

Stability and Change in Public Perceptions of The Media

Lee B. Becker

James M. Cox Jr. Center for International Mass Communication Training and Research
Grady College of Journalism and Mass Communication
University of Georgia
Athens, GA 30602

Cynthia English
Gallup
1001 Gallup Drive
Omaha, NE 68102

Tudor Vlad

James M. Cox Jr. Center for International Mass Communication Training and Research
Grady College of Journalism and Mass Communication
University of Georgia
Athens, GA 30602

Abstract: The data analyzed in this paper from the Gallup World Poll are the first ever available to examine stability in public measures of media freedom. Highly unstable measures would suggest that the public isn't able to provide meaningful responses to the questions. Clearly that is not the case. The highly correlated responses from 2010 to 2011 offer confidence that the public is able to and does provide meaningful assessments of media freedom.

Keywords: Media Freedom, Public Opinion, Gallup World Poll

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Research conducted at the macro-level around the world as well as research conducted at the individual level in the United States has shown that how the media are evaluated by the citizenry is influenced both by characteristics of the political and social environment in which those citizens reside and by the broad political views of the citizens making the assessments.

Becker, English and Vlad (2011a), for example, found that evaluations of media freedom by the public are greatly influenced by the overall mood in the country and by an overall assessment of institutional performance. In a separate analysis, this team (2011b) also found that citizen confidence in the media at the national level is highest when those citizens are confident in other institutions, such as the national government itself.

Research by Vallone, Ross and Lepper (1985), Gunther (1992) and others has found that people rate the media as biased not because of its content, but because of the beliefs the users have about the issues at the center of the news stories the media carry. The researchers termed this a hostile media phenomenon. Becker, English and Vlad (2011b) found a strong correlation between the ideological criticism leveled at the media by citizens and the ideology of the critic in the United States. They also found that differences in how respondents viewed the role of government influenced assessments of the media. Respondents who believe that business can do things more efficiently than government, for example, were found to be more likely to see the media as too liberal.

While some of the research on individual-level correlates of assessments of the media relies on experimental designs, the macro-level work has employed only static designs, making it

difficult to determine the dynamics of the relationship between other characteristics of the society and media assessments.

This paper draws on a unique data set that allows for examination of change in two different measures. The first is measurement of confidence in the media. The second is measurement of citizen assessment of the level of media freedom in their country. Concerns about citizen assessment of confidence in the media have a long tradition in the field. Measurement of citizen assessment of media freedom, however, is in its infancy.

Confidence in the Institutions

Public support for political institutions has been a central concern in the political science literature. Listhaug and Wiberg (1995) took the position that confidence in institutions is a middle-range indicator of support for or acceptance of the legitimacy of the political system. Norris (1999) saw confidence in institutions as one of the dimensions of a broader concept of political support. Norris and Inglehart (2010) described confidence in political institutions as an indicator of regime support.

Listhaug and Wiberg (1995) differentiated between confidence in government institutions and confidence in private institutions. Examples of the former are the armed forces, the educational system, the legal system, the police, parliament and the civil service. Examples of non-governmental institutions are the church, trade unions, major companies and the press. Using survey data from the European Value Systems Study Group, which included measures of each of these institutions, they found empirical support via factor analysis for this distinction.

Citizen Measures of Characteristics of Media Systems

Becker and Vlad (2010) in secondary analyses of two different surveys first examined the relationship between press freedom as measured by the elite evaluators and press freedom as measured by survey respondents. They selected the Freedom House and Reporters Without Borders measures of press freedom for the analysis. In both cases, evaluators use a series of criteria to rate press freedom in countries around the world. The public opinion measures came from the BBC World Service Poll conducted in 2007 and from a survey conducted by WorldPublicOpinion.Org at the University of Maryland in 2008. The researchers found that the relationship between the measure of public perceptions of press freedom and the elite measures of press freedom was slight. The relationship between the WorldPublicOpinion.Org measure of press freedom from the point of view of the citizens was quite strong.

In 2010, the Gallup World Poll included in its core a variant of the WorldPublicOpinion.org measure of public perceptions of press freedom. English, Becker and Vlad (2011) used those data to look at the relationship between elite and public measures of press freedom. They found strong relationships between the measures of press freedom of Freedom House and of Reporters Without Borders and public assessments of media freedom across 111 countries for which the elite measures and public opinion measures were both available.

English (2007), Becker and Vlad (2009), and Becker, Vlad and English (2010) also examined the relationship between confidence in the media and press freedom using data from the Gallup World Poll. At the zero-order, the researchers found that there is no relationship

between the two concepts. Based on analyses of surveys conducted in approximately 100 countries in each of three years, however, the research found 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. When the society is closed, however, confidence in the media relative to confidence in other institutions is positively related to press freedom.

Perception of a Media Bias

Research on media credibility has a long tradition in the field of mass communication (American Society of News Editors, 1985; Eveland and Shah, 2003; Gunther, 1992), but interest in the topic was revitalized by the innovative work of Vallone, Ross and Lepper (1985). These researchers showed six segments of nationally televised news programs about the 1982 Beirut massacre to 144 Sanford students six weeks after the event took place. They found that both Pro-Arab and Pro-Israeli partisans rated the programs and those who produced them as biased. The researchers termed this a “hostile media phenomenon,” arguing that the students evaluated the media reports based on their own views, rather than the content itself. They also found that those respondents with greater knowledge were more likely to report the media accounts to be biased.

Gunther (1992) argued that media professionals had overstated the case when they said that the integrity of reporters is the factor that almost entirely determines media credibility. To test this, he reanalyzed survey data gathered by the American Society of News Editors during December 1984 and January 1985 that asked respondents to rate the credibility of news coverage

about many social groups and institutions. Gunther found evidence that audience involvement in an issue, situation, or group predicted more variance in respondents' credibility judgments of media than media attributes or demographic variables.

Watts, Domke, Shah and Fan (1999) used computer-assisted content analysis procedures to examine the balance in coverage of presidential candidates during the 1988, 1992 and 1996 elections. They then linked these findings to public perception of media bias and press coverage of the topic of media balance. The content analyses showed remarkable balance in candidate media coverage in the 1988 and 1996 campaigns and a slight bias favoring the Democratic candidate in 1992. The authors argued that the rising public perception that news media content had a liberal bias is largely due to criticisms driven by conservative elites and reported in news coverage.

Using national data from a panel of respondents, Eveland and Shah (2003) examined the role of interpersonal contexts in perceptions of media bias. They found that the individuals' perceptions of media bias were at least partly shaped through their interactions with like-minded others, and that the phenomenon is amplified among Republicans.

Gunther and Schmitt (2004) found that the media are singled out for hostile assessments and that those negative effects disappeared if the same content was labeled as coming from non-media sources. Participants in the field experiment were selected from one pro-genetically modified foods group and from one anti-GMF group. Each participant was assigned a packet that contained a story about biotechnology and GMF. The content was randomly labeled as a newspaper article or a student essay. The participants systematically perceived the information

attributed to the newspaper as hostile and persuasive in an unfavorable direction, while they found the so-called student essay as favorable to their own point of view.

Schmitt, Gunther and Liebhart (2004) did additional analyses of these same data to identify mechanisms that explain the hostile media effect. Out of the three processes of data selection and interpretation tested in the analysis (selective recall, selective categorization and different standards), only selective categorization appeared to be an explanation for the hostile media effect.

Gunther and Liebhart (2006) further refined the analysis of this phenomenon by testing the influence of the source (journalist vs. student) and reach (media organization vs. classroom composition). They found that a message associated with a large audience, such as a newspaper article, is more likely to generate a contrast bias, while a message in a low-reach context seemed to lead to an assimilation bias.

To assess how the level of involvement or partisanship, in addition to perceived reach of the message and characteristics of the source, impacted the perception of media bias, Gunther, Miller and Liebhart (2009) selected a group of members of Native American tribes and one of people highly sympathetic to Native American interests. Their common characteristic was that they opposed the genetic modification of wild rice. The participants were exposed to neutral information compiled from various news stories on the GM rice topic. The information was attributed randomly to sources that would be seen as allied to Native American interests generally or not. The findings supported the argument that audience members process media

information in a qualitatively different way than other messages and that members of partisan groups are more sensitive to the mass communication environment.

Becker, English and Vlad (2011b) used data from the Gallup U.S. Governance Survey to look at relationships between media assessments and individual beliefs. They found that Americans who criticize the media for having a particular bias, whether too liberal or too conservative, lack confidence and trust in the media to a greater degree than those who do not see the media as partisan. They found ideological underpinnings of criticism of the media that manifested themselves in questions about the role of government and business. Responses to these questions were correlated with the measure of the ideological criticism of the media.

Expectations

The research reviewed here indicates that public assessments of the media reflect both structural characteristics of the society and the characteristics of the individuals making the assessment. Given that structural changes at the societal level are relatively uncommon and usually gradual, and that individual shifts in ideology and basic political views also are likely to be incremental, the expectation is that macro-level measures of such variables as confidence in the media and perceptions of press freedom will be strongly correlated year-to-year.

At the same time, changes in the real world environment—in this case in the media system—should be reflected in the public assessments of the media to the extent those public perceptions are shaped by factors other than individual characteristics of the public.

Methodology

Data from the Gallup World Poll were used to examine stability and change in public perceptions of the media. 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, India and Russia.

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, the Middle East, and 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. The Gallup World Poll from 2005 to 2010 contained the following questions: “In (COUNTRY), do you have confidence in each of the following, or not? How about quality and integrity of the media?” Response categories were: Yes and No, with volunteered responses of Don’t know and Refused also recorded. Seven items were included in the list, but not all seven items were asked in all countries. Due to governmental restrictions, some questions about confidence in the national government or other institutions were not asked in some countries.

In 2010 a new item was added to the core: “Do the media in this country have a lot of freedom, or not?” Response categories were Yes and No, with Don’t Know and Refused coded. Again, the item cannot be asked in some of the countries in which the Gallup World Poll is fielded.

Findings

As shown in Figures 1 and 2, the distributions for the measures of media freedom in the 2010 and 2011 Gallup World Poll surveys differ. The first figure shows the full set of countries covered in 2010 and 2011. The second figure is for the 111 countries for which the media freedom measure was used in both 2010 and 2011.

Despite the differences in distributions as shown in Figure 1, the media freedom measures are highly correlated. The Pearson r for the measure across the two years is .90. The Spearman's rho is .91.

Figures 3 and 4 are the corresponding distributions for the media confidence measures for 2009 and 2010, the last two years for which these measures were included in the Gallup World Poll. The distributions also differ somewhat between the two years. The media confidence measures also are highly correlated across the two years, though at a slightly lower level. The Pearson r is .83. The Spearman's rho is .82.

One standard against which to evaluate these public opinion measures is against the elite measures of media freedom. That comparison is shown in Table 1. Only Spearman's rho coefficients are shown here since analyses of the distributions of the elite measures has shown them to be badly skewed and to deviate from normality (Becker, Schneider & Vlad, 2012).

That table shows that the World Poll's coefficient of .91 is only slightly different from the stability coefficient of .93 for the Reporters Without Borders measures and only slightly lower than the auto-correlation measure across time for Freedom House of .99. The Freedom House measure shows almost no difference between 2010 and 2011 measures in terms of rank orders. The elite measures, which are reverse scored, have been recoded here to make a high score indicate high levels of media freedom.

Table 1 also shows the correlations between the elite measures of media freedom and the public opinion measure from the Gallup World Poll. The Freedom House measures are

correlated with the public opinion measure at .74 in both 2010 and 2011. The Reporters Without Borders measures are correlated at .69 in 2010 and .64 in 2011.

The findings for 2011, in sum, are consistent with those first reported by English, Becker and Vlad (2011). Freedom House measures are slightly better correlated than are the Reporters Without Borders measures, but both show significant correspondence between what the elite evaluators and the general public have to say about media freedom in the countries for which both measures are available.

Finally, Table 1 shows the general consistency between the measures of media freedom by Freedom House and Reporters Without Borders. In 2010, the Spearman's rho was .90. In 2011, the coefficient was .89.

Not shown in the table is the correlation between the various measures of media freedom and confidence in the media, as measured by the World Poll. In 2010, the last year for which Gallup gathered these data, the Spearman's rho for the Freedom House, Reporters Without Borders and World Poll measures of media freedom and the World Poll measure of confidence in the media was .18. It seems clear that the public opinion measures from the Gallup World Poll are not measuring the same thing and that the Gallup World Poll measure of media freedom is much more highly correlated with the elite measures than with the public opinion measure of confidence in the media.

Multiple administrations of a survey should not produce exactly the same results because of sampling error. It is possible to compare observed error against error expected by chance through the simple Difference of Proportions Test. Table 2 shows the results of that analysis for the 111

countries for which the Gallup World Poll measure of press freedom was available. Forty-one countries had increases in media freedom based on the World Poll measure, using a standard criterion of a Z score likely to occur by chance only five times out of 100. Forty-nine countries had variations expected by chance. And another 21 countries had decreased press freedom based on the World Poll measure from 2010 to 2011.

The correlational analyses show that the Freedom House and Reporters Without Borders ratings evidence less variation from 2010 to 2011 than the public perception of press in the Gallup polls. This difference is reflected in the written reports from Freedom House and Reporters Without Borders as well. Many countries that are on the lists that suggest increase or decrease in media freedom in the Gallup polls show no or minimal change in the Freedom House and Reporters Without Borders reports. There is more variation in the Reporters Without Borders ratings than in the Freedom House ratings. The comparison of the Reporters Without Borders and the Gallup polls shows there is less consistency between the countries where increase in press freedom is documented by the Gallup poll and the trends found by the Reporters Without Borders index. For example, Indonesia, Liberia and Lebanon are perceived by the population as having made progress in terms of press freedom, while they have significantly dropped in the Reporters Without Borders ratings.

A comparison of the Gallup list of countries where press freedom has decreased and those same countries in the RWB index, however, shows consistency between the Gallup polls and the Reporters Without Borders, with the exceptions of Slovenia, Thailand and Tunisia. In these three countries, the RWB ratings suggest strong progress in media freedom, while the

Gallup polls show deterioration of media freedom. Gallup, Reporters Without Borders and Freedom House all show negative trends in media freedom in Hungary and Chile, which are described as declines in well-established democracies in the Freedom House reports.

In Egypt where perceptions of media freedom increased significantly in the Gallup data, the Freedom House ranking improved by four points. According to the Freedom House report, Egypt improved to Partly Free as a result of the flourishing of new, independent media outlets, less self-censorship, and some loosening of centralized editorial control over state media after President Hosni Mubarak stepped down in February 2011 after nearly 30 years in power. The FH report also mentioned that, by the end of the year, there were indications that some of these gains were being reversed. The multiple Gallup World Poll administration of the survey in Egypt (see below and Figure 9) captures these trends, with a significant increase from October 2010 to April 2011, followed by some losses in press freedom. The Reporters Without Borders index also reflects this negative trend in Egypt, with the country dropping from a 127 to a 166 ranking.

In Syria, where perceptions of media freedom declined by seven percentage points in the public opinion data, the Freedom House ranking declined by five points, and the same trend is reflected by the Reporters Without Borders ratings.

Ukraine and Pakistan are countries where Freedom House found a slight deterioration in media freedom, while the Gallup poll shows an increase, but the changes in the Freedom House ratings are relatively small (Pakistan: 61 in 2010 and 63 in 2011, Ukraine 56 in 2010 and 59 in 2011). In the RWB index, the ratings for both Ukraine and Pakistan suggest a decrease in

media freedom. Ukraine had a score of 46.83 in 2010 and 54 in 2011-2012, while Pakistan's score was 56.17 in 2010 and 75 a year later.

The only huge discrepancies between the Gallup polls and the ratings by Freedom House and Reporters Without Borders are in the cases of Tunisia and Ecuador. In the case of Tunisia, the public perception showed a decrease in media freedom, while the Freedom House and Reporters Without Borders reports show increases in media freedom. Freedom House called this an unprecedented single year leap (from 85 to 51). In the Reporters Without Borders index, Tunisia's score improved from 72.50 in 2010 to 60.25 a year later. Figure 9, however, suggests that the public perception of media freedom, as measured by the Gallup World Poll, is on a slightly positive trend. In Ecuador where perceptions of media freedom increased dramatically, the Freedom House ranking actually declined by six points. A decline in the case of Ecuador also is reflected in the Reporters Without Borders rating, from a score of 27.50 in 2010 to 38.00 in 2011-2012.

In some years, the Gallup World Poll included the measure of media freedom more than once. In the analyses presented so far, data from countries for which multiple measures in a single year were available were merged. Data were first weighted by wave and then merged to form a single data set.

Figures 5-13 show trend lines for the 17 countries or territories in which multiple measures were taken across more than one year. Many of those were in the Middle East and North Africa, and the surveys were fielded during times of great change in those countries. Bahrain (Figure 5), and Egypt and Tunisia (Figure 9) reflect more dramatically those changes,

while – as expected – consolidated democracies, such as United Kingdom and Germany (Figure 12), show a much more stable picture.

Conclusions

The data analyzed here were the first ever available to examine stability in public measures of media freedom. Highly unstable measures would suggest that the public isn't able to provide meaningful responses to the questions. Clearly that is not the case. The highly correlated responses from 2010 to 2011 offer confidence that the public is able to and does provide meaningful responses.

These analyses do show more movement in public perceptions of media freedom than in the measures of media freedom by Freedom House and by Reporters Without Borders. One important difference to note is that the public opinion measures reflect a sentiment captured at a given point in time in the year, while the elite measures take a full year's worth of information into account in assigning ratings. The movement in the public perceptions across years does not appear to be excessive. Rather, the lack of movement, particularly in the Freedom House measure, is notable.

An examination of countries that had significant change in terms of the public's perceptions of press freedom with the data from Freedom House and Reporters Without Borders shows general agreement. The exceptions are Tunisia and Ecuador. These are two interesting cases that require further examination. Left open is whether the public sees something that is being missed by the elite evaluators, or vice versa.

The data reported here replicate the finding of a strong relationship overall between how the elite evaluators and the public assess media freedom. They also confirm earlier findings that public assessments of the amount of freedom in a country are different from public assessments of how much confidence they should place in the media. The public assessments of media freedom are related to elite measures of media freedom, while the public confidence in the media is not.

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Figure 1. Distributions of Media Freedom Measures Gallup World Poll (All Countries)

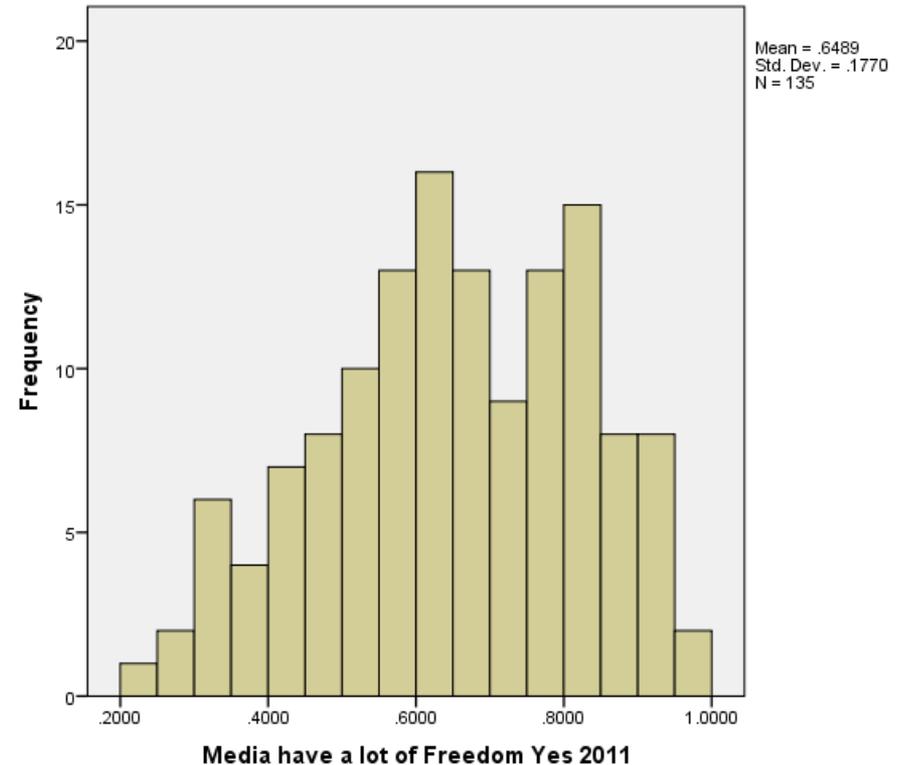
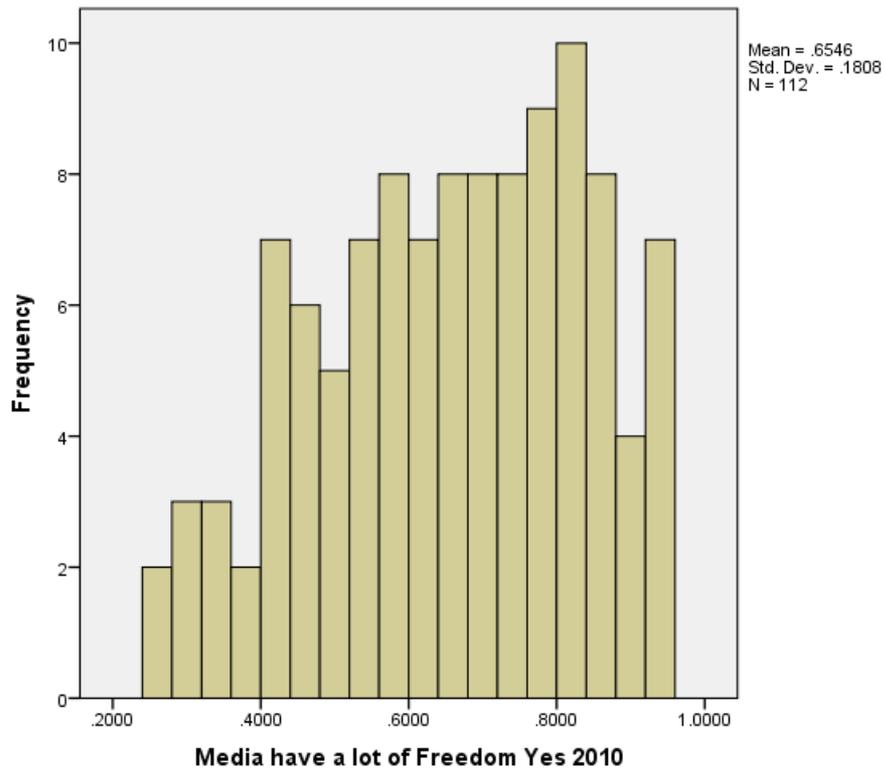


Figure 2. Distributions of Media Freedom Measures Gallup World Poll (Repeat Countries)

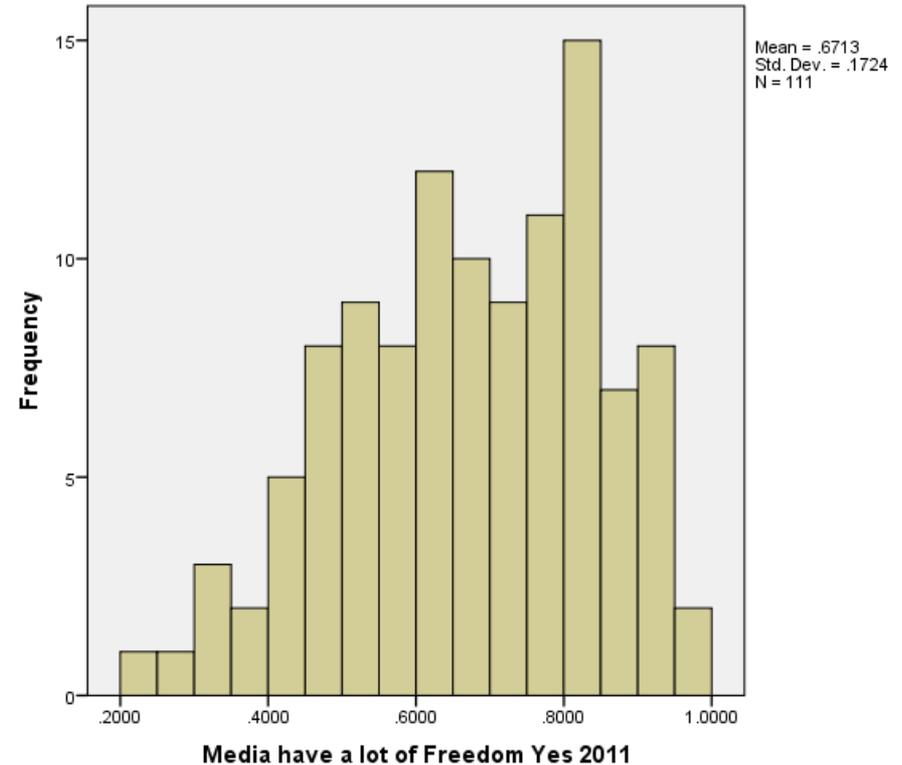
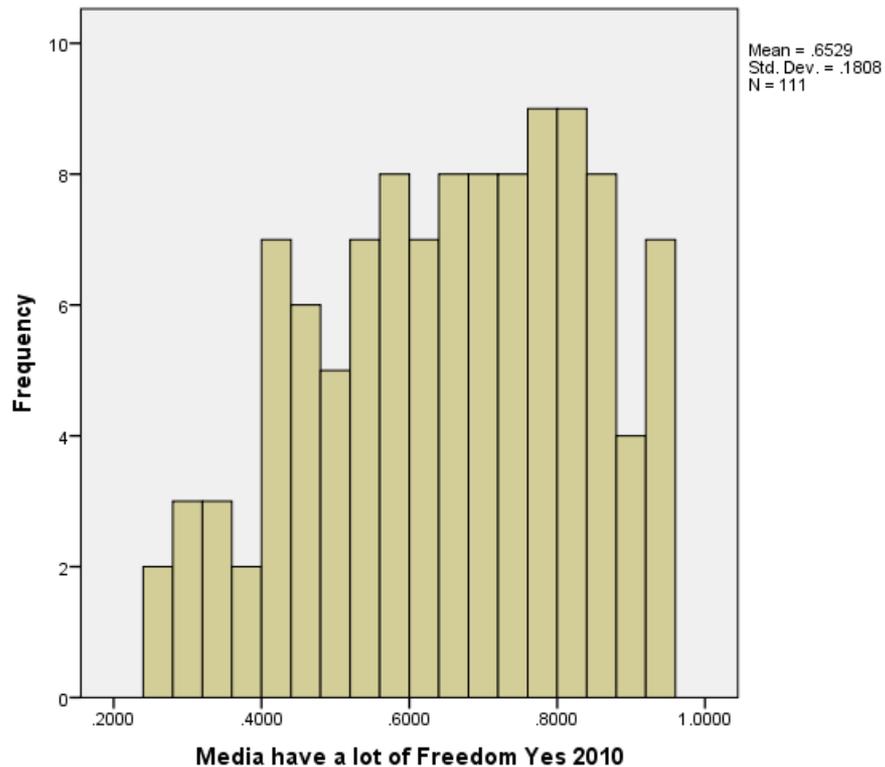


Figure 3. Distributions of Media Confidence Measures Gallup World Poll (All Countries)

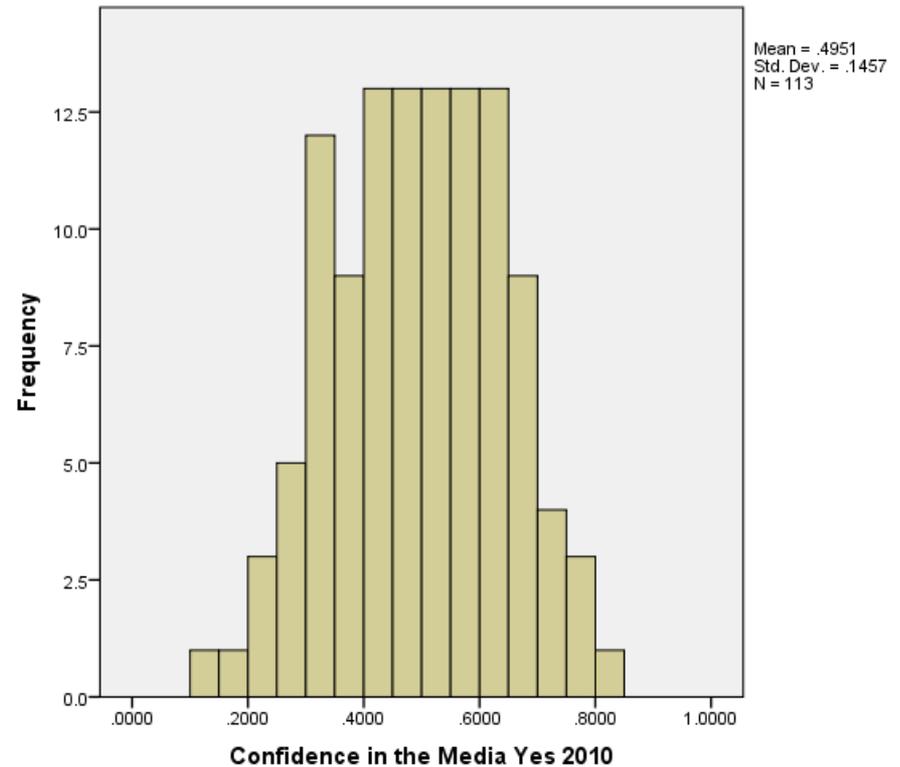
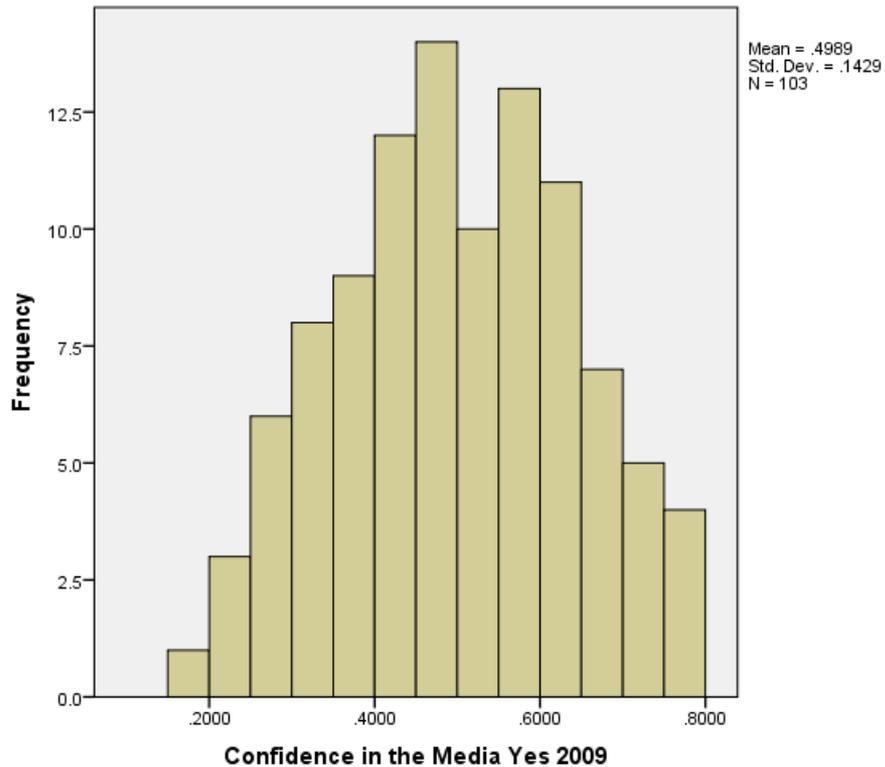


Figure 4. Distributions of Media Confidence Measures Gallup World Poll (Repeat Countries)

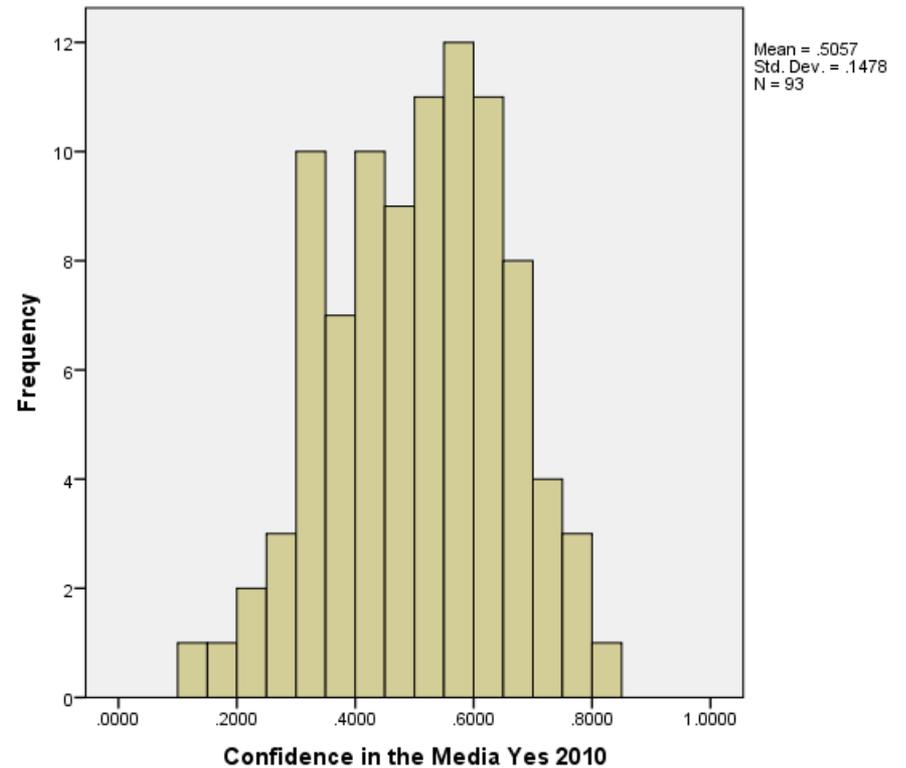
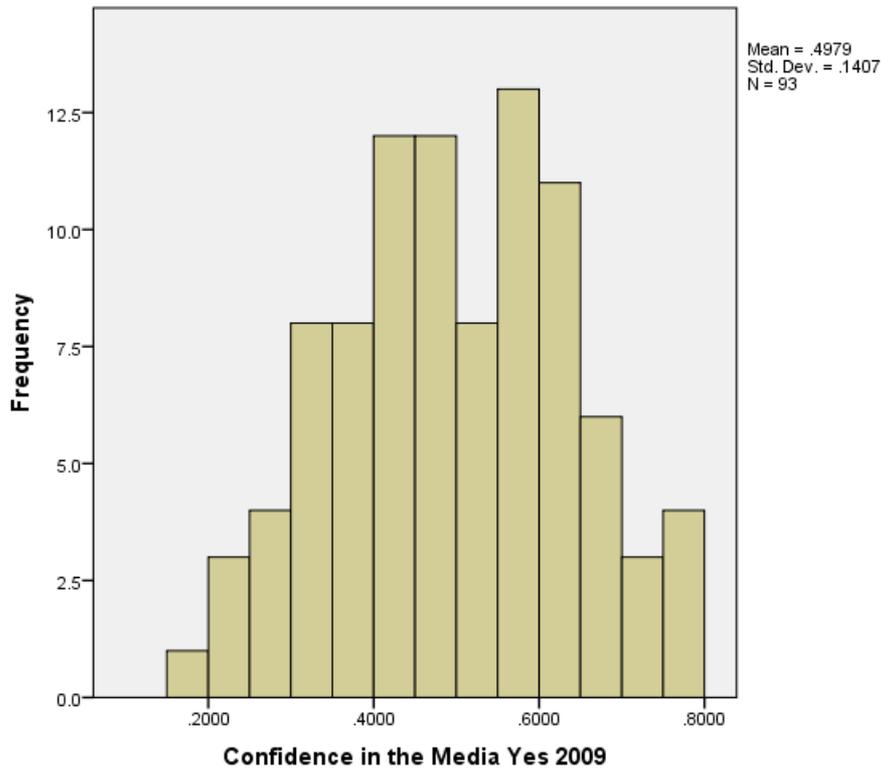


Table 1. Correlations Among Freedom House (FH), Reporters Without Borders (RSF) and World Poll (WP) Media Freedom Measures (Spearman's rho (N))

| | FH 2010 | RSF 2010 | WP 2010 | FH 2011 | RSF 2011 | WP 2011 |
|----------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------|
| FH 2010 | | | | | | |
| RSF 2010 | 0.90 (174) | | | | | |
| WP 2010 | 0.74 (111) | 0.69 (111) | | | | |
| FH 2011 | 0.99 (196) | 0.88 (174) | 0.76 (111) | | | |
| RSF 2011 | 0.88 (174) | 0.93 (177) | 0.65 (111) | 0.89 (175) | | |
| WP 2011 | 0.73 (134) | 0.66 (133) | 0.91 (111) | 0.74 (134) | 0.64 (133) | |

Freedom House and Reporters Without Borders measures, usually reverse coded, have been recoded here so a positive is high freedom.

Table 2. Z Scores for Change in Media Freedom World Poll

Increase

| Country | Z Score |
|--------------------------|---------|
| Zambia | -12.03 |
| Kyrgyzstan | -10.52 |
| Egypt | -10.13 |
| Ecuador | -10.03 |
| India | -7.55 |
| Argentina | -7.54 |
| Haiti | -7.50 |
| Kenya | -6.96 |
| Ghana | -5.73 |
| Somalia | -5.33 |
| Comoros | -5.20 |
| Portugal | -5.15 |
| Singapore | -5.11 |
| Burkina Faso | -4.92 |
| Chad | -4.88 |
| Dominican Republic | -4.65 |
| United Arab Emirates | -4.54 |
| Sri Lanka | -4.42 |
| Tanzania | -4.36 |
| China | -4.29 |
| Indonesia | -4.25 |
| Central African Republic | -4.21 |
| Kazakhstan | -4.10 |
| Luxembourg | -3.93 |
| Kuwait | -3.81 |
| Honduras | -3.67 |
| Finland | -3.66 |
| Cameroon | -3.65 |
| Pakistan | -3.41 |
| Jordan | -3.10 |
| Bulgaria | -2.79 |
| Philippines | -2.74 |
| Peru | -2.70 |
| Morocco | -2.67 |
| Liberia | -2.48 |
| Ukraine | -2.29 |
| France | -2.18 |
| Malaysia | -2.17 |
| Azerbaijan | -2.06 |
| Korea, South | -2.05 |
| Lebanon | -1.96 |

Random Change

| | |
|-----------------------|-------|
| Brazil | -1.91 |
| Lithuania | -1.82 |
| Russia | -1.81 |
| Israel | -1.73 |
| Botswana | -1.71 |
| Romania | -1.61 |
| Niger | -1.57 |
| Canada | -1.50 |
| Georgia | -1.37 |
| Mali | -1.28 |
| Cambodia | -1.09 |
| El Salvador | -1.09 |
| Moldova | -0.98 |
| Yemen | -0.90 |
| Mauritania | -0.85 |
| United Kingdom | -0.79 |
| Netherlands | -0.64 |
| Bangladesh | -0.59 |
| Venezuela | -0.48 |
| Cyprus--Greek | -0.47 |
| New Zealand | -0.45 |
| Djibouti | -0.42 |
| South Africa | -0.33 |
| Slovakia | -0.32 |
| Hong Kong | -0.28 |
| Armenia | -0.17 |
| Taiwan | 0.04 |
| Austria | 0.12 |
| Czech Republic | 0.28 |
| Sierra Leone | 0.36 |
| Uganda | 0.40 |
| Poland | 0.47 |
| Ireland | 0.61 |
| Palestinian Authority | 0.69 |
| Costa Rica | 0.96 |
| Australia | 1.00 |
| United States | 1.01 |
| Colombia | 1.02 |
| Nepal | 1.15 |
| Nigeria | 1.27 |
| Senegal | 1.31 |
| Uruguay | 1.39 |
| Nicaragua | 1.44 |
| Mongolia | 1.70 |
| Germany | 1.73 |
| Spain | 1.84 |
| Sweden | 1.85 |
| Malta | 1.92 |
| Bolivia | 1.93 |

Decrease

| | |
|-------------|-------|
| Guatemala | 2.03 |
| Slovenia | 2.21 |
| Paraguay | 2.28 |
| Greece | 2.35 |
| Thailand | 2.55 |
| Mexico | 2.90 |
| Turkey | 3.01 |
| Syria | 3.25 |
| Japan | 3.28 |
| Italy | 3.50 |
| Sudan | 3.78 |
| Belarus | 3.92 |
| Afghanistan | 3.97 |
| Chile | 4.02 |
| Denmark | 4.18 |
| Panama | 5.25 |
| Iraq | 5.44 |
| Vietnam | 5.65 |
| Tunisia | 9.42 |
| Hungary | 9.70 |
| Bahrain | 10.00 |

A negative score means public perceptions of media freedom increased from 2010 to 2011

Figure 5. Media Freedom Measures Gallup World Poll: Bahrain and Kuwait

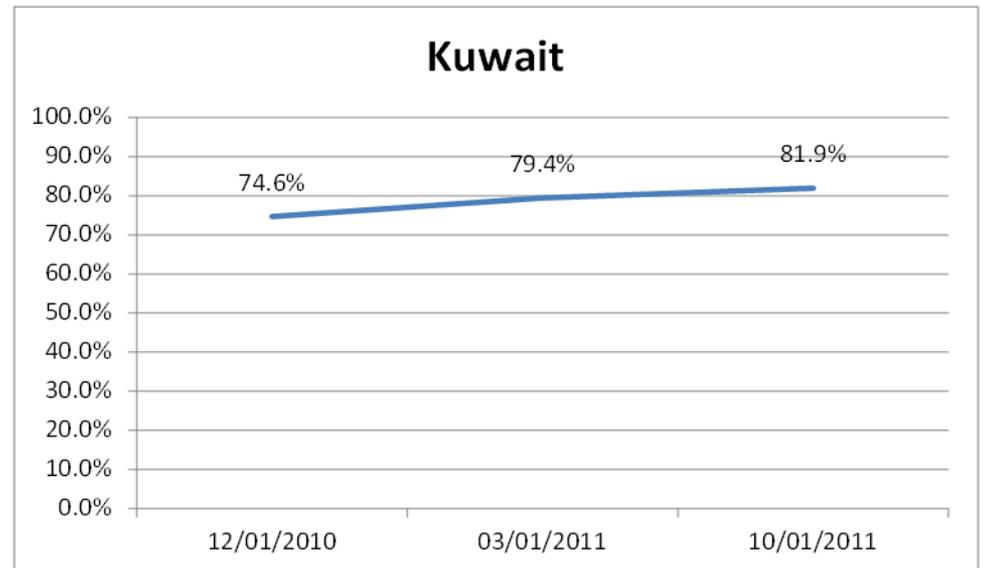
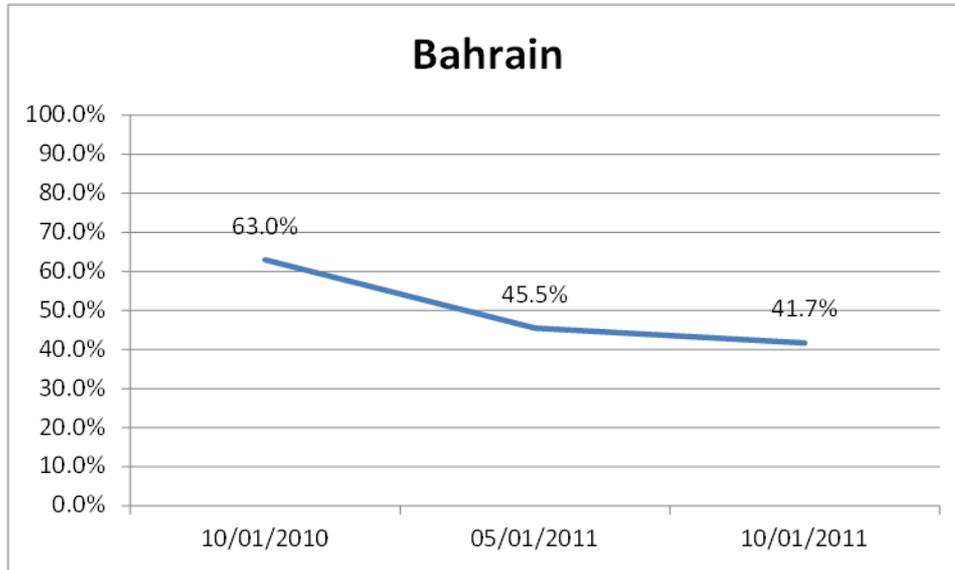


Figure 6. Media Freedom Measures Gallup World Poll: United Arab Emirates and Yemen

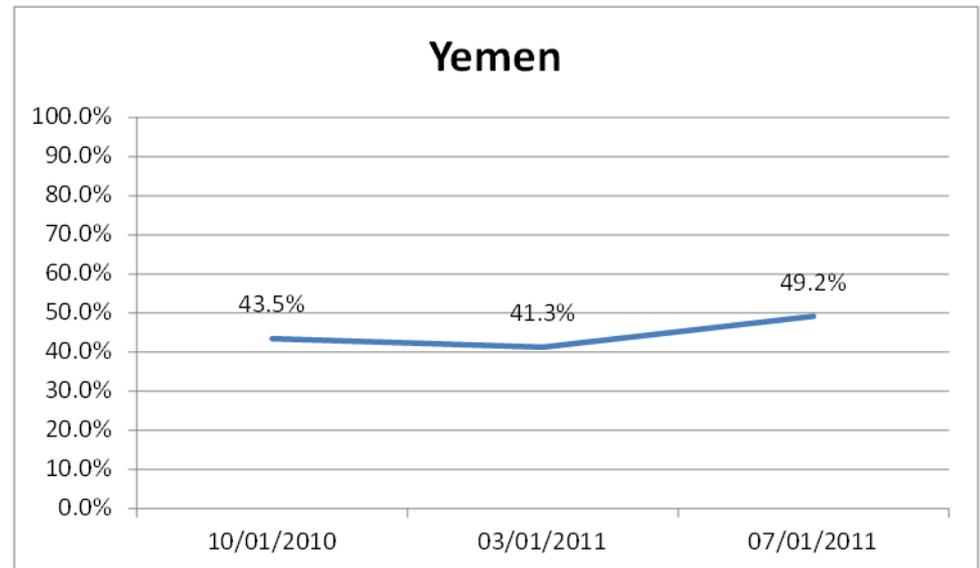
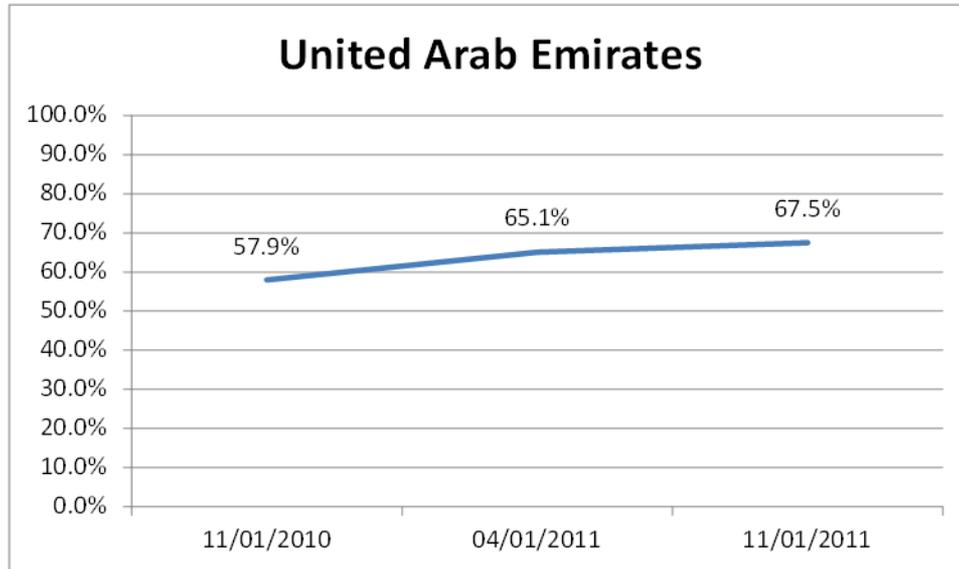


Figure 7. Media Freedom Measures Gallup World Poll: Iraq and Jordan

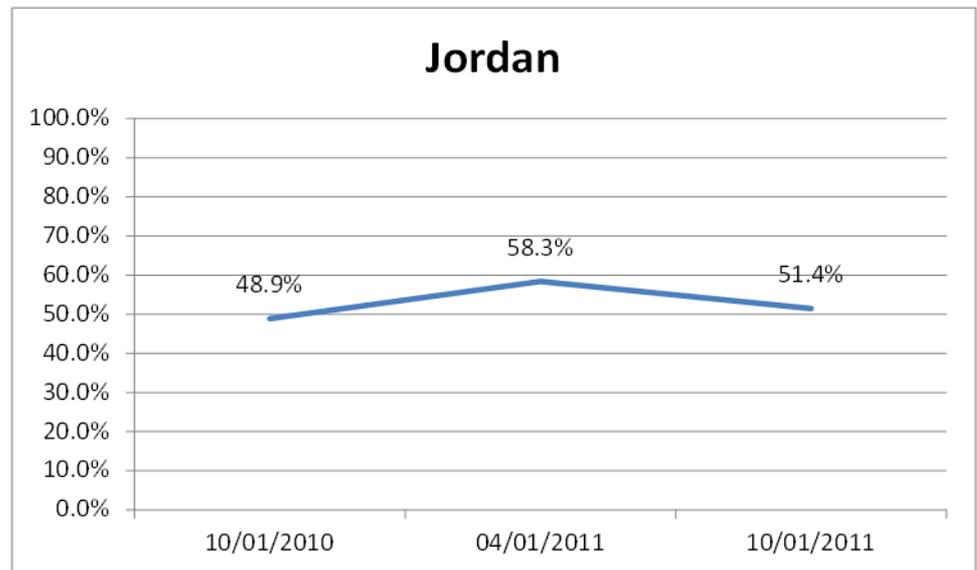
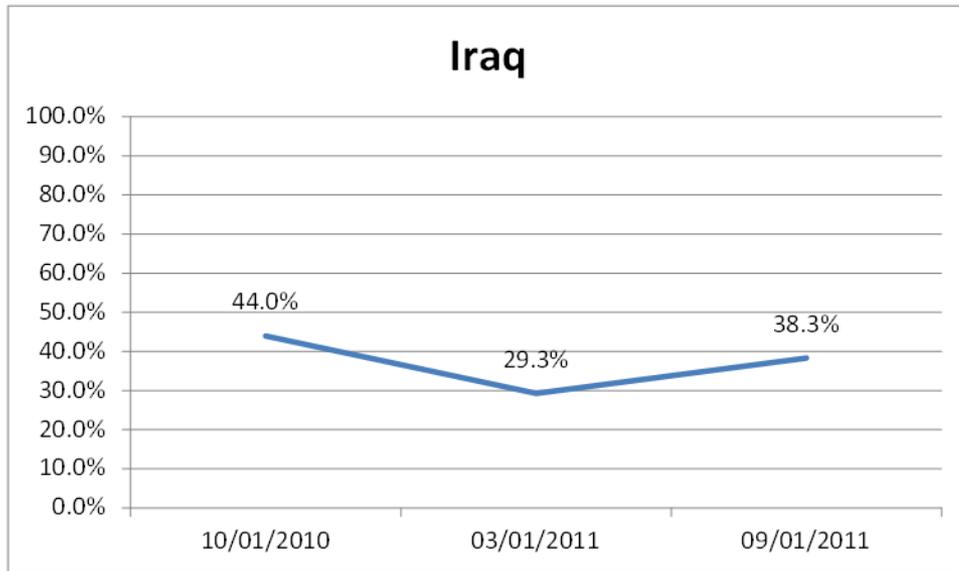


Figure 8. Media Freedom Measures Gallup World Poll: Palestine and Lebanon

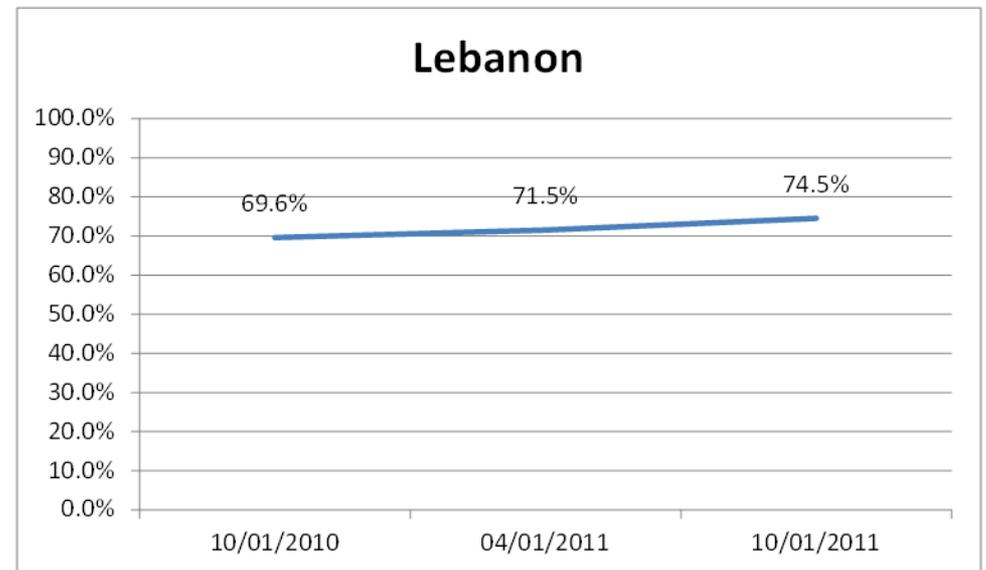
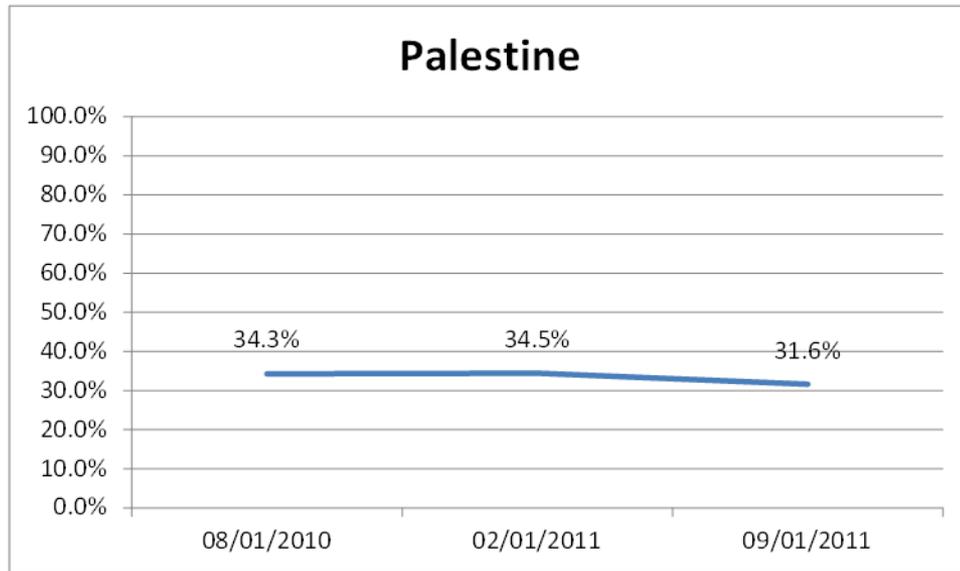


Figure 9. Media Freedom Measures Gallup World Poll: Egypt and Tunisia

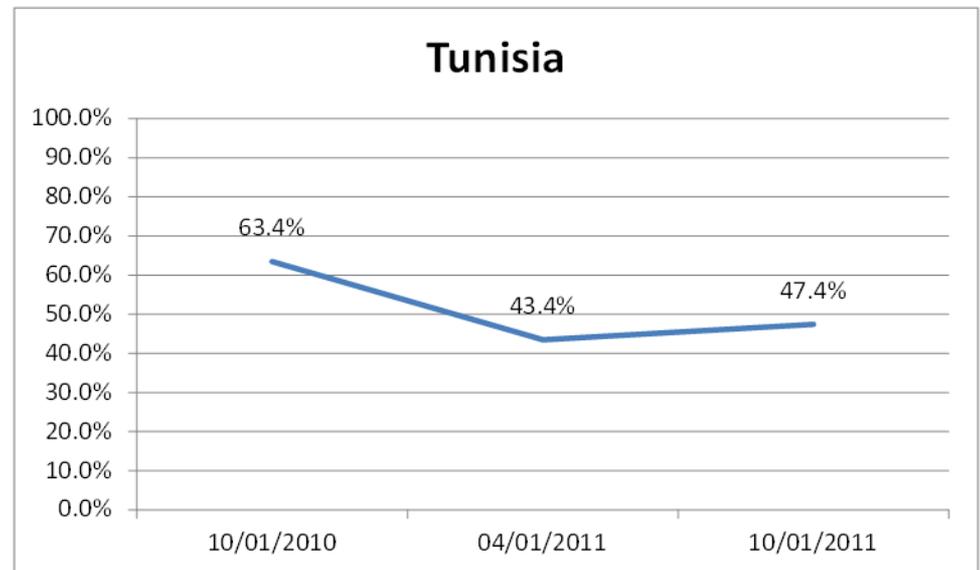
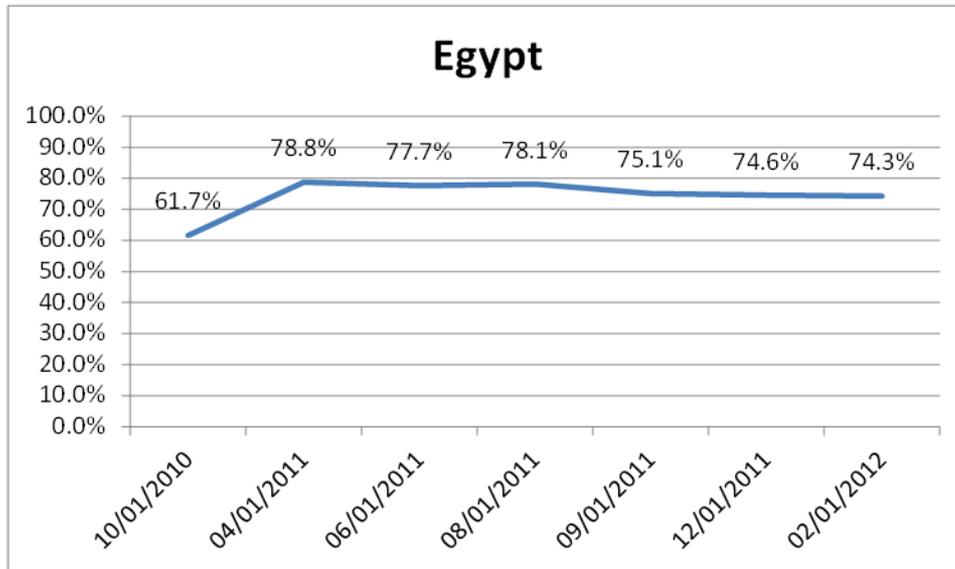


Figure 10. Media Freedom Measures Gallup World Poll: Morocco and Mauritania

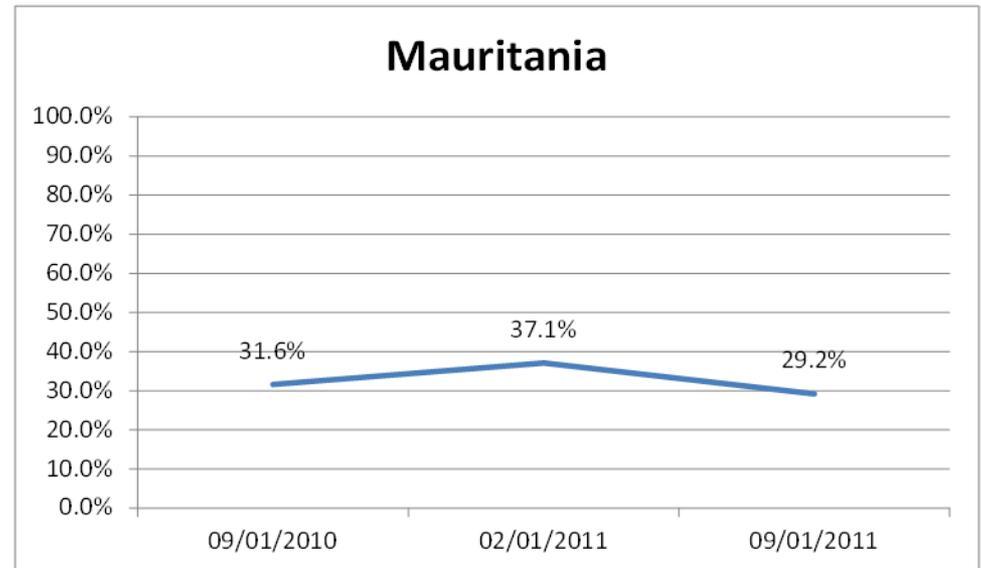
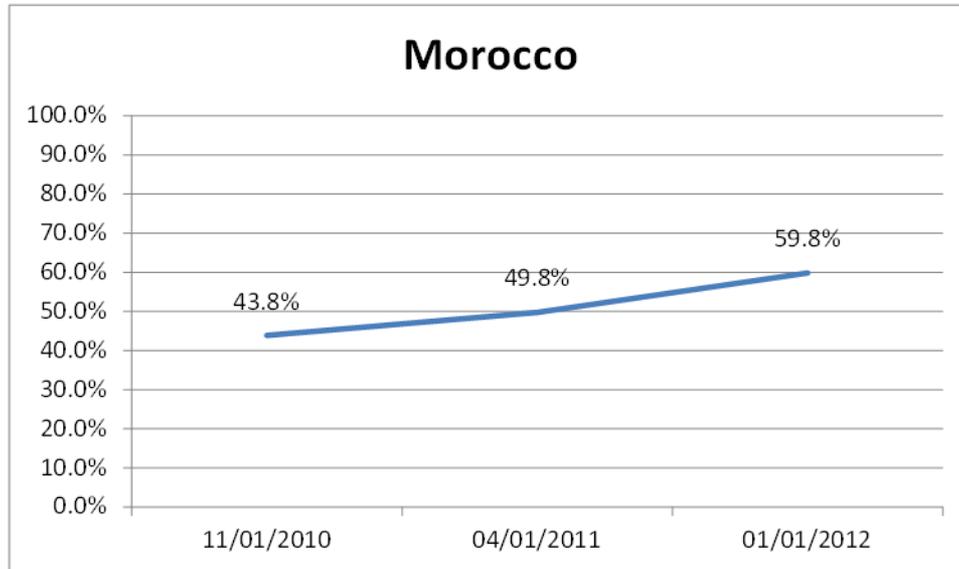


Figure 11. Media Freedom Measures Gallup World Poll: Somaliland Region and Sudan

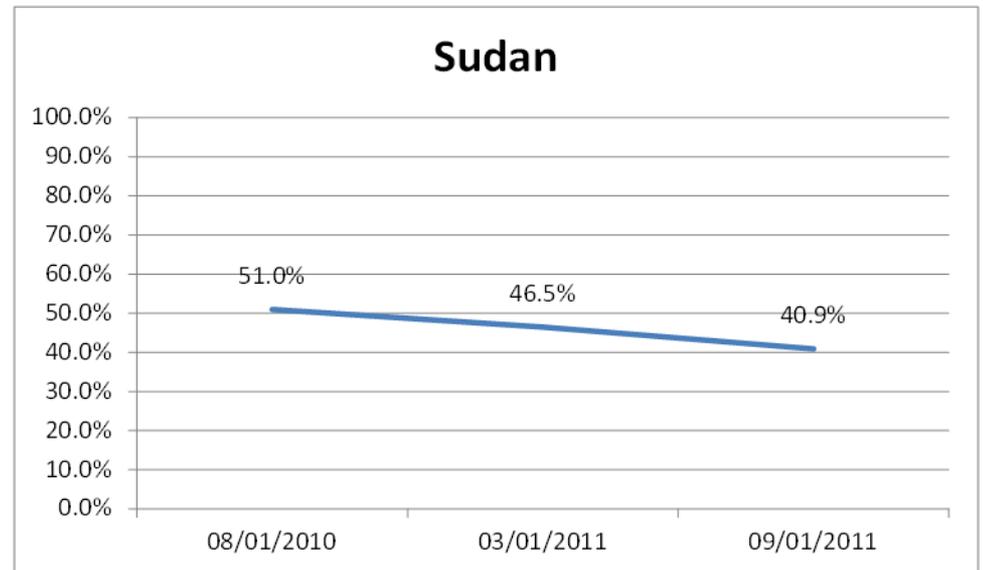
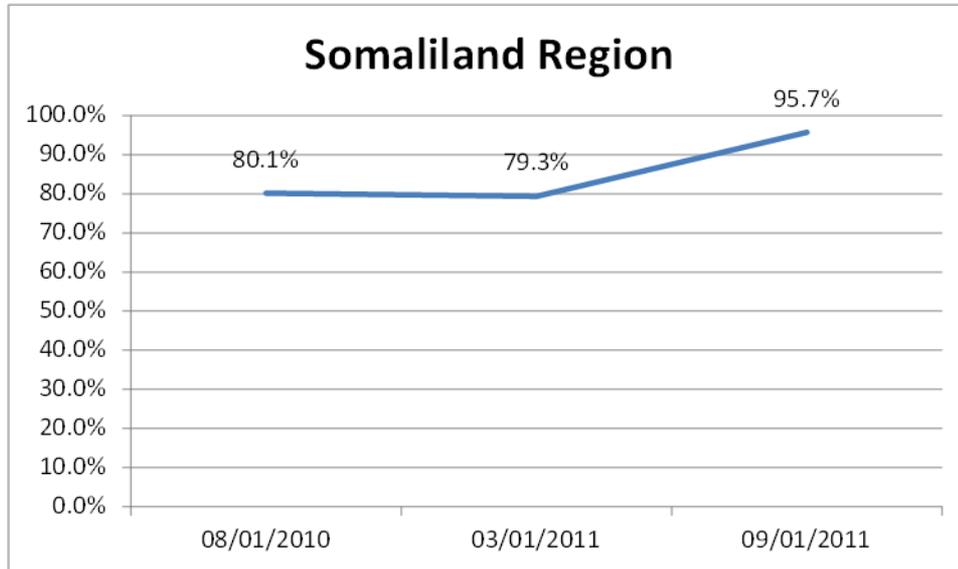


Figure 12. Media Freedom Measures Gallup World Poll: United Kingdom and Germany

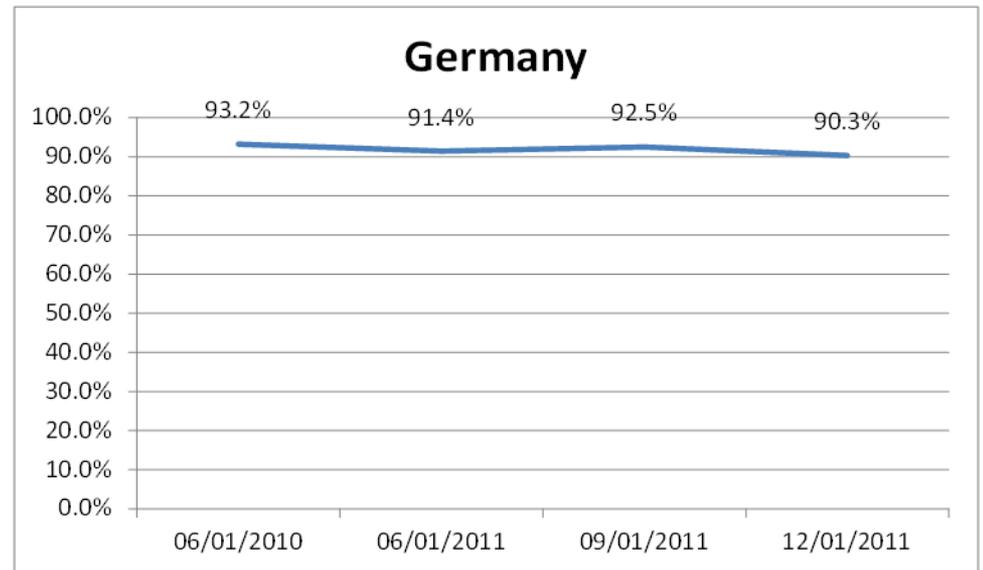
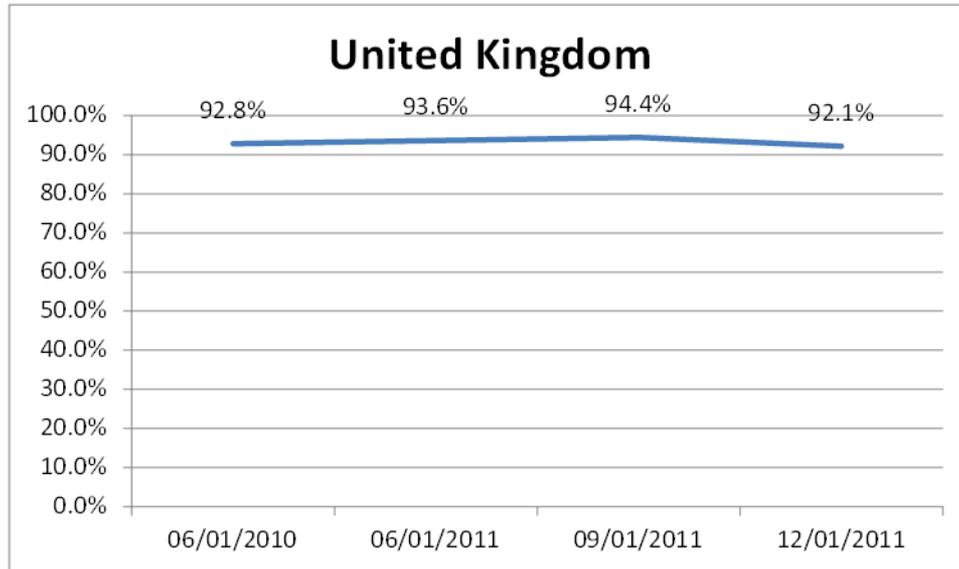


Figure 13. Media Freedom Measures Gallup World Poll: Russia

