39%	45%	16%	1,025
Madagascar	2012	62%	29%	9%	1,000
Malawi	2012	71%	26%	2%	1,000
Malaysia	2012	52%	31%	17%	1,000
Mali	2012	75%	18%	7%	1,000
Malta	2012	72%	19%	9%	1,004
Mauritania	2012	38%	57%	5%	1,000
Mexico	2012	58%	35%	7%	2,000
Moldova	2012	46%	38%	16%	1,000
Mongolia	2012	57%	27%	17%	1,000
Montenegro	2012	42%	46%	13%	1,000
Morocco	2012	52%	23%	25%	2,000
Myanmar	2012	53%	17%	30%	1,020
Nepal	2012	43%	35%	23%	2,000
Netherlands	2012	94%	5%	1%	1,000
New Zealand	2012	89%	8%	4%	1,008
Nicaragua	2012	74%	21%	5%	1,000
Niger	2012	81%	12%	8%	1,000
Nigeria	2012	56%	31%	12%	2,000
Northern Cyprus	2012	62%	31%	7%	500

Do the media in this country have a lot of freedom, or not?

Question:

Country	Year	Yes	No	DK/RF	N Size
Norway	2012	95%	4%	1%	1,004
Pakistan	2012	76%	11%	13%	2,008
Palestinian Territories	2012	36%	54%	9%	2,000
Panama	2012	71%	23%	6%	1,001
Paraguay	2012	87%	11%	2%	1,000
Peru	2012	65%	26%	9%	1,000
Philippines	2012	71%	25%	4%	2,000
Poland	2012	81%	9%	10%	1,000
Portugal	2012	81%	13%	6%	1,001
Romania	2012	74%	11%	15%	1,000
Russia	2012	43%	37%	20%	3,000
Rwanda	2012	78%	18%	4%	1,000
Senegal	2012	87%	12%	0%	1,000
Serbia	2012	58%	35%	7%	1,023
Singapore	2012	39%	40%	21%	1,000
Slovakia	2012	76%	12%	13%	1,007
Slovenia	2012	75%	21%	4%	1,000
Somaliland region	2012	77%	22%	1%	1,000
South Africa	2012	75%	22%	3%	2,000
South Korea	2012	55%	41%	4%	1,000
Spain	2012	76%	20%	4%	2,003
Sri Lanka	2012	63%	20%	17%	2,031
Sudan	2012	37%	57%	5%	1,000
Suriname	2012	66%	22%	11%	504
Sweden	2012	95%	4%	2%	1,000
Switzerland	2012	92%	6%	2%	1,000
Syria	2012	28%	52%	21%	2,043
Taiwan	2012	85%	12%	3%	1,000
Tajikistan	2012	69%	21%	10%	1,000
Tanzania	2012	71%	28%	1%	1,000
Thailand	2012	78%	17%	5%	2,000
Tunisia	2012	71%	22%	7%	2,053
Turkey	2012	43%	47%	10%	2,000
Uganda	2012	52%	44%	4%	1,000
Ukraine	2012	50%	33%	18%	1,000
United Arab Emirates	2012	70%	17%	13%	2,016
United Kingdom	2012	93%	6%	1%	1,005
United States of America	2012	87%	12%	1%	1,019
Uruguay	2012	86%	10%	4%	1,009
Venezuela	2012	66%	32%	2%	1,000
Vietnam	2012	63%	8%	29%	2,000
Yemen	2012	48%	27%	25%	2,000
Zambia	2012	63%	26%	12%	1,000

Do the media in this country have a lot of freedom, or not?

Question:

Country	Year	Yes	No	DK/RF	N Size
Zimbabwe	2012	32%	54%	13%	1,000
Afghanistan	2013	71%	23%	6%	1,000
Albania	2013	55%	33%	11%	1,035
Angola	2013	28%	48%	25%	1,000
Argentina	2013	71%	25%	4%	1,000
Armenia	2013	44%	43%	14%	1,000
Australia	2013	88%	11%	1%	1,002
Austria	2013	88%	9%	3%	1,000
Azerbaijan	2013	61%	27%	13%	1,000
Bahrain	2013	50%	35%	15%	1,002
Bangladesh	2013	56%	25%	19%	1,000
Belarus	2013	27%	44%	29%	1,032
Belgium	2013	84%	11%	5%	1,006
Benin	2013	71%	23%	6%	1,000
Bhutan	2013	43%	22%	35%	1,000
Bolivia	2013	55%	38%	7%	1,000
Bosnia and Herzegovina	2013	42%	46%	11%	1,010
Botswana	2013	63%	33%	4%	1,000
Brazil	2013	66%	28%	6%	1,003
Bulgaria	2013	54%	30%	16%	1,000
Burkina Faso	2013	60%	34%	6%	1,008
Cambodia	2013	83%	13%	4%	1,000
Cameroon	2013	61%	32%	7%	1,000
Canada	2013	87%	12%	1%	580
Chad	2013	18%	73%	10%	1,000
Chile	2013	73%	23%	4%	1,001
Colombia	2013	58%	37%	6%	1,000
Congo (Kinshasa)	2013	17%	69%	14%	1,000
Congo Brazzaville	2013	36%	56%	8%	1,000
Costa Rica	2013	78%	18%	4%	1,000
Cote d'Ivoire	2013	46%	48%	7%	1,008
Croatia	2013	60%	25%	15%	1,000
Cyprus	2013	64%	32%	4%	500
Czech Republic	2013	77%	13%	10%	1,001
Denmark	2013	92%	6%	2%	753
Dominican Republic	2013	77%	19%	3%	1,000
Ecuador	2013	59%	38%	4%	1,000
Egypt	2013	74%	22%	4%	1,149
El Salvador	2013	71%	25%	4%	1,000
Estonia	2013	73%	18%	9%	1,010
Ethiopia	2013	38%	25%	37%	1,000
Finland	2013	94%	5%	1%	750
France	2013	80%	16%	4%	751

Do the media in this country have a lot of freedom, or not?

Question:

Country	Year	Yes	No	DK/RF	N Size
Gabon	2013	26%	73%	0%	1,008
Georgia	2013	51%	31%	18%	1,000
Germany	2013	93%	5%	2%	751
Ghana	2013	76%	11%	13%	1,008
Greece	2013	46%	50%	5%	1,003
Guatemala	2013	63%	32%	5%	1,000
Guinea	2013	53%	40%	7%	1,008
Haiti	2013	54%	33%	13%	504
Honduras	2013	39%	53%	8%	1,000
Hungary	2013	63%	25%	12%	1,019
Iceland	2013	73%	17%	10%	502
India	2013	64%	17%	19%	3,000
Indonesia	2013	79%	8%	13%	1,000
Iraq	2013	57%	40%	3%	1,003
Ireland	2013	87%	10%	3%	1,000
Israel	2013	80%	16%	4%	1,000
Italy	2013	62%	35%	3%	1,004
Jamaica	2013	63%	29%	7%	504
Japan	2013	69%	20%	10%	1,001
Jordan	2013	64%	26%	10%	1,000
Kazakhstan	2013	57%	30%	13%	1,000
Kenya	2013	73%	22%	5%	1,000
Kosovo	2013	53%	36%	11%	1,000
Kuwait	2013	57%	31%	12%	1,008
Kyrgyzstan	2013	57%	21%	22%	1,000
Latvia	2013	59%	30%	10%	1,000
Lebanon	2013	61%	38%	2%	1,000
Liberia	2013	61%	13%	26%	1,000
Lithuania	2013	54%	35%	11%	1,000
Luxembourg	2013	82%	10%	7%	500
Macedonia	2013	42%	44%	14%	1,020
Madagascar	2013	54%	35%	11%	1,008
Malawi	2013	77%	22%	2%	1,000
Malaysia	2013	61%	37%	2%	1,000
Mali	2013	75%	23%	3%	1,000
Malta	2013	79%	15%	6%	500
Mauritania	2013	44%	49%	7%	1,008
Mexico	2013	56%	36%	8%	1,000
Moldova	2013	47%	37%	16%	1,000
Mongolia	2013	59%	22%	18%	1,000
Montenegro	2013	49%	42%	10%	1,000
Morocco	2013	43%	22%	36%	1,007
Myanmar	2013	53%	27%	20%	1,020

Do the media in this country have a lot of freedom, or not?

Question:

Country	Year	Yes	No	DK/RF	N Size
Nagorno-Karabakh Region	2013	63%	29%	8%	1,000
Nepal	2013	55%	27%	19%	1,050
Netherlands	2013	95%	4%	1%	751
New Zealand	2013	91%	5%	4%	500
Nicaragua	2013	78%	20%	2%	1,000
Niger	2013	77%	16%	7%	1,008
Nigeria	2013	41%	38%	21%	1,002
Northern Cyprus	2013	61%	37%	2%	502
Pakistan	2013	81%	13%	5%	1,000
Palestinian Territories	2013	38%	53%	9%	1,000
Panama	2013	71%	26%	3%	1,000
Paraguay	2013	86%	8%	6%	1,000
Peru	2013	69%	26%	5%	1,000
Philippines	2013	74%	23%	3%	1,000
Poland	2013	74%	16%	11%	1,000
Portugal	2013	81%	15%	5%	1,001
Romania	2013	75%	13%	12%	1,000
Russia	2013	48%	37%	15%	2,000
Rwanda	2013	76%	22%	2%	1,000
Senegal	2013	90%	9%	1%	1,000
Serbia	2013	63%	28%	8%	1,030
Sierra Leone	2013	53%	24%	22%	1,008
Slovakia	2013	74%	14%	12%	1,004
Slovenia	2013	74%	23%	3%	1,001
South Africa	2013	73%	26%	1%	1,000
South Korea	2013	58%	36%	6%	1,000
Spain	2013	67%	31%	2%	1,004
Sri Lanka	2013	61%	21%	17%	1,030
Sweden	2013	91%	6%	3%	750
Syria	2013	26%	56%	18%	1,022
Taiwan	2013	84%	11%	5%	1,000
Tajikistan	2013	56%	29%	15%	1,000
Tanzania	2013	63%	33%	4%	1,008
Thailand	2013	72%	15%	13%	1,000
Trinidad and Tobago	2013	66%	23%	11%	504
Tunisia	2013	83%	14%	4%	1,053
Turkey	2013	46%	44%	11%	1,000
Uganda	2013	49%	36%	15%	1,000
Ukraine	2013	52%	32%	16%	1,000
United Kingdom	2013	91%	8%	1%	750
United States of America	2013	85%	14%	1%	499
Uruguay	2013	80%	12%	8%	1,000
Venezuela	2013	50%	46%	3%	1,000

Question:

Do the media in this country have a lot of freedom, or not?

Country	Year	Yes	No	DK/RF	N Size
Vietnam	2013	64%	8%	28%	1,017
Yemen	2013	49%	25%	26%	1,000
Zambia	2013	62%	32%	5%	1,000
Zimbabwe	2013	37%	47%	15%	1,000