International News and the Media:

The Impact of September 11

Highlights from a conference sponsored by the Pew International Journalism Program

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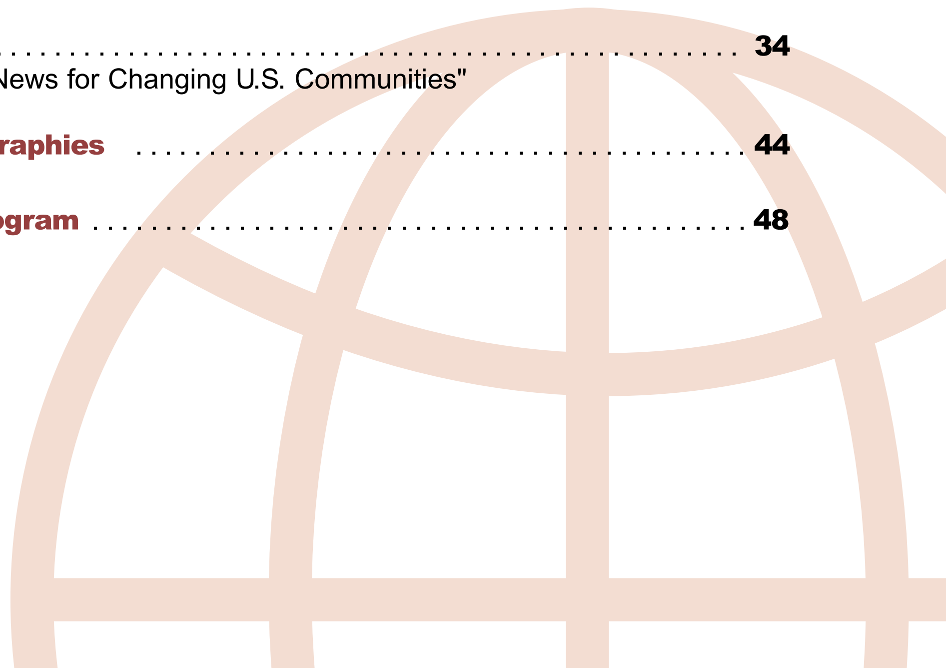

“September 11th was a wake-up call. Just as there was an intelligence failure in government before 9/11, so was there a media failure.”

— John Schidlovsky

What Future for International Coverage After 9/11?

by John Schidlovsky
Director, Pew International Journalism Program

Left: John Schidlovsky, director, and Louise Lief, deputy director, of the Pew International Journalism Program speak to conference attendees.

The terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 demonstrated to many Americans that we ignore foreign news at our peril. On that day, our world changed dramatically. It became clearer than ever that as a nation, as informed citizens, as journalists who help educate the public, we cannot afford *not* to cover news all over the globe.

In the decade of the 1990s, as international coverage began to virtually disappear on US networks and in many newspapers, many Americans began to think it didn't matter what happened outside our borders. September 11th was a wake-up call. Just as there was an intelligence failure in government before 9/11, so was there a media failure. Journalists didn't tell U.S. citizens enough about the Taliban, Osama bin Laden, about the rise of Islamic militants. Or at least we didn't tell people in a compelling way. As we scramble to make up for all that we missed before 9/11, what stories are we overlooking now that might alert us to the next threat?

At the Pew International Journalism Program, we've been focusing on these questions since we created our program in 1998. We recognized the decline in international coverage in much of the American media during the 1990s and decided to try to do something about it, with the financial support of the Pew Charitable Trusts. In the wake of 9/11, it was clear that we needed to address the issue of the future of international news coverage.

On June 11, 2002, we held a conference at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C. to discuss the impact of the attacks on news coverage. Nearly 300 journalists and others interested in coverage of the world attended the event. Excerpts from that one-day conference are contained in this publication.

Earlier in 2002, we commissioned a new survey of more than 200 U.S. editors responsible for international news. Dwight Morris, who conducted that survey, describes the results in the excerpts from our conference's first panel. The complete survey can be viewed at our program website: **http://www.pewfellowships.org**.

Another Pew program, the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, also conducted a poll that examined the American public's news consumption after 9/11. Andrew Kohut discuss that polls findings in our first panel section. The complete survey is available on their website at **http://www.people-press.org**.

The conference brought together leading U.S. and international news editors. Keynoter Richard Sambrook, director of BBC News, offered insights into that organization's coverage of the world. At the end of the day, our panelists and questioners had discussed a wide range of issues relating to international news. Our hope is that this conference helped to stimulate valuable ideas for providing better global news coverage and for educating both the public and journalists about how to stay better informed of important international news.

Pollsters and Editors Disagree on Public's Appetite for Global News

Moderator:
Kevin Klose, President and CEO, National Public Radio

Panelists:
Andrew Kohut, Director, The Pew Research Center for the People and the Press
Dwight L. Morris, President, Dwight L. Morris and Associates
Robert Rivard, Editor, San Antonio Express-News

Panel I

KEVIN KLOSE: I feel very lucky to be here as a moderator, because at NPR our situation is somewhat different from a lot of the daily newspapers. We treat international news extremely importantly; we think it's crucial to our audience.

You will see in those tables [in the Pew Research Center study] on across-the-board listenership to national television news, evening news, cable news, you name it, in '93 the numbers are quite high, and in '02 the numbers are low. There are only two streams where there is more participation by other listeners or users or audience: One is the Internet, which didn't exist in '93, when they started measuring; and the other is National Public Radio. Part of the reason the dynamic for us is so powerful is because we treat international news very seriously.

At NPR, we have now 11 foreign bureaus. That is more than three times the number of foreign bureaus that CBS News, once the Tiffany of American broadcast journalism, now has.

These [Pew] studies offer fascinating and important insights into the state of American daily newspapering at the beginning of a complex new century, when every American community and its local papers will be challenged in extraordinary ways by unpredictable, dangerous events, dangerous perhaps to the physical well-being of individual citizens and perhaps of whole communities and the regions beyond them.

These surveys, as you will see throughout this important conference, hold the key to the challenges, the potentials, and the remarkably disturbing and seemingly counterproductive contradictions of daily newspapering.

The studies penetrate to the core of a series of issues that every publisher of a daily paper and every managing editor, editor, and local editor face and are struggling to comprehend.

The charts and graphs of these studies show a huge potential for daily newspapers to serve their readers and build a truly special relationship with their communities through foreign news coverage.

If American newspaper editors and their publishers motor quickly past the insights and the clear path markers in these studies, we will all be the poorer for it. At National Public Radio, foreign news, as I said, has always been and always will be a major commitment.

ANDREW KOHUT: This is the sixth survey in a dozen years that we've conducted that measures in considerable detail the American public's news habits. We had very high expectations for this one. Clearly, after September 11, the American public was using the media, the news media in all their forms, at record levels. The questions we asked in our polls found many Americans saying they were going to be better citizens; they were going to be more interested in international news. They were more interested and they were going to follow more closely. But nine months after the attack, our expectations were pretty much dashed.

There's little indication that the news interests and habits of the American public are much different than they were in the year 2000. Reported levels of reading, watching, and listening are just about where they were when we conducted our last survey.

I think the bottom line in this poll is that the powerful generational factors that have been dictating audience trends over the course of the last decade have proved to be stronger influences than the American public's reaction to the attacks on its attitudes and its behavior.

At best, this poll finds a slightly higher percentage of the public saying they're following international news very closely, from 14 to 21 percent. Interest in national news is up a comparable nudge, but, as in the past, most people--two-thirds--said they follow international news only when something is happening. Thirty-seven percent say they follow regularly, but only half of those people say they follow closely. So we're talking about a relatively small group of people who represent the core audience for international news.

Clearly, there continues to be strong interest in the war on terrorism, and both at home and abroad half of the public is paying very close attention to homeland defense, to our continued military efforts in Afghanistan and elsewhere. And public interest in the war on terrorism has extended to the Mideast. We've had in recent surveys 40 percent saying they paid very close attention to news about the Mideast. That is double the many, many surveys that we've conducted over the years measuring interest in events occurring in the Mideast. I'll give you one perspective: on the weekend of the Oslo accord. Only 11 percent were paying close attention many years ago to that accord. Now, we get about 40 percent. So it's a fourfold increase. But there's absolutely no evidence that the public's appetite for international

PHOTO BY JONATHAN ERNST

"At National Public Radio, foreign news has always been and always will be a major committment," says Kevin Klose, president and CEO of National Public Radio.

news has extended much beyond terrorism in the Mideast and things that are directly related to these issues. Just six percent paid attention to news about the coup, the aborted coup, in Venezuela, which was happening during the time of this interview. Six percent followed the surprising showing of Le Pen in the French elections in the first round.

Clearly, the American public, much like during the Cold War, has a new prism through which to judge the importance of international news. And based upon the results of this poll, it's good that they have something to hang onto. The poll offers rather powerful evidence that increased attentiveness to international news is most inhibited by a lack of background and information related to these news stories.

Consider the following: First, all of the increase, almost all of the increase, from 14 to 21 percent has occurred among groups of people who have traditionally been part of the core audience: highly educated, affluent, older. Younger, less-well-educated people, poorer people, are not significantly more interested in international news.

Secondly, when we ask people why they don't follow international news stories more closely, two-thirds say it's because they don't have the background. The old refrain of "what's it to me?" comes in a distinct third. It's rather hollow to say these days, "What does it matter to

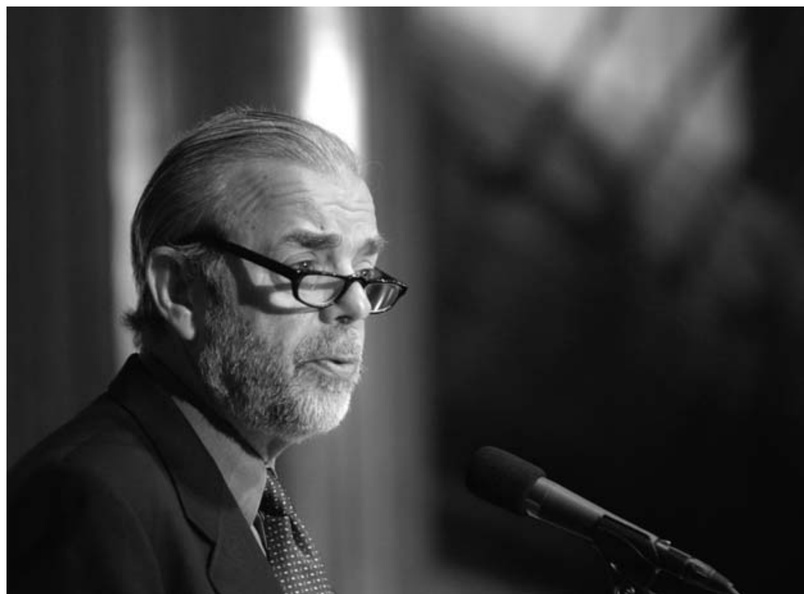
PHOTO BY JONATHAN ERNST

Andrew Kohut, director of the Pew Research Center, says the public lacks the background to follow foreign news.

me what's going on in the world?" That's clearly not an answer that can stand the test of these times.

But the public is struggling. People who don't have a background in international affairs, particularly people who haven't attended college, have a lot of trouble with international news, and that's what they tell us. On average, in the day before the interview this time, respondents spent about 15 minutes less [following international news] than respondents told us they spent back in 1993. There are no signs in the new polling that the news interests and habits of young adults -- those under 35 -- have been transformed by September 11. They continue to register much lower levels of news interest than people in previous generations at that stage in their life cycle. And more important perhaps is the fact that younger baby boomers have not developed stronger news habits as they've aged.

But you have to keep in mind that, given the fragmentation of modern news audiences, serious news outlets can benefit from even just a modest increase in interest in international news.

While only about one in six Americans, by our reckoning, are strongly committed to foreign news, they make up a disproportionate share of audience for outlets such as NPR and "NewsHour."

I think for the "NewsHour" that 44 percent of the audience is made up of core international news citizens. Similar statistics are found for the audiences of political and literary magazines.

And the international news audience is even important to broader serious news programs, such as evening network news and cable news. I think that's why 95 percent of Dwight's respondent editors said that they sense more interest in international news. I think they're reflecting more intense interests from their constituents, and I think they're hearing from the choir.

DWIGHT L. MORRIS: This is definitely a good news/bad news, bottle half empty/bottle half full kind of survey. As Andy said, it's quite possible that some of what we were being told by the editors was in response to their hearing from a highly motivated group of citizens who intensely care about international news.

But let me just walk you through a few things that highlight just how bad things are.

We interviewed 65 percent of the editors, international news editors and wire editors, at newspapers with circulations of 30,000 or more in this country. These are not people for the most part who'd been on the job for six months. They have a long tenure as the international news editor or a wire editor at their paper.

Having said that, nearly two-thirds of them -- 64 percent --felt that the job that the media are doing in this country covering international news is either fair or poor. I mean, they look around at what they see not only in their own newspapers but what they see in the media across the country, and they don't like it particularly well. Seventy-four percent of those representing papers with a circulation of at least 100,000 -- that's three-quarters of the people at the largest newspapers --rated it as fair or poor, compared with just 58 percent of those at smaller papers.

Now, while five percent rated the media's coverage as excellent, 10 percent rated it as poor. Twice as many rated it poor as excellent.

But when we asked them to rate how the media handle other types of news, it brings into focus this rather negative perception of their own job. Sports: 95 percent of the editors we interviewed thought the national news media were doing a good job or an excellent job of providing sports news; 82 percent, good or excellent job of providing national news coverage; 78 percent, excellent or good on local; 51 percent, excellent or good on business news.

Of the five areas we talked about, international news

was at rock bottom. And these are the people who are supposedly the most interested in the subject. They didn't just talk negatively about the media in the global sense of the word; they talked negatively about their own publications as well. More than half--around 56 percent--rated their own newspaper as doing either a fair or poor job of covering international news. Six times as many--12 percent versus two percent--rated it poor as opposed to excellent. Only two percent said that their own newspaper was doing an excellent job.

Two-thirds of the editors look at television news and they say, all right, well, we're doing a bad job, but, you know, TV is doing even worse. Now, maybe that makes us feel better. I don't know. But two-thirds of the editors view the network television coverage negatively. That's including 22 percent who think that the networks are doing a poor job. Cable news fared somewhat better, but again 40 percent of the foreign editors at these papers described their coverage as either fair or poor.

Now, we asked these folks, all right, why do you think you're doing a bad job? How much of your daily news hole do you actually devote to this? Maybe part of the explanation for why you think you're doing a poor job is that you don't really devote that much news space to it. And that's certainly true. Seventy-three percent of the editors we spoke with said that their publications devote 10 percent or less of their daily news hole to the coverage of international events.

It's not surprising, when you look at those numbers, that Andy found that the biggest problem that people have with following international news is that they have no background. You can't put a lot of background into the paper when you're devoting five percent of your news hole to the coverage of a subject. You don't have a lot of space to explain much to readers.

They did see an increased desire for international news. Ninety-five percent of them said that post-September 11 there had been an increase in the appetite for that kind of news. And nearly four out of 10 of them said that they had heard specifically from readers that they wanted more international news coverage in the paper. So they tried to meet it.

Two-thirds of the editors said that their international news coverage would probably fade to pre-9/11 levels in the not-too-distant future. Some were telling us that it already had, even with the problems in the Middle East.

Editors representing newspapers with circulations of 100,000 or more, about a third of them, were slightly more likely than their counterparts at smaller newspapers to view the change as permanent.

Most foreign editors anticipate the interest will wane because they believe readers are significantly less interested in international news than in other types of news.

International news scored fourth of the five in terms of perceived reader interest. You're not going to devote a huge amount of news hole to something that you don't think your readers are interested in. And that is certainly part of the bad news, because I think they're missing an opportunity. Again, you have an opportunity to perhaps expand the reader base |of international news by devoting enough space to actually explain the situation to people, so that they can understand it and get interested in it.

If you decide from the beginning that they're not interested and therefore you're not going to cover it, it's a self-fulfilling prophecy. Nearly nine out of 10, 88 percent of the editors, who had seen the news hole increase said that all or most of their coverage had been devoted to the war on terrorism.

Getting to Andy's point about the fact that we'd given the readers something to grab on to, or the readers had

PHOTO BY JONATHAN ERNST

More than half of the newspaper editors surveyed feel that their papers are doing a fair to poor job of covering foreign news, says Dwight Morris, right.

PHOTO BY JONATHAN ERNST

"Foreign news goes well beyond the war on terror," says Robert Rivard, editor of the **San Antonio Express-News.**

suggested to us perhaps that they needed something to grab on to: Here this big event happened, and so we poured all of our energy into covering this story, not necessarily something that we should not have covered, but perhaps the other stories that Andy mentioned [coup in Venezuela, French elections] were not covered as extensively in the local papers as the war on terrorism. And that could partially explain why people didn't follow them. It's hard to follow something if you're in Burlington, Vermont, or in Peoria, Illinois, and the paper doesn't print anything about it. And I've been in both of those places, and I can tell you that they don't.

Nearly six out of 10 reported that coverage, as I said, was going to gradually return to pre-September 11 levels, and they were going to return there primarily because of cost. A news hole is expensive; we don't have enough of it. If we have to make decisions based upon someone's being interested in "X" versus "Y" and we have a limited news hole, we're going to go with the one they're most interested in; it costs too much to expand that newspaper.

Editors are beginning to see, or I should say they have recognized in large part, that there are connections within their own communities to the international world. We're becoming one world. And they see those connections; they see that foreign companies invest in their localities; they see that businesses in their communities invest overseas; they see that there are large proportions of their populations that come from other countries, either recently or at some time in the past.

They can recognize that these linkages exist. Two-thirds of the editors, 67 percent said that they provide regular or fairly frequent coverage of ethnic and immigrant groups in their communities. And that's a pretty good piece of news, depending upon how they define regular or fairly frequent, I suppose. Sixty-one percent of the editors indicated that at least some of the reporters in their newsroom are able to conduct interviews in the native language of these recent immigrants.

Nevertheless, two-thirds of the editors rated their coverage of the issues important to these ethnic and immigrant groups as either fair or poor; just four percent rated their coverage as excellent. So they recognize they're out there. They report on them, in their own words, either regularly or fairly frequently, but they also don't think they do a very good job of it.

Ninety-six percent of the editors report that businesses in their communities have overseas investments, but nearly half of the editors--46 percent--say they rarely or ever publish stories about those foreign investments in their papers. And it's not just the international editors; the paper doesn't do it; nobody at the paper does it.

Twenty-seven percent of the editors said they send reporters overseas to cover local stories or global stories with a local angle at least occasionally. And those who don't cited cost as the reason. Again, there's an opportunity to spend resources, and this is something that I constantly deal with myself. There's a limited budget. And what's that limited budget going to be spent on? Are we going to spend $35,000 to put somebody on a plane to fly across the country to watch the President give a speech and attend a fund-raiser, or are we going to spend $35,000 to put somebody on a plane to send them to the Middle East to cover a story? And I think everybody in this room knows the answer to that question.

ROBERT RIVARD: Let me say at the outset that I don't recognize myself in this research. I don't want to be that editor that's profiled in there, and I hope no one at my paper has that mindset either, because that isn't the way we're operating in San Antonio.

In fact, if I can just spin this a little bit more optimistically before I get into our theme, I don't read 10 or 15 papers a day, but I look at

that many over the course of a week, because of the Internet.

And I think we should start by starting at the top. For The New York Times, The Los Angeles Times, The Wall Street Journal; down a level, Chicago Tribune, Boston Globe--this has been their finest hour, in my view. The papers have never been better. They've done an extraordinary job, and because the Internet is out there, all of them have much more of a national profile than they've ever had. Because of the way information moves now, papers the size of mine have access in the same news cycle to the best journalism that all of these newspapers produce, and I don't have a hard time publishing foreign news or compelling national news. My editors have a hard time finding out what from the very best that all these other larger papers are doing we can put in to augment what we're doing locally.

So I think when you start at the top, American newspapers have never been better. And you're seeing that in readership results for those papers. When you go down to the next level, or down a level or two, when you get to the regional papers, which would define the San Antonio Express-News, I think that it depends on the individual paper.

My own view is 9/11 created the responsibility of a lifetime for American newspaper editors, and, indeed, for all of us who still consider journalism a calling and not a business. It injected new life and energy into the importance of what we do in society, in a democracy, and if it didn't galvanize your newsroom and raise the morale and the sense of purpose, then something is amiss in your newsroom, in my view. It certainly did in ours. I don't think that's waned.

The intensity of 9/11 obviously is not as intense nine months later, but the sense of purpose is very much there, the sense of a continuing story that has no foreseeable end is there, and the inclination to constantly think outside the box about how we can better bring that to people is still there.

You can look at the United States as an insular, xenophobic, largely monolingual society. Or you can look at it and see what the census numbers are showing us, that one of the most important population shifts, demographic shifts, is under way across the country. And for people in cities like Miami or San Antonio or Los Angeles, or anywhere in the Southwest, and even farther up North, the explosion in the Latino population, which is both immigrant-driven and multigenerational-driven, is an extraordinary story and one that makes our world a smaller world, and depending upon how you define foreign news, makes foreign news all that more important.

And foreign news, let's remember, goes well beyond the war on terror. In my neck of the country, we're looking at whether or not Pope John Paul II is actually, in his state of health, going to get on a plane a month from now and come to, first, Canada, and then Mexico to make Juan Diego a saint, and then on to Guatemala. This is where he started his foreign papacy almost 25 years ago, after he visited Poland--Mexico. And so a paper my size will probably have anywhere from six to 10 people in Mexico and Guatemala to cover that, if he's there--a very important story to our city, particularly our very large majority Hispanic Roman Catholic population.

We couldn't cover the war on terror like the big newspapers, but we were there. Hearst put together a team of about 10 to 15 reporters and photographers that went over to Central Asia. So a paper my size had a team at one point, while we were in Pakistan waiting for events in Afghanistan to unfold, that spent a week in the Kashmir. That was front-page news and a very good package and I think a very prescient piece. And I think our readers very much cared about that.

Throughout the next several months we devoted multiple pages to the war on terror, as I think most major American papers did at the time.

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> **"... for the same amount of money that you'll spend on the U.S. Open ... you can send a reporter overseas for two weeks and get a much bigger bang for your buck."**
>
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Although we don't have that size news hole now, we do have a larger news hole than we did before 9/11. And I think editors are determined to maintain that news hole.

If you are going to be an editor in today's newspaper world, you have to be something of both a diplomat and a fighter. You have to not only be a journalist, but you have to have a fluency in the language of the business side, and you have to be a good negotiator. We came to this calling because we're people of words, but, in fact, the wars for good newspaper budgets are fought over spreadsheets and numbers. And so you have to be willing to stand up to the business side at your newspaper or at your company.

And that doesn't mean you have to be willing to go to war with them, because you won't last very long. But you do have to be strong and you've got to be able to articulate the public trust argument, and never has there been a better time to do that than now.

So I don't know where the five-percent figure [four in 10 papers devote five percent or less of their news hole to international coverage] comes from. I would look at it in a more realistic way and say, What percentage of your front-section news hole is dedicated to foreign news? To me that would be the important measurement. And I would say right now we're probably running about 50/50 with national and regional news in our lead section.

A good deal of that recently has been the Middle East. I don't know how many times the Middle East story has led the Express-News in the last two to three months, but it's certainly on the order of perhaps 20 or 30 times, even in a regional paper. We're not The New York Times, which has sometimes three, four, five foreign stories or stories out of Washington on the front page. But we're always going to have compelling foreign news on the front page, with very rare exceptions. And when it's the most compelling news story today, then it will lead. When all things are equal, probably the best local story will lead, because that's our core competency. But often times foreign news is going to lead the paper, and I think there is a large market there.

We didn't know very much at all about Islam before 9/11. Newspapers didn't do a very good job of telling you about Islam, either out there in the world or out there in the community. I think we're doing a much better job of that, and I think we're doing a much better job of trying to decode this rage against America that is out there in so many places.

I think there's an appetite for really good foreign stories, and not just in the major newspapers or on NPR. Regional newspapers or television programs that invest the time and energy in them are going to find that their readers and their viewers respond positively.

One of the things that we can do is send one less person to the U.S. Open. Or who really needs to see game four of the NBA playoffs and watch Shaq do his thing again? Of course, we'll be there, but, in all seriousness, we put far too much emphasis on popular culture and sports and how we spend our money.

Newsrooms are like any other organization or bureaucracy: They're set up a certain way, and it's easiest to just let them run the way they've been running. But you can move resources and money around, and really, why do we need to have one more person following Tiger Woods around Long Island, when for the same amount of money that you'll spend on the U.S. Open and the British Open and the NBA playoffs, you can send a reporter overseas for two weeks and get a much bigger bang for your buck.

I live in one of the most military cities in the United States. We just went from five military bases down to four. We lost Kelley Air Force Base, but we still have three Air Force bases, and we have an Army base, and so we have an enormous retired military population. They're very worldly in their own way. They've all been abroad on assignments, or most of them have. They care about places where they've worked; they care very much about men and women in uniform that are overseas. So right now foreign news has to include where U.S. interests are or

U.S. service people are serving.

I have one full-time military affairs writer and that beat traditionally covered the local military. We had to change that, and had been changing it before 9/11, to the point where we really have one person covering the local military and one person who's leaving San Antonio to write about the military for our local military-minded audience.

My military affairs writer has been everywhere since 9/11. From Afghanistan, he was doing food drops. He's been all through military installations in Europe to write about security measures that were being taken over there, because the feeling was that U.S. installations abroad were perhaps more vulnerable than domestic targets. And he's been on a submarine and an aircraft carrier. We're just doing all sorts of interesting things with him. We're spending a lot more money on him.

I want to just talk about readers for a minute. I was struck that in the poll only 61 percent of the people can name the Vice President. And I thought to myself, Is anybody watching "Saturday Night Live"? How can you not know all the cave jokes?

I think sometimes editors look out there over society and say, 50 percent were reading the paper in this age group a decade ago, and now it's 30 percent; people can't name Cheney, much less Mullah Omar. What's the use? We're all going to die anyway. I think that's the wrong way to look at things. I think the way to look at things is to say we've never been more important, and you can either lead your communities, or you can follow them. And if you lead your communities, you can say it might only be a 25-percent audience that cares intensely about international news, but they're incredibly important readers, they're opinion makers in your community, and the intensity of their connection to you is at the highest. And so now is the time to reaffirm that connection and to build it and deepen it.

E-mail, which is both the best and worst invention of man in the last hundred years, is a very effective way, I think, of keeping your pulse on your most intense readers. I've found they're very, very interested in foreign news. San Antonio is one of many communities that you've all read about that has gone through a very vigorous public exchange with its Jewish community. We did not have circulation boycotts, cancellations, that sort of thing, but we did have our relatively small but very, very visible Jewish leadership engaging the paper very actively; they wanted to know why we do not have a Middle East bureau. Now, that's quite a challenge for a paper my size. We joke that we have three foreign bureaus: one in Mexico City and two on the Texas border. But we have one reporter and photographer in Mexico. We have a couple of reporters and photographers that live on the border, and everybody else travels. Our story is North-South. We've been in Colombia; we've been in Venezuela this year; we've been in Cuba. Who knows where else we'll go? Right now the big story is not North-South; it's the war on terrorism. And we've done what we could within our means and as part of Hearst and a larger team.

But when people in a city like San Antonio, which is two hours from the Mexico border, are calling on you to open a Middle East bureau, that's an amazing phenomenon. It means there is not only a passion for that foreign news, but there's an expectation that the only people that can deliver it to them in a reliable and balanced and well-packaged way is the newspaper. We haven't opened a bureau in the Middle East and we're not going to, but will we send people there? Yes, we have, and yes, we will again.

So I guess I'm going to say, in conclusion, that I'm an optimist. I think the newspaper game is a full-contact sport more than ever, and you shouldn't be in it unless you're willing to get some

PHOTO BY JONATHAN ERNST

Kevin Klose asks panel members a question about foreign news coverage.

> **"I was struck actually in Andy's surveys that he found that the interest in foreign news between 2000 and today had risen from 14 percent to 21 percent. I'd count that as a 50-percent gain."**
>
> **— Kevin Klose**

bumps and bruises and also to hand some out.

I remember what I thought were the stories of my generation as a young reporter. I hadn't thought that the story of my generation as an editor had come along, but I knew on 9/11, as I think most editors did, that indeed the story was here, and it was horrible, it was enormous, and it was incalculable, and where it went none of us would know.

QUESTION

KEVIN KLOSE: I'm trying to bridge the gap between what we heard from the newsroom of a very smartly, thoughtfully run regional newspaper, and what Andy found in some of his national surveys.

I was struck actually in Andy's surveys that he found that the interest in foreign news between 2000 and today had risen from 14 percent to 21 percent. I'd count that as a 50-percent gain. It seems quite large, and it seems to me to tell editors and their general managers that there's something happening there, which Bob touched on, and that there is a distinguished, specific group of readers in the community who will respond. Across a mass survey, if you find 50-percent change in a dial, that's a significant change, and it tells you there's an opportunity there.

I want to ask whether in the surveying, Andy, is there anything in those numbers that you saw that is essentially a spark of light in this seeming darkness?

ANDREW KOHUT: I'd like to respond, Kevin, by saying, you can look at that 14 percent to 21 percent in one of two ways. If you look at it from a civics point of view, it's not a very encouraging increase. But if you look at it from an audience point of view, keeping in mind that somewhere in the 1980's the idea of mass audiences with regard to the news media, print, broadcast, or whatever--or the 32 percent who watch evening news broadcasts regularly--you put one on top of another and you've got a pretty respectable ratio.

The other thing I would say is, from a civics point of view, let's not get prematurely pessimistic, because there are an awful lot of kids out there in high school and in grammar school that have been taught an incredible lesson, and their habits haven't been shaped by the experiences of Generation X and the slackers, or whatever you want to call them, or the bottom end of the Baby Boom.

QUESTION

ADAM POWELL III: I'm recently returned to television as general manager of Howard University Television.

We know that when we air conferences like this, which we will one afternoon soon, we're not going to get 30 share. But we also know that at 7 o'clock every night we go well into double digits carrying the BBC off the satellite, and that's the same time that the "NewsHour" is being carried on [the local TV channel], it's the same time that "All Things Considered" is on radio. The "NewsHour" is also on radio at 7 o'clock.

I'd like to probe what Andy called the choir, if we can get a better sense of how big that choir might be, whether self-described or otherwise. Because at least the Nielson data suggest -- and these are three-month-old data, not September data -- that BBC does very, very well, well into double digits, at least in this market, not including the replay at 11 o'clock in Maryland.

ANDREW KOHUT: Well, Adam, if you apply the 21 percent to a couple of hundred million people, you're talking about a base of 40 million. And obviously when you're breaking news, or even news that's not "A" news but let's say "B+" news, that 42 million expands, and you're talking about a very important slice of the American population. That's a relatively big number; it's not 200 million, however.

DWIGHT L. MORRIS: It's not evenly spread, either. In another incarnation in my life I did a lot of research for Gannett newspapers, and in the San Francisco Bay area you had extreme interest in international news, at the 61- or 62-percent level. In the Midwest or in more rural Pennsylvania, for instance, it would be down in the 20's. So you have pockets of interest, and certainly you're in one.

This market is obviously highly interested in [foreign news]. I watch the BBC --

I'm one of your viewers -- so there's a real intense interest that goes beyond anything that a normal national survey can measure in pockets.

If you had a big enough universe where you could look at just the top 10 cities, my guess is that you would see the interest even higher. At those 100,000-plus circulation papers, they were significantly more inclined to think that the reader interest and their own news hole allocation would remain at the post-September 11 levels, rather than the pre-September 11 levels.

ROBERT RIVARD: I'm the NPR junkie -- I mean, if it's time to confess what we're listening to at 6 or 7 o'clock at night. I think that there's an enormous amount of interest among that group, and I'm glad to hear those numbers. When you get out of percentages, you start to talk about how big they are. We hear too many times how many TV sets are on for the Super Bowl or on for this or on for that. We do think about audience all the time as a ratings win or loss. I think we need to think much more in terms of serving core constituencies that are out there, that have high expectations, and that grow according to the quality of the service and information that you're giving them.

QUESTION

LYNN JOINER (director, SAIS-Novartis Prize): I'm wondering if you studied things like MTV or how many hits these different newspapers and web magazines are getting as part of this picture that you're giving us, or whether that's a future study. Also I would guess that, given everybody in this audience, you're preaching to the choir. How do we get the other parts of general society and the journalism world-not just the newspaper side or the radio side-into a room like this to really talk about what are the responsibilities in this new information age?

ANDREW KOHUT: In the survey that we've completed, we have a section on something we call "news grazing," the large percentage of the American public that gets its news in dribs and drabs, much of it, I might add, from the Internet or turning on cable news at the odd moment. And that segment of the public knows considerably less, pays less attention, and gets less news than the portion of the public that sits down on a regular basis with a newspaper or with a news broadcast.

And all of the research that we've done about the Internet, let alone MTV, suggests that Internet use, reading the news on the Internet, is less of a factor, holding constant the demography of the Inter-net audience, in how much people know, how engaged they are in issues, than reading a newspaper or using a traditional form of media. So it's a good idea, but it hasn't worked so far.

QUESTION

PATRICIA ELLIS: I am the executive director of the Women's Foreign Policy Group. I covered foreign affairs for many years for MacNeil/Lehrer and we were always, even at an organization like that, working on getting the public engaged and finding ways to connect foreign affairs to John Q. Citizen.

My issue here is the local angle on international stories. I think that is a major way to get people engaged. There are local angles throughout the country; they will vary from region to region, city to city, state to state. What I would like to ask the panel to address is the definition of foreign news, because I see a lot of so-called foreign stories on the business page, on the metro page. Are those not examples of foreign news, and should we not be perhaps rethinking the concept of foreign news? Foreign news is not just news out there, but foreign news is news happening here, things going on at the U.N., things going on in your community, at the border.

DWIGHT L. MORRIS: We asked the news editors specifically for their definition of international news, and to a large degree they had a fairly restrictive view--certainly in your terms--of what that is. I mean, almost to a one, they would use

> **"I think there's an appetite for really good foreign stories, and not just in the major newspapers or NPR. Regional newspapers or television ... are going to find that their readers and their viewers respond positively."**
>
> **— Robert Rivard**

phrases like "news emanating from outside the borders of the United States."

If that's how you perceive the world, it's unlikely that you're going to spend valuable resources to send someone overseas to cover a local angle of an international story, because it's not something that you normally think of. And it's not as though these folks don't have access to lots of international news. I mean, 98 percent say their papers subscribe to AP; 64 percent get Knight Ridder; 61 percent get The Los Angeles Times, The Washington Post; 51 percent The New York Times.

ROBERT RIVARD: I think the questioner brings up a really good point.

Two months ago, Levi Strauss out of San Francisco announced that within a couple of months they would no longer make a pair of blue jeans anywhere in the United States of America, and that the last ten thousand or so jobs involved in that sort of semi-skilled labor were all in San Antonio or South Texas. It's just an inevitable chapter of globalism: You're not going to have unskilled labor assembling goods in the United States of America anymore, anywhere, and the remnant jobs that are still around are just that, remnant jobs. And it's just a matter of when, not if, they go away.

So that's a foreign story for us, because, first of all, there's enormous local economic impact that we'll try to tell a human-dimension story about, not just a business-front story. But it's also important to pick up the scent, the trail, and go find out where those jobs went, and tell people in your community, including, I might add, [the group] we talked before, that socioeconomic sector of the community that is too poor to care about international news. I think, in fact, that if you can make the news relate to them, they'll care very much about it. And that would be an example right there. Hourly wage workers who are out of their jobs, who don't understand what's happening around the world, they don't know what NAFTA or free trade means. But they do know what losing a job is, and they're interested in reading about why you can make those blue jeans in Costa Rica or Malaysia and not in the United States anymore. So that's foreign news to me, and a story that will reach a lot of nontraditional readers.

QUESTION

ARTHUR GREEN: I'm a retired State Department Foreign Service information officer. I conduct diplomacy workshops at the Voice of America Training Center.

You mentioned the question of monitoring [your coverage of] the Middle East by elements of the San Antonio community. What has been your experience with members of the Arab-American and American-Jewish communities, where they pointed out, let's say, omissions or problems of coverage? How have you reacted specifically to that?

ROBERT RIVARD: Well, the worst thing you can do in a newsroom or as a newsroom leader is be defensive toward the public. There are a lot of strong feelings out there right now, and you need to have an open door and be prepared to listen to people and deal with them. Arab-Americans think this everywhere, I think. They never got covered before and now they're getting covered a little. It's better, but it's not where they want it to be.

So when you're dealing with people perhaps on how you're doing with the Palestinian-Israeli story, you're going to hear comments that are going to be strong from both sides. You need to listen to them; you need to take them into account and not be defensive, but you need to do what you think is fair and right.

During the couple of months after 9/11, the most popular pages we did were what we call in our newsroom "National Geographic pages," which are full-page info graphics, and they would be, say, "Under-" standing Islam," or "Understanding Pakistan." The sort of audience you're trying to reach is, you want teachers to tear those pages out and hang them up in classrooms. Visual graphics help people understand a complex situation in small, simple, dig-estible pieces, and those were clearly the most popular things we did.

QUESTION

MUSTAFA MALIK: I have covered news events in Europe and in the third world. One point I have: I think [American journalists] follow the flag much more than journalists elsewhere.

ROBERT RIVARD: I don't think we take a home-team approach. There are a lot of Americans right now that want you to take a home-team approach. That's just as evident in the debate that's occurring, from editorial pages to talk radio, over whether it's patriotic or unpatriotic to question the administration, and whether mistakes were made, and that sort of thing. I know we're American in our perspective, but I hope we're independent in our reporting. That's a balance you just strive to hit every day, with success some days

and not so much others.

ANDREW KOHUT: We have done a number of surveys that show broad support for censorship during the war, but the American public does not want patriotic news. When we asked whether they want news that represents only an American point of view or the point of view of the enemy, two-thirds say both sides.

DWIGHT L. MORRIS: I think it's hard for editors to think outside the box in terms of international news, because 69 percent of them don't speak a foreign language. These are the foreign news editors, and 69 percent of them don't speak a foreign language; 72 percent of them have never lived abroad or worked abroad. It's hard to be thinking about or understanding the world, in a world context, when you have really no experience with that world.

QUESTION

DON OBERDORFER: I used to be one of Kevin's colleagues at The Washington Post. Now I'm a professor at SAIS. Things aren't quite as bleak as your surveys suggest. In the first place, the editors who said that international news is what comes from abroad: We're in a new era now in which the ambiguity in what is international and what is national is very great.

When the President speaks about homeland security; when the FBI fights with the CIA, or there's a perception that they are doing so over the war on terrorism; when a guy is arrested in Chicago who's come from overseas and they claim he's trying to make a dirty bomb; when sources are in Pakistan and the news is here, is it international news, is it national news, what is it? It's something which obviously has the attention of what the political scientists used to call the attentive public. The public is listening to this. And I think if we just carve it out here and say that if the news isn't coming from overseas then it's not international, we're misleading ourselves.

I think this survey suggests that if you take it narrowly, it hasn't changed much. But I cannot believe that the interests of the American public haven't changed a great deal since September 11, and that that won't continue, even if, hopefully, we're spared some other spectacular event on the scale of the 11th of September.

ANDREW KOHUT: I can't disagree with that. I think that, looking at the percentage of people who present a potential audience for international news, there has been a sizeable increase. But there just hasn't been a penetration that's gone beyond and into sectors of the public that have a great deal of trouble following the stories that are not on Topic A.

People say, the reason I don't follow [international news] is because I don't have the background. When we asked these same people what kinds of international news they wanted to follow or watch or read about, background was rated very low. So it's a catch-22. I'm sure it's great for schools and for educational audiences, but there's a limit to how much education you can do on the spot and be effective with your core audience.

KEVIN KLOSE: I think what Robert Rivard has told us is that what they do at the paper is very powerful; they recognize they can't get all these places at once, but they have a sense of their commitment to the values of their community. And while people may not value a backgrounder, the paper is going to put it out there anyway, because it's important to some part of the readership that they might or might not identify. It's going to be hanging, hopefully, he said, in a classroom somewhere. That's going to be there for weeks or a month, and some kid is going to digest it and start to think about it.

For the Pew International Journalism Program report, please visit:
http://www.pewfellowships.org

For the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press report, please visit:
http://www.people-press.org

Journalists from Abroad Cast Critical Eye on American Reporters' Coverage of the World

Moderator:
Bill Kovach, Chairman, Committee of Concerned Journalists

Panelists:
Doyinsola Abiola, Vice Chairman, Concord Group of Newspapers, Nigeria

Emad Adeeb, Chairman, Al Alam Al Youm Newspaper, Egypt; Host, “On the Air!”, Orbit Radio and Television Network, Middle East

Marcus Brauchli, National Editor, The Wall Street Journal (Discussant)

Najam Sethi, Co-founder and Editor, The Friday Times, Pakistan

Panel II

BILL KOVACH, Chairman, Committee of Concerned Journalists: Except for a rare few who have a serious and deep understanding of the world today, most American journalists today feel that they're walking on spongy ground, trying to cover a world that we're not sure we really understand all that well. As we've heard just on the last panel from Andy Kohut and Dwight Morris, they're being called upon to report on a changing world that, despite the history of involvement in world wars that consumed almost all of the 20th century, has a limited audience among the American people.

To make matters worse, they're being asked to report on trends like the ramification of globalization and the world of religion, neither of which are subjects that we have spent a lot of time understanding and analyzing. All of this occurs now in a world that's been made more transparent by the revolution in communications technology, so that the work of American journalists is susceptible, as never before, to second-guessing by expert journalists around the world.

How we, as Americans, tell the story, especially after the display of jingoism that was reflected in news reporting immediately after September 11, how we tell the story is now being skeptically questioned by journalists and others abroad. If U.S. journalists can't provide information in a context that is useful to large parts of the world, we run the risk of marginalizing ourselves and the value of our work, just when the citizens of the world are most in need of a more vigorous stream of fast, reliable, accurate information in a context which allows informed and effective decisions at all levels of society.

As we've just heard from Dwight Morris, his survey of 218 editors of newspapers in the United States finds that nearly two-thirds of them believe that their international coverage is only fair to poor. And while two-thirds of them also acknowledge that they have large ethnic and immigrant populations in their areas and greater

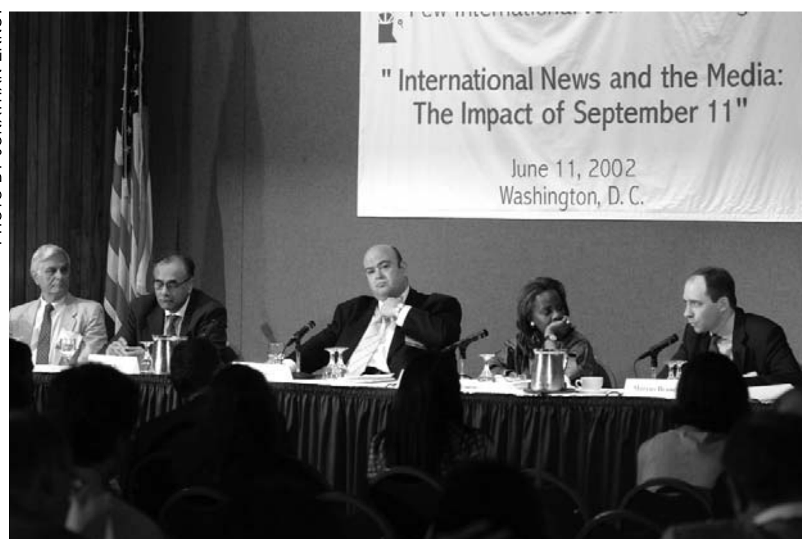
ties between their communities and the international community than ever before, those potentials for localizing international news are not being effectively used. As I interpret the findings of Andy Kohut and Dwight Morris in their surveys, editors realize the flow of international events today and the changing nature of their own constituencies offer them a demand and an opportunity for better international coverage, but they're unsure about how to organize themselves to take advantage of that.

NAJAM SETHI, Co-founder and Editor, The Friday Times, Pakistan: Pakistan has been in the eye of the storm for a long time. We have dictators who act like democrats and democrats who act like dictators. The two research surveys that people talked about in the first session are very interesting. The interesting thing is that most American editors admit that their coverage of foreign news is poor. And among the major reasons cited are, apparently, the high cost of providing foreign news and the fact that most Americans lack the background to follow and understand foreign news. Perhaps later during the question-and-answer session one can talk about how these costs can be cut, because I can tell you a lot of interesting stories about how this money is spent by Americans when they come to our part of the world. *(Laughter among audience)*. And so costs need not be that high.

But what is even more interesting is the revelation that the post-9/11 spurt in foreign interest, in the American media and the public, is falling, and may, according to most American editors surveyed in this report, revert back to form once the crisis is over. I'm surprised by this observation. I'm surprised that the American media and the public are apparently inclined to be insular, even as increasingly interventionist strains in American foreign policy are beginning to manifest themselves with far-reaching implications, not just in the areas where American foreign policy is active, but in terms of its blow-back to America.

After all, most of you will remember that shortly before George W. Bush became President, he was asked a question about who is the man running the show in Pakistan, who is Pakistan's leader. I think he didn't know the name of General Musharraf at that time. And now this is the same President Bush who almost on a daily basis is calling up his friend General Musharraf in Islamabad. This, incidentally, is the same General Musharraf who was a pariah shortly before September

PHOTO BY JONATHAN ERNST



Panel members evaluate the performance of U.S. media covering world news.

11, both from the point of view of the American administration and, I dare say, because there wasn't too much interest in what Pakistan was up to in terms of the American media, and who today is a valued friend and an ally of America.

But the point I'd like to make is that it's not just the American media and the public whose interest in foreign news has been lacking. I suppose much the same sort of thing could be said about the American think tanks and the American intelligence community that did not anticipate the rise in the challenge of Islamic fundamentalism as a global rather than local force to contend with.

By 1993, people like Osama bin Laden and others were already making forays into Afghanistan via Pakistan. And some of us were talking and shrieking and screaming our heads off, and nobody was listening to us. Indeed, perhaps the only person who was alarmed at that time about what was in store was the Egyptian President, Mr. Mubarak, who at that time leaned on the Americans to tell the Pakistanis to crack down on some of these elements who were coming in from Egypt, landing up in Peshawar, and then going off into Afghanistan to get trained. But nobody in Washington was aware of this threat that was being created at that time.

If I may now come to the way the American media are perceived in Pakistan, the perception is that the American media tend to fol-

PHOTO BY JONATHAN ERNST

"Generally speaking, the U.S. media's coverage of Isalm and Afghanistan and Pakistan is fairly stereotypical," says Najam Sethi.

low the priorities and foreign policy stresses of the U.S. administration, rather than anticipating or articulating them more independently. I think this is acutely perceived to be the case as far as the Pakistani press and the media and the Pakistani public are concerned. That is how they see the American media. I say that despite some very brilliant independent and excellent coverage that we've had of recent events from the top American newspapers.

Of course, in the 9/11 period, the U.S. media have responded to the situation with a surfeit of reports. But, frankly speaking, I'm not sure how well the U.S. media have responded or succeeded in independently analyzing the military and political situation in Afghanistan and Pakistan with regard to American foreign policy objectives in the region. This is especially true of many American reporters who accompanied American troops into Afghanistan, first when the aerial war against the Taliban was launched sometime in October or November, and they were in an alliance with the Northern Alliance, and now when American troops are reportedly trying to mop up remnants of the Taliban and the al-Qaeda in Afghanistan.

The danger here is that many reporters end up reporting briefings, rather than reporting events. This approach is all too evident in another case. I refer to the Indo-Pak conflict, which has generated nuclear war fears and scenarios in the American media in recent weeks, even as we in India and Pakistan have been relatively laid back about the possibility of a nuclear war. Now, this is curious. The Kashmir conflict, as you know, is as old as the two countries themselves, since 1947. And India and Pakistan have fought three wars over that dispute since then.

Yet, until now, there was no American media attention or hype, either about the possession of nuclear weapons by both sides, or about the chances of the Kashmir conflict provoking a nuclear holocaust in the region.

Indeed, the low-intensity conflict in Kashmir has already claimed 30,000 lives in the last decade, but the American media have not paid sufficient attention to it. And now it is page one stuff; it is page one stuff because links have apparently been sought or established between the Islamic Jihadis, who are doing the fighting in Kashmir, and the various Luskhers and Jihadi elements in Pakistan, who are thought to have links with al-Qaeda.

There is a fear in the administration, and therefore in the American press, that perhaps such Jihadi elements, in alliance with al-Qaeda, want to provoke an Indo-Pak war so that the focus of U.S.-Pak attention shifts from the pursuit of al-Qaeda in Afghanistan and Pakistan to the Indo-Pak problem.

Generally speaking, the U.S. media's coverage of Islam and Afghanistan and Pakistan is fairly stereotypical. Most reporters have superficially focused, for example, on the religious seminaries, the Madrassahs, as everybody calls them, that are found in the tribal border lands of Pakistan and Afghanistan. But no effort has been made to study, to try and understand and explain to the American public, the nature, culture, the politics of Jihad, and of other Islamic institutions, parties, groups, and sects in the region, how these have come to impinge on Pakistani state institutions like the army and the courts and civil society, and what are the longer-term implications of this phenomenon on the future of democracy, U.S. populations, and the war against terrorism.

I should like to now touch very briefly on one other aspect of how the Pakistani media perceive the U.S. media. The anti-Americanism purveyed by the Pakistani media is aimed not just at U.S. foreign policy agendas in the region, but also at the American press, which is accused of acting uncritically.

There is a conspiracy theory in our part of the world that everyone believes, and that is that the American media

are controlled by the Jewish lobby, and from this perception follow a lot of untruths and follow a lot of very dangerous perceptions that can have a very important bearing on the rise of anti-Americanism and anti-American sentiments in our part of the world. And this is how religion comes to permeate international political discourse in Muslim lands, and everything becomes one big, all-encompassing unjust Jewish conspiracy. Of course, I might add, this has a lot to do with the basic perception that U.S. foreign policy and the U.S. media are unjustly pro-Israel and anti-Palestine.

EMAD ADEEB, Chairman, Al Alam Al Youm Newspaper, Egypt: I might be a total failure in a lot of things in my life, but one thing I'm good at is that I understand my audience in the Arab world. I've been introducing the "On the Air" program five days a week for the last eight years, being on the air and receiving phone calls from my audience. It's the first and the only continuing chat show in the Arab world for this number of years. I have my hands on the pulse of my audience. That's why what I claim is not the truth, but at least reflects what our audience in the Arab world really feels. We are talking about a subject in an era of globalization. The issue is that a lot of people don't know how globalization is being perceived from our side of the world. We know a lot more about Americans than they know about us. For instance, how many of the respectable audience here in this room have seen an Arabic film? Okay, let's say 15 percent. But if I'm in the same room in Cairo and I have, let's say, a thousand people and I ask the question, How many of you have seen an American movie? What was the last time? Most of them will tell me just half an hour before coming to this room.

How many of you have eaten bamia and molokhia? Two or three, five, ten of this room. But if I ask who has eaten at Burger King or a McDonald's, everybody in the room in Cairo and Beirut or in Palestine or in Saudi Arabia would raise his hand. In the Pew survey which was done, a lot of people didn't know who was the American Vice President. But I can tell you that a lot of people in Egypt and in Lebanon and in the Gulf know who the American Vice President is and who Mr. Ashcroft is. We know. We follow. What happens in your part of the world is our local news. What happens in our part of the world is your foreign news.Then, when you come to look at Israeli affairs and Middle East affairs in the last 25 years, Israel is a local American [political issue] because of the structure of the Jewish community inside Israel. In New York, what happens in Israel is very much a local New York matter, because you have a Jewish community in New York that is larger than what you have in Israel. But for Arab matters, it's part of foreign affairs.

When I was in the first year at the College of Mass Communication in Cairo, they gave you the classic five W's of how to write news. When we see the coverage from the 11th of September until today in the Middle East, especially the Israeli invasion of Palestinian land, or even the suicide bombings which took place in Israel, we have the story, but you never find the element why. One of the W's-why, why this has happened.

I went to Ramallah. I stayed a long time to understand why somebody blows himself up. The manufacturing of a suicide bomber -- why? You never know that 72 percent of the Palestinian population lives on [less than] $2 per day. This is under the standard of poverty of the World Bank and the IMF. And this $2, because there is no Palestinian currency, is linked to the Israeli currency. The Palestinian standard of living is actually 55 cents a day. Seventy-two percent of Palestinians are living on 55 cents per day.

I have to make it clear here that I always hold the position that the killing of any civilian, any civilian, whatever

"The perception is that the American media tend to follow the priorities and foreign policy stresses of the U.S. administration, rather than anticipating or articulating them more independently."

— NAJAM SETHI

"You come writing the same story with the same slogan -- a minute-and-a-half bite or a 500-word story -- and you think that you know the Middle East."

— Emad Adeeb

his nationality is, whatever his religion is, whatever his faith is, whatever his political ideas are, whatever his social class is, is something forbidden for me. We are against killing civilians -- Jewish civilians, Arab civilians, Americans, Palestinians, Afghanis,Pakistanis. No civilian should be killed.

When you come to the area, you come and visit us in what I call the American Express Press Tour -- 72 hours, or five days visiting. You stay at the same hotel where the 150,000 colleagues before you have stayed. You eat at the same restaurant because you've been given its name. You have the same short list of people to interview who have been interviewed [before], either from the government or from the opposition -- they become official spokesmen, even for the opposition. You go to the same places; you buy the same presents for your wives or girlfriends or mistresses, because you have the same address from your friends before you. You don't do anything out of the norm, and you come writing the same story with the same slogan -- a minute-and-a-half bite, or a 500-word story -- and you think that you know the Middle East and you know the action or reaction of this area. And then when a crisis happens, you are interviewed as an expert about the Middle East.

We know about you more than you know about us. But the disaster in the story is that those who have the power are the ones who have the lesser knowledge, and those who haven't got the power know more about the other. We can't affect you, but you can affect us.

In this cultural isolationism in the mind of an American person in the Midwest, he sees only America as the map of the world, and other countries are just small places there. [You are] too self-centered, too isolated from the world. Why suddenly is the Middle East important? Because those killers, those terrorists have committed the biggest sin, which is killing [your] people, the first attack on [your] land after Pearl Harbor. I'm totally against what happened [on] the 11th of September. I e-mailed all my friends in the United States sympathizing with them. I had my share of insults from my audience defending the American position. I was attacked as being pro-American, of [belonging to] the CIA.

You always talk about rulers or mullahs or ayatollahs or people in the opposition, but you were never concerned about so-called "moderates," people who are affected by you, affected by your culture, by your American way of life, who love America, and they are most of the people in the Arab world or in the third world. We are not anti-American. We are not [against the] American way of life. If you ask most of the people in the Arab world, in the Muslim world, [they are] against the American policy, against the double standards. But we are not programmed as Arabs or Muslims to be anti-American. No. It is the policy of the administration.

You never thought about what would happen to moderation in the Arab world. What will happen to the moderates because of these American policies? Somebody like me on his program can't come out with a solid answer to why America is doing what it is, or why America is negative toward what's happening in Palestine, or why the American President doesn't want a timetable for a Palestinian state, or why they have made their position very early against the Arab or the Islamic world, or why they insist on having this war against Iraq. Saddam Hussein is not my hero. I hate the man. I wish I had a gun and could kill him, but this is not the way to change the world.

We have an idea about how Americans perceive us: Muslims, and especially Arabs, have got a built-in hatred for Americans, and they act in reaction to some religious and cultural values. They endorse violence and glorify suicide attacks. Just being an Arab or a Muslim, I have always to take my shirt off to show you that I don't have a dynamite belt.

"Why do they hate us?" It's a question that's being raised in Time and Newsweek. It's your own starting point toward Arabs and Muslims. We don't hate you. We are in sharp difference with your administration. To make just a point about this: We have 800,000 Americans living in

the Middle East, and not one incident since the 11th of September against them.

The term "Islamic terrorist." Mr. Lou Dobbs, one of the most prominent journalists, in his "Moneyline" program on CNN last week [used] the phrase "Islamic terrorist." Do you know how much this could offend people? If there is somebody who is suffering from so-called fanatics in the Arab world, it is us in the Arab world. It's people like Najam Sethi in Pakistan. You know that one morning they can take power and he would be in prison and I would be in prison. How much are Americans or the American administration really helping us to face this?

I'll give you some statistics from my viewers, to show how we really think. In answer to a question, Are you against the U.S. value system and way of life? Six percent said yes, five percent said don't know, 89 percent said no, we are not against the American way of life or value system. The second question: Do you think that the 11th of September harmed or helped the Palestinian issue and the image of Arabs and Muslims in America? Ten percent said we don't know; 21 percent said, yes, it helped; 69 percent said it harmed Muslims and Arabs and the image of Arabs.

DOYINSOLA ABIOLA, Editor-in-Chief, Concord Group of Newspapers, Nigeria: The African world, like the rest of the world, virtually went into shock on September 11, 2001. First was the shock of the attacks on the World Trade Center in New York and on the Pentagon in Washington, followed by the shock of it happening on American soil. That was almost a heresy. Everything we hold to be true has suddenly been turned upside down. And yet we turn for explanation and interpretation.

Of course, the media were equally astounded. However, on that evening they had a job to do. And I must say they rose up to the occasion. African media were filled with horror and condemnation of the terrorist attacks on America. But they were also quick to ask for strength and not revenge from America. Some of them blamed America for "bringing the attack on itself."

And during the lull period when America was weighing its options and right of reply, African media withdrew from the attack story to more pressing local matters. Mohammed Halama, a columnist for The Daily Trust, the Nigerian newspaper, led the call for a retreat when he wrote, "For the citizens of much of Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America, September 11 represented pretty little change in their lives."

[Another writer] went further, to predict that "the United States is not going to pulverize Afghanistan anytime soon." What he and indeed what nobody knew then was that the U.S.-led offensive would drive the Taliban out of two-thirds of Afghanistan in a few short weeks. The U.S. offensive touched a raw nerve in the African media, which went from full condemnation to unsolicited advice to the American government and people.
The Johannesburg Mail and Guardian focused on "rage and protest" from Kabul to Indonesia in its headline for October 8th. Protest against the war became standard headlines in Nigeria, Tanzania, Kenya, and South Africa. They all had a brief interlude in the American-bashing to celebrate the so-called liberation of Afghan women before focusing on what may happen next.

What became apparent in the ensuing coverage of the September 11 story was a loss of objectivity and professionalism in reporting. Both African and American journalists became more participants than objective observers, sacrificing facts for opinion. One U.S. network wants to know why the military is not deploying ground troops in division-size force in Kabul, whereas another orders the Pentagon to extend the war by occupying Libya and invading Iraq.

Undoubtedly, the greatest casualty of the war [are] the

PHOTO BY JONATHAN ERNST

"We know about you more than you know about us," says Emad Adeeb.

"What became apparent in the ensuing coverage of the September 11 story was a loss of objectivity and professionalism in reporting," says Doyinsola Abiola.

media, both the U.S. and the international media.

How much of September 11 reporting is accessible? How do journalists broaden the discourse on Islam and the war on terror to include views that are being given short shift? How do we bridge the gulf of misunderstanding between the rich and the poor states? How do we begin to create an understanding of people's aspirations between and within our borders? How do we expose bigotry of all kinds?

Just as the U.S. media coverage of September 11 and the subsequent war on terrorism has drawn attention to the best of American journalism, it also offers an opportunity for improvement. Much improvement is needed in the apportionment of time and attention given to other countries on international issues. The American media, reportedly, carried more stories on Afghanistan on page one four months after the attack than in the previous four decades. [One magazine wrote this year that] in the 1990's 14 countries received 82 percent of the airtime devoted to foreign coverage on television evening news. The remaining time was split among 136 countries, with one in five nations receiving no coverage at all. Beyond the top 14 countries, the view remained dangerously narrow. Europe got more coverage than all of Africa and Central and South America combined. India and Pakistan together got less than North Korea, and Italy drew more minutes than Colombia, Saudi Arabia, and Sudan, among others. Afghanistan, though covered closely in 1980, got less airtime in the 1990's than in a single month last fall, when the nightly news could no longer ignore it.

A cardinal lesson from September 11 is the fact that the world is indeed a global village with interactive consequences. Hence, the need for a better and effective coverage of our interactive world. More balanced coverage of Africa will reveal that some African countries are at various levels of democratization and development of their economies. Witness the founding of the New Partnership for African Development, which has been vigorously promoted by 12 African states, with Senegal, Nigeria, South Africa, and Algeria. It may not be the panacea for all Africa's economic problems. It is, nonetheless, a bold step that deserves attention.

Mozambique, once devastated by war, is now among the most rapidly growing countries in Africa. Senegal is confronting the AIDS epidemic with huge success. Tanzania and Mauritius are promoting stronger private sectors, which are attracting foreign investment.

A new generation of African has emerged; corporate leaders and entrepreneurs can be found in all sectors of their societies, even as old stereotypes die hard.

Perhaps the greatest shortcoming in the wake of September 11 is the reporting about Islam as a growing religion. The media have always had problems covering all religions, especially the militants within various religions. Islam is now a focal issue because of September 11, but religious strain showed [in the] rapid growth of militancy, which has occurred without much notice from the media.

Even the spread of radical Islam all over the world has been long coming. And thankfully there's a growing literature in academia on this topic for those who wish to learn. Using clichés to describe what we do not understand can only breed more hatred than understanding. The American journalists, in particular, and all others have their job well cut out if and when they decide to rise up to their responsibility.

MARCUS BRAUCHLI, National Editor, The Wall Street Journal: Bill had hoped that I would be provocative and challenge the speakers. In fact, I think, [considering] the indictment that they delivered, we could probably save some court time and plead guilty, in large measure.

I think the best American journalism from abroad is very good. It is subtle and insightful and gives

Americans context. I think a lot of American journalism from abroad doesn't live up to that, and, as Bill suggested at the beginning, U.S. media are now watched everywhere around the world. By watched I mean over the Internet, not necessarily people watching a broadcast, or in some cases people are watching U.S. broadcasts as well. People have an opportunity to compare what the U.S. media say with what their media say and what they think about the world, which leads to the exposures of really fundamental misunderstandings, and, I think, heightens some of the contradictions out there. An example that comes to mind was the bombing by the United States of the Chinese mission in Belgrade. I was in Shanghai at the time, and I think all 1.3 billion people were more or less in agreement that it was an intentional act by the U.S. In the U.S. you had trouble finding anybody who didn't think that the U.S. military just screwed up again and dropped a bomb by accident on the Chinese mission.

But I think the U.S. media do have some fundamental problems in the way they cover international affairs, which lead to the kinds of problems that were described here. If you listen to Defense Department press conferences, which are broadcast around the world, you see journalists standing up and talking to Donald Rumsfeld about what we're going to do in Afghanistan and whether we're going to drop bombs. That may seem harmless in Washington, but I think around the world there's a perception that the press and the government are one. That perception, I think, is exacerbated by the fact that, in a lot of countries where people are watching, the media and the government are one. Or the media and the government, if not the same entity, are so closely in cahoots because they represent the leader of the country that they might as well be one.

We do send many journalists overseas as first-timers who aren't seasoned, experienced, [fluent in] the new language of the countries they're going to. The “American Express Press Tour” is very real; I've been on it. I brought back some of those things. But my newspaper has five people who live in China who speak Chinese, and we have eight people in Japan who speak Japanese. During the post-9/11 period a lot of newspapers, [small, regional papers], sent people overseas, and those journalists may be able to open eyes because they're seeing the world with fresh eyes a lot of times, because they are arriving for the first time in a country. But they don't have the experience to judge some of the things they're seeing. They're seeing it on the “American Express Press Tour” and they're not getting much depth in some cases. It takes a lot of time and experience to get depth.

People are, therefore, very dependent on U.S. officials for their information -- it's the press briefing thing that Najam talked about. A lot of international coverage in the United States comes from Washington and is sourced to people in Washington who are attempting to express the thoughts of officials in countries overseas and people overseas. We the media, take for granted more than we should, by far, what people in Washington tell us about what people in other countries are thinking, as opposed to going to those people in other countries and those governments in other countries and finding out what they're thinking.

All this leads to this very big credibility gap. I speak as an American who lived overseas, and so perhaps I can be contradicted by people here, but I think if you talk to people in other countries, they don't trust the American media because they think the American media are in bed with the government. In a lot of countries I've worked in there's a sense that the United States is a proselytizing Christian nation that's got a technology-powered economy that devours everything in sight and hypocrisy rules in Washington. The American media, by repeating everything that the American government thinks and says, a lot of times play into that.

> **“Undoubtedly the greatest casualty of the war is ... both the U.S. and foreign media.”**
>
> **— Doyinsola Abiola**

PHOTO BY JONATHAN ERNST

Najam Sethi greets members of the audience.

QUESTION

PAOLO SOTERO: I'm a correspondent here in Washington for O Estado de Sao Paolo, a newspaper in Brazil.

From what you said, my impression is that the U.S. media are not as powerful anymore, if they ever were, in terms of agenda setting for you. Is the influence of the U.S. media in your part of the world declining because of those perceptions you convey, or did I understand things the wrong way?

EMAD ADEEB: One of the problems in our part of the world is that we are not only consuming American products but we are also consuming American culture and American information. For instance, we have this experience of, let's say we have a story about me in the Middle East, and it's been reported by the American media, and it comes through CNN back to me. The CNN correspondent in Cairo reported it to the head office in Atlanta, and then it's beamed back to the Middle East.

Our local news depends, as its source on what really happened to me, on you. The disaster is, what if what you have reported about me that comes back to me is wrong? How will that affect me?

We heard about the terrorist bomb in the streets of Cairo in 1994 from CNN. It happened in downtown, in the center of the capital, [and we heard about it] from CNN before watching it on Egypt TV. Here is the effect and here is the influence. We are consuming your news, your information.

Since the 11th of September we are getting all the information about the al-Qaeda organization from America, not anywhere else.

QUESTION

JOYCE DAVIS: I'm with Knight-Ridder, and just on that point, I would like you to comment on the effect that al-Jazeera has had, because clearly, I think, the Arab media have had some effect on the American media and their reporting of September 11 and also the continuing battle with terrorism. The other question that I wanted to put to you: Have you noticed any improvement at all in the coverage of the Arab world or of Africa?

The reason I bring this up is that, when I first began international affairs coverage in Washington 12 years ago with NPR, very few Arab voices were on the air; there was very little objective discussion of Islam. There was no coverage of Muslim holidays in this country. There now is coverage of Muslim holidays; [newspapers] now treat Muslims as Americans. I mean, at least I have seen a clear improvement. It's not where it ought to be, but there's a vast difference in the past decade in how the American media treated these issues and how they're treated now. Haven't you noticed that?

EMAD ADEEB: There are a lot of positive things. If I said no, I would be really stupid. But I would like to tell you, concerning al-Jazeera, that the American media went to al-Jazeera because they were the only ones inside al-Qaeda, the only ones who had the permission, and because they had their camera there. Since they started not having their camera there, [the American media] haven't used them. And they were the only ones who had the bin Laden tapes. Al-Jazeera was sexy to the American media because they had a scoop which you couldn't get anywhere else. But I wish they'd go to the Arab media and Arab people and talk to third world people, not only on an exclusive basis but trying to [dig] deeper into what's happened, to know more about them. But I acknowledge, yes, there was a tremendous change in dealing with the area after the 11th of September.

QUESTION

QUESTIONER: I want to know whether you're able to train your reporters to have a good grasp of the economic change that is going on. Many times the economic chaos, the economic chasms between sectors and population really create political turmoil. But I don't think most reporters in any part of the world really have a grip on that. And I wonder if you all think that's important.

NAJAM SETHI: Well, yes, it is very, very important. The problem in our part of the world is that 90 percent of our reporters have no formal training in journalism. And you can't expect them to understand economics and matters like that. That has a lot to do with the lack of education, ignorance, illiteracy, and so on and so forth.

Marcus was talking about what can be done to promote a freer media in our part of the world. I'll talk about Pakistan and I'll say this: It's very important for you to export the real values of American civilization and not those that are perceived to be such, not gunboat diplomacy and imperialism but democracy and human rights and protection for minorities and women's liberation and empowerment and things like that.

Unfortunately, not enough is done on that score by Americans and not enough is done by the American media to promote such values in our part of the world. I think more on that would be very helpful because, after all, at the end of the day it is elites in our part of the world that take decisions. And these elites are very susceptible to ideas.

I remember when President Bush made his speech [after September 11] in which he said that people are envious of our freedoms; they hate us because they don't have the same freedoms and the sort of values we have. No, that's not true. America is loved for those things; it's not hated for those things. There are other issues, which Emad pointed out, on which there is a perception that perhaps American foreign policy has not been just, and that is where the misunderstanding lies. We need more from America in terms of promoting the very values that make America great.

QUESTION

TRUDY RUBIN: I'm from the Philadelphia Inquirer. I just wanted to ask Najam and Emad how September 11 has affected the discussion in your community of editors and journalists about their own coverage in your respective countries. What have been the debates and the problems that have been fostered by trying to follow up on 9/11?

Emad, I am curious whether there has been any discussion amongst top Egyptian journalists, or what your thoughts have been, about what kind of changes might be needed internally and how 9/11 has made you think about them in terms of self-censorship or controls that are imposed or inability to get the information from your own readers, or even the kinds of talk show guests that you have or don't have or might want to have.

EMAD ADEEB: I have to be frank with you. There was a lot of hypocrisy in a lot of guests that I had on during the first two or three months after the 11th of September. When you sit with him before the program or even after the program and you invite him for a cup of coffee or for dinner, he's against what happened the 11th of September.

I had something called the *wa lâkin*. *Wa lâkin* in Arabic means "but" -- I was the *wa lâkin* or the "but" doctor. Everybody would start saying that it was wrong, what happened at the 11th of September, *wa lâkin*-but … and they'd start giving all justifications for this, and I had always to leave my role as a moderator and start entering into a kind of a quarrel with the guest. I discovered something: that you can be very hypocritical with a ruler because you want a post or you want to be close to them.

But there is another hypocrisy, which is talking to the people or feeding them the emotions they want. This is a big disaster.

A few people came out in the Middle East and said you are going in the wrong direction. Bin Laden is not Islam, and what happened degrades this great religion, and even if we are anti-American or we are against the American policy, this is not the way to reply to their injustice.

PHOTO BY JONATHAN ERNST

Doyinsola Abiola talks to an audience member.

BBC News Director Urges US Media to "Engage People" in Foreign News

Highlights from the conference keynote address delivered by ***Richard Sambrook****, director of BBC News. Since September 11, 2001, many Americans have discovered the British Broadcasting Corporation's international news reporting. As the world's largest broadcast newsgathering organization, the BBC has more than 250 correspondents stationed around the globe. BBC World, a 24-hour news and information service, is distributed to 200 million homes worldwide. Its international radio service broadcasts in 43 languages.*

Today the BBC World Service is making inroads into the American market. BBC World newscasts air on over 80 percent of U.S. public television stations, up from 60 percent before September 11, 2001. They are also available on most of the major digital cable channels and via direct broadcast satellite. BBC World Service radio broadcasts now have 2.6 million U.S. listeners, and the World Service website has eight times the traffic it had in August 2001, with more than half of the hits coming from the United States. The BBC has also entered into cooperative arrangements with several U.S. media companies such as the Discovery Channel, ABC News, Public Radio International, and National Public Radio.

Keynote

Richard Sambrook

RICHARD SAMBROOK, DIRECTOR, BBC NEWS: As a child growing up in Britain in the 60's, the first TV news images I can recall came from America: the Kennedy assassination, Vietnam, the moon landing (perhaps the ultimate in foreign coverage!), and later, Watergate. As a young producer, the scale and professionalism of American network news when I came across it in the field was awesome. Indeed, those are the things that inspired me to become a journalist and enter the world of broadcast news. I believed it was important work.

Forty years ago, Edward R. Murrow could famously and confidently declare that: "The new medium of television had the potential to educate, illuminate, and inspire. However, it can do so only to the extent that humans are determined to use it to those ends. Otherwise, it is merely lights and wires in a box." That was the age of patriarchy, when producers and editors were an elite who knew what was good for their audience and gave it to them. And the audience, in the Cold War and with little choice, was grateful for it.

Broadcasters understood that their ability to control what was transmitted through that box constituted an enormous power and an enormous responsibility. For the mass population, their knowledge and understanding of the wider world came, in large measure, from the news broadcasts they watched.

So much has changed. Now we're in the midst of the information revolution. More sources of news, information, and more data than ever before. Five hundred channels and the Internet to choose from. If the audience doesn't like what you're offering, they switch and switch again and in this new environment, news and public affairs content doesn't do so well.

Awash with information, but perhaps not with knowledge.

In Britain more people under the age of 35 voted in a TV show to choose their pop idol than voted in the general election. It seemed, in Neil Postman's phrase, we might be set to "amuse ourselves to death."

Then came September 11.

September 11th was an occasion when the world needed news in a way it hadn't for more than a decade. People turned to us desperate to understand, in search of clear, accurate information to help them make sense of those horrifying events. They were looking for some stable points in what suddenly appeared to be a terrifying world. I think all broadcasters and press rose to that challenge and deserve much praise.

Trust was crucial. These days it's sometimes hard to know what is real and what is not. But news broadcasters' reputation rests on truth. And that's why people turned to us then.

However, it left them asking some awkward questions: Why didn't we know this was coming? Why haven't we heard of al-Qaeda? What has been going on in the Middle East? Why didn't we know about the Taliban? And if we did, why didn't you explain why it mattered?

We know from the Pew research, among others, that the key block for audiences in understanding foreign news is a lack of context and explanation. But you can't give that as a one-off. It demands a commitment to reporting long-running and complex issues over a period of time.

And I believe there's a lesson for the media conglomerates: Invest in reporting the truth and you will earn the trust and loyalty of audiences. Not just for one overnight rating, but for the long game. Fail them when they need you and you may lose their trust and support—for good.

For a precious few months, the money tap was turned on and the broadcast news organizations brought back images and analysis of the events and forces which are shaping our world. Jennings, Brokaw, and Rather were guests of choice in every living room.

Three weeks after the attacks, Dan Rather told the Columbia Journalism Review:

"I think it's a great moment in American journalism. Now, whether we can make this moment last, and how long we can make it last, these are the open questions." He also predicted an early return of the mindset which says, as he put it, "You just can't survive, much less thrive, without dumbing it down, sleazing it up, going lighter, going softer."

And so, nine months on, Disney tried to replace Nightline with Letterman; according to the Tyndall Report, news programs have returned to a softer agenda; audiences have settled back to a disappointing low; and hardly a week goes by without, even in London, another article predicting the end of network news.

PHOTO BY JONATHAN ERNST

Broadcast news faces "all the hallmarks of a crisis," says BBC News Director Richard Sambrook.

To me, this has all the hallmarks of a crisis.

As someone who is passionate about news—who believes that reporting on the extraordinary events that affect millions of real people's lives around the world every day is one of the most important things we can choose to do, who believes that news and factual programs should be amongst the most enthralling things we offer—I want to know how we ended up here.

Because somewhere between my view (and I suspect your view) of news, and the view of much of the audience and our owners looking at the bottom line, something has broken. Something has gone awry.

Putting it right is the major challenge for my generation of news directors, editors, and leaders.

Schedules and programs determined by focus group have led to a crisis of confidence and failure of imagination by producers in the name of giving the public what they want.

We rush to give people what they want on television, to maintain ratings and profits. But we are not inspiring or capturing their imagination and we're no longer illuminating the world in the way Murrow talked about.

Far from leading our audiences, we fear them—fear that anything complex, any-

> **"Perhaps we need to work harder not only on hear what the audience says they want, but to try to understand what might inspire them to want what they don't know."**
>
> — RICHARD SAMBROOK

thing unfamiliar will be a turn-off. We, the producers, have become micromanagers in what, to paraphrase Dick Morris, is "small-bore television."

But, of course, the genie won't go back into the bottle. Viewers will vote with the remote control. So is there no way back?

Perhaps we need to work harder not only to hear what the audience says they want, but to try to understand what might inspire them to want what they don't know.

Focus groups tell us that the under-35s aren't interested in foreign news. And yet, they are the generation that backpacks around the world, e-mails across continents, listens to music from Africa, Asia. We live in increasingly multicultural societies where many, many people have connections overseas. Don't tell me they're not interested. Maybe they just don't like the way we tell it.

We all conduct mountains of audience research, particularly on the under-35s. But too often we end up patronizing them. Believing what they seek is entertainment, attitude, "cool." Our research, specifically to develop a news program for those generations for a new digital channel, came to some different conclusions. What they want is straight news. Modern, contemporary in style and tone, yes, but not skewed in its agenda and not patronizing. They care about the world. They want to hear about it in a way that is straight, unmediated, and with some depth and explanation.

You may say it's easy for a public service broadcaster like the BBC to preach about foreign news. Do I appreciate the difficulties facing the broadcast industry in the U.S.A.?

Well, yes, I do. We face the same problems.

The BBC is paid for by the British public. Not through the tax system or through government but through a licence fee on every household with a television set. That fee essentially represents a contract between the BBC and the viewing public to deliver a broad range of high-quality programming. If the majority of people don't believe they get value for money from the BBC, we're in big trouble. So ratings matter.

We also face intense competition, just as the American networks do, from a myriad of cable and satellite channels. Ratings for individual shows have declined, but two-thirds of the population still turn to the BBC for news.

We consider it our responsibility to place a high priority on international news coverage. And this applies in the programs we produce for our British audiences, as well as for BBC World Service Radio and BBC World Television. Last year we reported from 160 different countries.

For me, the coverage we have been able to offer all our audiences since 9/11 has been a vindication of that ethos.

Above all, we put a very high priority on firsthand reporting. There is no substitute for a trusted reporter saying, "I went there, I saw this." And audiences, particularly the elusive younger ones, respect that too. They recognize its integrity in a crowded market. To be able to say, "We know because we were there and saw for ourselves"—that's gold dust.

The BBC's master of location reporting is John Simpson, who, as one commentator observed recently, has "been there and done that a hundred times, literally."

On 9/11, John had just emerged from Afghanistan—his dozenth visit—and was able to give firsthand analysis of the possible bin Laden connection and the likely consequences for his Taliban protectors. As the story developed, John and three colleagues walked into Kabul ahead of the Northern Alliance forces and most of the rest of the international media. Contacts and experience and commitment to the story paid off.

We've invested heavily in new technology and mobile newsgathering. On this occasion the determination of the newsgathering team was so strong that, finding the road through Northern Afghanistan impassable, they loaded the satellite dish onto a posse of 30 mules and scrambled for five days through the snowy passes of the Hindu Kush. They arrived in Kabul as it was liberated and we were broadcasting live within 30

minutes. That's the kind of dedication and commitment I really admire.

What I hope I'm giving you a sense of here is a long-term, committed, planned, financially supported approach to international news reporting. I don't believe world news is something you can pick up and drop when it suits, or when the need arises.

What we are trying to do day in, day out over many years is follow a course that puts foreign news at its heart—not just in the big stories we cover but in the smaller, apparently less significant ones, all of which feed our understanding of how the world works and how what happens in one place directly or indirectly affects those of us watching or listening elsewhere. 9/11 was the clearest example of that "connectedness," but it is by no means the only one.

The impact of 9/11 is unclear. Has there been a fundamental change in the level of interest in international news or is this just a blip on the road to overall decline? Is it a "wake-up call" to news organizations, and if so will they heed it?

I wonder whether this commonly held view that the American public is not interested in international news is really true, or how much it is a self-fulfilling prophecy. Tell them less about the world and small wonder that eventually they cease to ask about it. And they are ceasing to ask about it. I am always struck by how much of what passes for international coverage here is actually about American interests abroad. It's like a guest at a party who eventually pauses for breath and says, "But enough about me. Tell me what *you* think of me!"

But there can be no doubt after 9/11 that America needs to take a close interest in the rest of the world. And the media has to deliver that. Call it a corporate social responsibility. I firmly believe that with editorial vision, leadership, creativity, we can engage people in foreign news and in the world around them. And the circumstances that challenge us in terms of competition, choice, and fragmenting audiences may also provide us with opportunities. How? We have to innovate—continually. The BBC has already put time and energy into expanding our services. Whether via digital TV or radio, via the Internet or new broadband services, mobile phone, we will be there and we want BBC news to be the top choice for news on all of these platforms. Twenty-four-hour TV, radio, and new media services.

To do that we have to evolve our content. Because in the end it is our content that must distinguish the BBC from its competitors. I want us to be the audience's first choice for the world's best journalism. In the States, it seems you compete more for talent than for content. For me, it's the journalism that counts.

I want greater differentiation in our programs. There cannot be one size of BBC news product that fits all audiences—a BBC News McNugget. On the contrary, for us "difference is good." What interests and motivates a 55-year-old will be very different from a 25-year-old. We have to provide for both—in niche services, if necessary.

So we've launched a new prime time international news program simulcast on BBC World and one of our U.K. digital channels, always taking an internationalist view of the news.

At the other end of the spectrum, we have "60-Seconds," an on-the-hour multimedia roundup for younger viewers on our digital channel, aimed at under-35s.

Next month, we're evolving our Internet news site to have both U.K. and international editions. The guiding principle behind all of our traditional and new output is not to shy away from the important news in favor of engaging trivia but to "make the important interesting."

So our output will change over time and rightly so—in all areas we need, as I say, a dynamic response.

PHOTO BY JONATHAN ERNST

Richard Sambrook listens to a question from Roy Wadia, a member of the audience at the National Press Club.

Urs Boegli of the International Committee of the Red Cross poses a question to Richard Sambrook.

And for all our evolving news output, I think interactivity is key. We can no longer simply act as gatekeepers to information. The Internet and digital technology may have spawned competition, but it has also given us the opportunity to engage with our audiences as never before.

On September 11th we will launch an online portal marking that day and those terrible events. But it will also lead users into the BBC's news and history archive to explain what led to that extraordinary moment in time, and help them anticipate what may lie in the years ahead.

If you want to know more about a particular subject, the Internet and now interactive television can deliver that. And while editors have bemoaned the prospect of people devising running orders of their own choosing which might edit out what we believe is important, think of this: If, instead of asking people if they want to be e-mailed foreign news stories or business news, you ask, "Do you want to know about stories that could have a bearing on national security, or stories that might have a bearing on your pension plan?" you may get a different response.

As ever in journalism, you have to ask the right question to get the right answer. Do you want foreign news? No. Do you want to know how your world is changing? Yes.

In an increasingly complex world we can act as their trusted guide, helping them make sense of it all—whether it be through an interactive forum with a world leader on the World Service and BBC News Online's Talking Point, or through a major TV news show with e-mail and video-booth contributions and questions from the audience.

So, far from retrenching, we have expanded our news coverage aggressively. We now produce six times more news output than we did 10 years ago—30,000 hours per year for U.K. audiences and over 15,000 hours per year for overseas markets.

So should a broadcaster's response to increasing competition and a fickle audience be to put our bats away and retire hurt? Should it be to dig our heels in and convince ourselves that the product is good and the audience will come to their senses eventually? Should it be to dumb down and chase the ratings? To all of this an emphatic "No."

We must respond creatively, work harder, and manage carefully the changes forced upon us to ensure the survival of a healthy broadcast news industry.

Why? Because journalism provides something essential in a democratic culture: independent, reliable, accurate, and comprehensive information that citizens require to make free choices.

I don't think there are many people in this room that would disagree about the importance of foreign news reporting, but we know it's not a universal view.

Large media conglomerates may produce the news and own the production process, but they don't necessarily care about it. And governments across the world often fail to appreciate its importance or, worse, still try to stifle it.

If there is a crisis in broadcast news, then it needs leadership to find a way out of it.

The importance of news reporting in general and foreign news in particular has to be strongly argued for by those who do understand it and care passionately about it. The audiences still trust us. Just. Let's not let them down.

I hope audiences to your news programs increase. But I believe it'll only happen if we inspire our viewers, not pander to them. I hope media owners make a good profit, but not at the much higher cost of failing their public in explaining a complex and dangerous world.

I hope broadcast news is celebrated again as a powerful and important medium for connecting the world. But that'll only happen if we honor the trust our audiences place in us and speak loudly and clearly about our values and why they matter.

Broadcast news is still the most powerful tool for communication, for connecting the world, for explaining the world to itself. I believe it's a force for good. But it's up to us to prove it and to earn afresh that respect.

QUESTION

STEVEN SEGALLER: I'm a displaced compatriot, a director at News and Public Affairs Programs at WNET in New York. And I should note that in a month's time, on July 11, we and PBS are launching a new, prime time, hour-long, all-international documentary series called "Wide Angle," for which we have high hopes. What's the face of news and public affairs on your main channels, on the main BBC One and BBC Two?

Has news and public affairs gone the way of its fellows in the U.S., being marginalized on the main channels, which have to deliver that large audience?

RICHARD SAMBROOK: I think there's a mixed picture, to be honest with you.

Certainly in terms of daily news, I'd say we're pretty strong at the moment. We recently shifted the time of our flagship evening news program from 9 PM to 10 PM, and that has stemmed the kind of long-term decline that I think the networks have suffered here as well, and that we felt in Britain. So that has leveled off, and actually, overall, the news audience, I think, has increased by about a million over the last year across all terrestrial channels in the U.K.

What's more difficult, though, is public affairs, or, as we call it, current affairs programming. What doesn't work anymore is hammocking, the way you put one popular program at one time and a different popular comedy or drama an hour later, and put something in between that was good for the audience in the hope they'd stick with it. Because they don't; they just zap away now.

So what we've done is to try to schedule serious content at a more protected place in the schedule, so our main flagship current affairs program, "Panorama," now goes out roughly in a kind of "60 Minutes" slot. And, though that's never going to be a massive audience place, it is less competitively scheduled against, and we believe it can still compete and find its natural place there.

But the digital channels, BBC Three and BBC Four, are absolutely places where we can experiment and innovate and try and find new formats and ways of doing things that will bring in a new audience.

QUESTION

QUESTIONER: My question should go to the marketing department, but, as you are here, now that you have whetted our appetite, is there any chance that we in the U.S. can buy BBC World TV? So far, it's about the only satellite channel I know of that you cannot get in this country.

RICHARD SAMBROOK: In terms of BBC World, it's available on a number of PBS stations, and there are some programs on BBC America. We would love to have it as a 24-hour channel here, if that were possible. It may be, it may not. But we'd love to do that if it ever does become possible.

QUESTION

ROY WADIA: I am formerly from CNN's Worldwide Service, which is not seen in this country, except on certain cable systems. From the outside, since you're in England, you've spoken about the cause of journalism worldwide. What do you think of the Fox phenomenon in this country, because it's actually pulled several other stations with it in a way, including my former station, CNN.

RICHARD SAMBROOK: Well, I don't get to see Fox very often. And when I do, it comes as a bit of a surprise, because we don't quite have anything like that in Britain. And the reason for that is in Britain all television, including commercial television, is regulated and has to be strictly politically impartial.

I suppose I'm not surprised that in an unregulated environment that's the way the pull has gone, and I'm not

> **"If there is a crisis in broadcast news, then it needs leadership to find a way out of it."**
>
> — RICHARD SAMBROOK

> **"In journalism, you have to ask the right question. Do you want foreign news? No. Do you want to know how your world is changing? Yes."**
>
> — RICHARD SAMBROOK

surprised that Fox in those terms has been successful.

But I suppose my real view about it is that, as I said in my comments earlier, for those of us who believe in the importance of international news and the importance of impartiality, that's another example of the market failing, if they have to do that to be successful, and, therefore, I think it could be the thin end of a very large wedge that would discomfort me considerably.

But, you know, this is a different market, and I can understand why they've done it, and I can understand why in its own terms it's been successful, but I'm glad that in Britain we still regulate it.

QUESTION

QUESTIONER: I had hoped to hear this morning and this afternoon a little bit more about the impact of the Internet on the producing and consuming of international news, especially in a time when, if I want to find out what's happening in Pakistan, I can tune in to Najam Sethi's newspapers. And I know BBC has invested a lot into putting news on the Internet.

Can you give us some assessment of your own feeling as to the impact of this medium on reporting and consuming of international news?

RICHARD SAMBROOK: Well, I think the strengths of it are obviously in that it expands what you're able to do almost exponentially. And certainly, regarding this crucial issue about the amount of context and explanation and background briefing you can give to very complex issues, the Internet is part of that answer.

On something as difficult as the Middle East, we can provide online a lot of basic briefing and a lot of clickable maps and explanation there as a resource if people choose to go find it. But the question is whether they will choose to go and find it.

I think certainly in terms of interactive television, which is I guess the next step, it's going to be providing news on demand, which I am sure will be the next stage for a media organization like the BBC in providing news on demand on broadband service, on TV, and so on. I'm sure it will be absolutely a core part of what we do in not very many years.

The downside of it, of course, is that news on demand edits out what we think is important and it's kind of self-censoring in a way. We may simply have to accept that, but I think what the Internet provides at the moment is for the audience who's engaged anyway.

QUESTION

QUESTIONER: I am the editor of the evening news in Channel 2 News Israel Television. We have, more or less, the same broadcast system as the British, with a combination of public service and commercials. And I want to ask you whether you feel that being a public service is more independent than the commercial news?

Because in Israel, we have a lot of constraints, especially on the public broadcast, from the political level, what to broadcast and what not to broadcast.

On the other hand, the commercial news has to be more appealing to the audience. So how do you see this?

RICHARD SAMBROOK: Well, certainly the commercial news in Britain has to appeal as well as it can to the audience, but I think so do we for the reasons I said. Ratings matter to the BBC very strongly. And if our ratings fall, then we're in trouble because our funding doesn't come from the government; it comes from our audience.

That also gives us independence from the government, so that we don't have the kind of pressure that you've described. I mean, occasionally the government will ring me up and express their opinion about what we're doing, as anyone else is entitled to, but I'm also entitled to tell them to go away.

And actually, our funding comes under debate once every 15 years when the charter comes up, but by and large, our funding is set and comes from the audience; and that gives us an independence, I think, that some other public broadcasters don't have.

QUESTION

MUSTAFA MALIK: I work for the Glasgow Herald. You talked about Fox News. I watched Fox News recently out of fun. For 30 years I have been a very loyal audience of BBC. I was born in

the empire you talked about. But, the question is: Rupert Murdoch took over The Times of London and also Fox News. The idea was that we heard research showed that audiences' tastes have changed. They are not into serious news. Now, you must have some studies about it. What does your audience say? Has it changed? I see that you have retained the same seriousness you had.

RICHARD SAMBROOK: I think the core audience for news and current affairs has the same kind of profile in Britain and in Europe as it has here. The core audience is an aging one, and the issue for us is how to appeal to and attract the younger audience.

We have within Britain what we call a demographic wave, which someone referred to this morning with regards to the United States. Ten years ago we indicated there was a problem with people under 35, who just weren't sitting down and watching our main news programs in the way that older people have. Ten years on those people haven't started watching. The problem now is with the under-45s, and there's every reason to suppose in 10 years time it'll be the under-55s.

So the issue is that there is a generational change in what people want from news, and the point is they don't gather around the set at 10:00 in the evening or 6:30, whenever it may be, in the way that previous generations did.

And I suppose we can judge that for ourselves in the way people live their lives these days. We're time pressed. We go to work. We get a little on the radio. We get something on the Net. We get a water cooler conversation, and by the time you get home, you don't have to sit down around the set to find out what's happened that day. But you will if you know something's happened you want to find out more about.

And that's why a lot of viewing and listening is event-led. When there's an event, they will come and they watch and they listen. If they know what's going on, there's nothing that interests them very much, they've got a lot of other things they can go and do. And that's very much the pattern that we see, which is why the BBC is starting to move into not just the Internet but into PDAs, mobile phones, broadband, and interactive TV.

QUESTION

TERENCE SMITH: I'm the media correspondent for the "NewsHour with Jim Lehrer." You alluded in an earlier answer to a goal of establishing a 24-hour BBC news channel in this country, if I understood you properly. Give us your thoughts, if you will, on what would make that work, what would make it viable both editorially and economically, when you look at the world of 24-hour cable news in this country, which already is a very competitive world with a relatively small audience.

RICHARD SAMBROOK: Well, I believe the BBC can offer something different. I believe we can differentiate ourselves in that market. I don't believe that BBC news can ever be more than a niche service in what is the most competitive media news market in the world probably, but I do think we have something that's sufficiently differentiated to find its niche and to find a viable one. And that differentiation really is about those core qualities of objectivity, a global perspective, and absolutely an international perspective, and also an emphasis not just on the who, what, when, where, but on the why.

We put a lot of emphasis on analysis and explanation, and I think that can differentiate us from a lot of other cable and satellite channels. It's not to say they don't do a good job; in a way they do a great job. But I believe we do something in a slightly different way, and I believe there is a niche audience that will be economically sustainable.

"Broadcast news is still the most powerful tool for communication, for connecting the world, for explaining the world to itself."

— RICHARD SAMBROOK

As U.S. Communities Change, Foreign News Becomes Local

Moderator:
Alex S. Jones, Director, Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy

Panelists:
Martin Baron, Editor, The Boston Globe
Steve Coll, Managing Editor, The Washington Post
J. Gerardo Lopez, Editor, La Opinión

Panel III

ALEX S. JONES, Director, Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics, and Public Policy: I think that the issue that the panel is going to discuss with you today may be best grasped in a story that Marty Baron has told about what happened to Fidel Castro during one of his marathon speeches relatively recently. You may remember this: He fainted and had to be basically led from the lectern, and put in a chair. This is something that he recovered from relatively quickly, so much so that he resumed his place at the lectern and finished the speech at some length.

This story was not mentioned in The New York Times at all, according to Marty, at least the edition that he saw. But in The Miami Herald it was banner, front-page news; two front-page stories, pictures, including a sort of sequence of Castro going down, and two full pages inside.

Now, the point is not that The New York Times got it right or wrong, or that The Miami Herald got it right or wrong, but that The Miami Herald was reporting a piece of what might otherwise be considered foreign news that was of enormous importance to its audience. It was not a foreign news subject, as far as they were concerned. It was news. It was important news.

The issue before us today, as much as anything else, is about what we, as Americans, consider news to be, because, as I think most news organizations have recognized, local news--news that is interpreted as local means, to most people, news that matters to their lives, news that has some direct impact on them.

On 9/11, as we all know, the issue of what was foreign became local for virtually every American, no matter how white bread, how disinterested they were previously in international news. As Director of the Shorenstein Center at Harvard this past year, I did a piece of research through one of the fellows that was at the Shorenstein Center to try to plumb how American news media had covered the question of terrorism--not after 9/11, but the issue of terrorism between the first time the World Trade Center was bombed and September 11 of last year. And what we found was that in

that time the American media had done, not a great job, but a reasonable job in some cases, especially the major newspapers like The New York Times and The Washington Post had done a reasonable job covering the issue of terrorism.

But they had not done any coverage whatsoever--in retrospect, this seems so strange--of what you might think of in the aftermath of 9/11 of as "why do they hate us?" Coverage of [the motives behind] terrorism, which we all recognized existed, which we all recognized to be a threat, which was [in] evidence already in New York and in countries around the world where embassies and other terrible bombings took place. We recognized [terrorism] as a serious problem, a problem to us as a nation, but even then, even in that context, we had simply ignored the question of a complex motivational issue about how we were viewed from abroad.

I think that what this suggests is a situation and a problem that we all understand very well. The problem, number one, of Americans in a kind of complacent self-absorption, who do not care about the way they're viewed from the world at large and do not really care a great deal about the world at large; and, number two, the long-recognized problem of a diverse country, getting larger and larger and more and more diverse all the time, in which people who are prospective readers and viewers of news look at the world through a prism that is not necessarily international by their lives, but is certainly international in its complexity and diversity.

We're going to try to plumb how local news organizations, of great importance to the communities they serve, are approaching how to deal with a diverse population, and also [how to deal with] an American public that needs to know things about the world but may be reluctant to find those things out.

STEVE COLL, Managing Editor, The Washington Post: With the short time I have, I thought I'd do three things: First, describe a little bit of the model from which we proceed in covering foreign news, even though it is unusual and perhaps doesn't contain a lot of exportable lessons for other local newspapers. But maybe it has some, and anyway we can explain ourselves. Secondly, I thought I'd just try to describe a little bit of what we attempted to do after September 11, with the system that we have, and what problems we encountered, what failings I perceive, my colleagues perceive, and what we attempted to do. And then third, I come around to this question of audience and appetite for foreign news generally, as our experience sheds light on it, even though as I say our model is unusual.

PHOTO BY JONATHAN ERNST

Alex S. Jones says news organizations have different definitions of "international" news.

The reason our model is unusual is precisely what seems obvious, what Alex describes, which is that we are a local newspaper, broadly circulated, broadly penetrated in a city, in a region that happens also to be the capital of national government and the capital of international engagement for the United States, full of institutions that are richly informed with specialists in international affairs, international economics, and related matters.

So for The Post in its modern era and in its era of aspiration to great newspaper status, it has always understood that authoritative coverage of the rest of the world was a local mission, as well as a mission with other aspects and ramifications. Fortunately, through the wisdom of our ownership and the bounty of our resources, we've been able to stay on that mission without change or any falling off of confidence, even during the 1990's, when the audience and the culture were clearly moving in other directions.

It's true that the traditional structure for foreign news coverage at The Post has been reinforced during the 1990's by immigration, which Alex alluded to. It's remarkable-I don't know how many of you are Washingtonians and how many are from out of town -- but you go to the suburbs around this region

PHOTO BY JONATHAN ERNST

Martin Baron, left, says The Boston Globe's readers have an unusually intense interest in international news.

and you just drive through neighborhoods in Montgomery County or Fairfax County or Prince George's County, for that matter, and just take a look at the faces out behind those lawnmowers. This region has been transformed by a wave of immigration, where in many of these counties now, wealthy suburban counties, the middle class and upper middle class are made up of new arrivals. In many cases one out of five, one out of six residents of our core suburban counties are foreign-born.

In Washington there's a unique kaleidoscope that immigration represents. We have no dominant country of origin. We have no dominant region of origin. We have really a remarkable array of national origins in our immigrant population. If you look at a list of the top 10 or 15 countries of origin, you're quickly globe-hopping from China to West Africa, to India and Pakistan and to Latin America, Mexico, El Salvador, and elsewhere.

As editors, we've been slow to understand this change. We've certainly been slow to cover it intelligently, but as it has seeped into our experience as a newspaper, we have certainly begun to think about it in reference to our foreign news coverage. It's an interesting problem, because these clusters of intensely interested readers have peculiar characteristics, certainly in comparison to, say, the government specialists and the government consumers of international news. They're deeply interested in their own regions; [they] have a somewhat provincial relationship with foreign news but an expert one, and that's challenging in both regards.

To skip around to the subject of coverage of September 11, I would just mention two things. One, I'm sure obvious to other journalists in the room, is that this is as an international story. This has been unusually challenging because of its elusiveness, its structure, and because of the information policies of our government. If you just think about it as an international story, its most challenging characteristic is its dispersal. There are 60-plus countries that al-Qaeda operates in now, and to the extent that there is a campaign against that loosely defined organization, it's largely carried out in secret through liaison relationships involving intelligence agencies, interior ministries, and in many cases societies that have no tradition of free information or free press.

So there is an invisible structure to this campaign that is unusually challenging to journalists and journalism. Afghanistan was the easy piece. It was a conventional war, and even though the information policies associated with it were frustrating, at least it occurred in a visible landscape and a journalist could drive to the nearest valley and watch the puffs of smoke over the horizon and report what he or she saw. But really the truth of this complex undertaking doesn't lie in Afghanistan, certainly not any more. It's in the detention centers and interior ministries of societies where, frankly, American journalists haven't reported very rigorously for much of the last 20 or 30 years. Which leads me to the second point I wanted to make about our post-September 11th coverage, by way of self-criticism.

As I've studied to some extent the American government's [view of] the rise of political Islam and a Sunni Islamic revival over the last 20 years, and particularly after the end of the Cold War, you try to sort out what it was that the national security machinery in this country saw, failed to see, and understood about radical Sunni Islam during those years. One thing that strikes you is that the problem that's often discussed about the government is equally true in our newsroom, which is that we were arrayed as a newsroom to cover the Cold War. We covered states. We covered the Soviet bloc. If the ball dropped and I needed Russian speakers en masse tomorrow, I've got five, six, seven talented, fluent Russian speakers. Urdu speakers, Arabic speakers--never mind Pashtu and Dari speakers--are a lot fewer and farther between.

About the appetite for foreign news: We have this great luxury of not having to sit around and agonize with our business colleagues about this issue, nor do we have to negotiate with our owner for support, so in those ways we are extraordinarily fortunate. But I notice this Pew survey, at least [according to] the headlines on materials I got, emphasizes that the appetite for foreign news in the country didn't appear to have changed very much in the months after September 11, and it was still somewhat discouraging.

Oddly, we've had a very different experience with our own private feedback loops from readers. We do lots of work to stay in touch with readers' attitudes. I have been stunned, and my colleagues have been stunned, to see the appetite for foreign news over the last six or nine months. But we assume that it's a temporary spike. Maybe it has something to do with Washington being a place where the attacks occurred, and maybe it has something to do with the unique characteristics of our readership, but it is off the charts. So it really is the opposite story, maybe a regional anomaly from the one that your own polling described. I'll be curious to see whether six or nine months from now that remains the case, or whether it changes. It was always pretty strong, but it's really anomalous now.

J. GERARDO LOPEZ, Editor, La Opinión: I guess most of you, or all of you, know The Boston Globe and The Washington Post, but how many of you would know La Opinión? I guess it's only a few of you, if at all. We sell about 130,000 copies a day. There is a high pass-along rate per copy sold. According to last year's Gallup numbers, we are read by 679,000 people a day. That places us as the second-most-read newspaper in Los Angeles. Ninety-five percent of our papers are sold in the street, an anomaly in this country. Only five percent is home delivery. Our editorial personnel are totally bilingual. Our reporters go out and gather facts in English; they come back to the office and write copy in Spanish.

The majority of our readers are immigrants [who] have been living in the United States for an average of 14 years. About 15 percent of them are native-born U.S. citizens, 69 percent are Mexicans or of Mexican origin, 14 percent are Central Americans, and two percent from other parts of the world. This diversity presents another couple of challenges. Since our readers are mostly immigrants, in a practical way they live in a society that is not homogeneous to them in terms of language, culture, judicial and economic systems.

They all, though, are interested in news from Los Angeles, from California, from the United States, their country of origin, and the rest of the world, in that order. They prefer to read in Spanish even though 71 percent can read English at three proficiency levels--very good, good, and fair--according to our proprietary readership study done for La Opinión in June 2001. Thirty-five percent of them read newspapers in English.

In doing our work and in taking into account our readers, their background, their informational leads, we find ourselves changing gears often from the type of information offering that we have to provide. There are news events that need more perspective, more sidebar explanations to place things in context, more news analysis--more public service journalism.

I would say that our daily menu of general information has an offering of 65 to 70 percent local news, including state and national; 20 to 25 percent of news from Latin America; and 10 percent of news from the rest of the world. The percentages in the sports sections are very different. We're very international in that sense; most of our readers prefer soccer. We have two people right now in Korea and in Japan following the World Cup.

When the Argentine situation became a crisis late last year, for instance, we changed gears by altering

> **"In Washington there's a unique kaleidiscope that immigration represents … As editors we've been slow to recognize this change."**
>
> — STEVE COLL

> **"Mexico in a lot ways is a local story for us. We have daily coverage from our correspondent there, as well as weekly news analysis, commentary, and in-depth reports."**
>
> — J. GERARDO LOPEZ

the percentages of information from that region of the hemisphere, to make a more comprehensive offering on what was happening in Argentina, to tell the human story: what the experts in Argentina and outside the country were saying about the causes of that particular crisis, what the U.S. government and other people in Washington were saying about the situation, how other Latin American nations were reacting to this particular crisis, and what were the views of the Argentineans living in Los Angeles, what were the interpretation of things, what did they need in particular in terms of help, information, or communication with loved ones back home.

We change gears often. We might have to eliminate some or all of our offerings of news from other parts of the world or reduce our local news to make room for that specific developing happening in Argentina, for instance. We do all of this to stay relevant and to respond to our readers' interests. They want to know what is going on in the countries of origin. In this particular instance, even though a majority of our readers do not come from Argentina, our readers have friends or workers, extended family members, or simple acquaintances from that country, and that drives their interest.

September 11 made us change gears again. It made us concentrate on the smallest percentage of our daily coverage and increase it dramatically due to the general interest of our readers in this story. They made us look for information and sources that could help us tell our readers what was happening, to put things in perspective, to offer some analysis of the whole thing.

They made us look for the human interest story, how people have been affected personally by this tragedy, to look for the international reaction to the events, particularly in the Muslim world and in Israel. What was the official reaction in Washington? What was the reaction in Latin America, particularly in Argentina?

They had two terrorist bombings during the 90's. Columbia, which was in the middle of a war, and Mexico, with people working in the Twin Towers, made us look at what was the reaction in Los Angeles, how the events were affecting people's lives in the Latino community, what was the reaction of Muslims living in Los Angeles and in other parts of the state and the treatment that they were receiving everywhere they went.

I feel that the interest in international news -- that is, news from outside the Americas -- is still very high among our readers. Seventy percent of them expressed an interest in international news prior to September 11, according to our readership study done in June 2001. I feel that the interest in international news is still high. Our coverage on that front is modest; we do not have correspondents or news bureaus outside the Americas. We depend heavily on news wires and occasionally on stringers. We have stringers in Great Britain, in Geneva, Spain, Italy, and Israel.

The coverage from Latin America is more comprehensive than our coverage from the rest of the world. We have a correspondent based in Mexico City and a number of regular stringers in Mexico, El Salvador, Colombia, Argentina, Chile, Venezuela. Thanks to our coverage, La Opinión's readers knew what was going on in Argentina long before the economic and social crisis erupted in December of last year. I could say the same thing about our coverage from Colombia and the coup d'état that happened in that country. Our readers had comprehensive reports from those major news events in those countries.

Our coverage from El Salvador is also more frequent, given the fact that about eight to 10 percent of our readers have come from or have links to that particular country. Mexico in a lot of ways is a local story for us. We have daily coverage from our correspondent there, as well as weekly news analysis, commentary, and in-depth reports.

September 11 has also had a lot of impact on our local coverage. We have been paying a lot of attention to the war on terrorism and the impact that it has on the daily lives of our readers. The impact on the economy-- thousands of Latinos in Los

Angeles lost their jobs or saw their working hours reduced because of the impact of the attacks on the entertainment, tourism, and service industries. The impact at the border -- the long lines, the scrutiny, the difficulties crossing the border. People from Los Angeles travel back and forth to Mexico and travel on weekends to Tijuana. The delays at the border were affecting people in Los Angeles and the economy in Tijuana. People were staying away from that zone. The police harassment and racial profiling of immigrants, the INS raids at the airports were instilling fear in many Latinos. Anti-immigrant discourse in general is going on in many places. The changes that the Justice Department has been making on the issuing of visas in other matters related to immigrants, et cetera. The war itself and the Latinos that are participating in the operation in Afghanistan or are getting ready to take part in it.

MARTIN BARON, Editor, The Boston Globe: Before coming down here I was reading through the results of the polls that were done for the Pew Center, which were very interesting but also very dispiriting. I was disturbed, although I was not surprised, to see that interest in foreign news, at least nationally, maybe not in Washington, had not gone up very much. But I was encouraged when I was listening to the earlier sessions, because we were told that this presented us all with a great opportunity: If we were to provide more space for foreign news, for international news, we would create more of an audience for it, and, therefore, we should go back and add more space. That was one of the lessons we should draw from that poll. And I was thinking to myself at the time that, had the polls shown that interest in foreign news had gone up significantly, we would then be able to also go back to our publishers and argue for more space for international news as well. This is exactly how I like to use market research.

I thought I'd just try to give you a little bit of insight into our coverage post-9/11, how we went about that, and then talk a little bit about our foreign coverage generally and perhaps how it relates to demographic changes in Boston--and how sometimes it doesn't relate to that. The Globe, of course, has a long history of having correspondents overseas. We currently have eight people on our foreign staff, although only six bureaus overseas, if you consider Canada to be overseas. We have two foreign correspondents who are based in the United States, one in New York, one in Washington, who regularly travel overseas.

The paper has long been interested in international coverage and to some extent its reputation has been built on some of that international coverage. So we went into 9/11, I think, with some real advantages over other newspapers of our size. We are not a paper as large as The Washington Post or The Los Angeles Times or The New York Times. We don't have a foreign staff nearly as big as theirs, but we do have a lot of experienced people on our staff. So immediately after 9/11, we were able to dispatch to the region a couple of correspondents who reported from there, on a number of occasions in some depth.

At one point we reached actually six people in the region, four people in Afghanistan and two in Pakistan. Of course, when I realized that we had six people there, I realized, oh, that was a mistake, we weren't supposed to have that many people; one person got delayed in leaving. But we were up to six, and we would have been up to five.

I would like to contradict some of the statements that were made earlier that all of [American reporters'] information came from the Pentagon and that somehow we received that information and were not independently developing information on our own. In fact, we got very little information from the Pentagon due to what I would refer to as the information policies of our government. And, therefore, it was somewhat liberating. We had a lot of reporters in the field. Initially, of course,

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>
> — MARTIN BARON

"Boston's changing demographics do have some impact on our foreign coverage."

— MARTIN BARON

many of them were with the Northern Alliance, but eventually, fairly quickly, they were able to travel around the country as best they could, given safety considerations and logistics and things of that sort.

So I do think that we did develop a lot of information on our own. I should say that, for a paper such as ours, the duration of this conflict has posed some real special difficulties. It's gone on for months, and the difficulties for us are severalfold. One is obviously the budget. We didn't budget for covering a conflict of this nature, and initially we decided to ignore the budget considerations and do what we had to and then worry about the cost later--and ideally have a publisher who permitted us to spend what we could, which we did have.

But there are a lot of expenses, not just the bodyguards that we needed to hire and the expense of being over there and the incredible satellite communications cost that we continued to bear, but costs of every type that really have spun out of control. [It is] just something for a paper of our size that we really do ultimately have to reckon with.

The second thing is the reservoir of experienced staff, experienced in covering events overseas, first of all, and certainly covering events in that part of the world. The truth of the matter is that other than the people that I rattled off here, we really didn't have a lot of people on our staff who had covered that region. In fact, we had very few people on our staff who had reported from overseas. And yet we were committed to trying to cover that story for the long run.

We didn't feel that we could keep those particular reporters in Afghanistan for an endless period of time. There were only so many power bars still around, and some people were pretty exhausted. So we implemented a system of rotation. We asked for volunteers instead of forcing people to go, of course, and we had a lot of volunteers on our staff. Most of them were younger reporters who wanted that foreign experience and had to get it for the first time some time; they were people who were interested in the adventure, interested in learning about it, and I think did a really exceptional job. They were some of the brightest stars on our staff.

We sent over our higher education writer. We sent over our New England writer. We sent over our medical writer, and a general assignment. We sent over a lot of these folks, and they did really an exceptional job. And I think we really had no choice but to do that.

The final issue was an issue of safety for our people there. As I mentioned, we did hire bodyguards, some of whom threatened our own reporters in order to get more money, some of whom fell asleep on the job, and some of whom actually did their jobs. We obviously spent for bulletproof vests, but these [reporters] were not people who had gone through some sort of training and conflicts like this. There are programs like that, and we hope at some point to put people through those programs. But a lot of these people were going into [this kind of] setting for the very first time.

The final issue we had to consider was when to end all this. We do not have unlimited resources. We never made the decision to create a full-time bureau in Kabul, and we don't intend to. We hope we don't have to. And to be quite honest, some of the current stories seem fairly small bore. I think we did some exceptionally insightful stories along the way, but those seem fewer and far between right now.

Our coverage post-9/11 really had nothing to do with the demographics of Boston, of course. This was a story for us as a nation and an important story for us to cover, regardless. It was a story in which Boston took a particular interest, simply because two of the planes, the two planes that crashed into the World Trade Center, came out of Logan Airport, and there were many victims from Boston.

I should say, though, that Boston's changing demographics do have some impact on our thinking about foreign coverage. While I generally agree with Steve that that's not the sole prism through which we should look at this, I don't think that it's something that should be ignored

either. Boston is now a city that's over 50 percent minority. Of course, not all of those are immigrants, but a substantial portion of them are. They are people from Asia, countries like China, Cambodia, Vietnam, and from Latin America, all sorts of countries, and from Haiti as well, and various Caribbean countries.

Demographics, I think, play a role, but not the exclusive role in determining where we position our foreign staff. We now have positions in Canada, Moscow, London, Tel Aviv, and Hong Kong. We have a position somewhere in Latin America which we're deciding where to put--it's currently vacant. Tel Aviv, obviously, because we have a large Jewish community in Boston. We also have a very large Arab community in Boston. And so all of those people take a special interest, a very intense interest, in what's happening in that part of the world. And in Asia, obviously, [Boston has] a lot of immigrants from there, but [we also need to be positioned there], I think, because of its importance economically, and because of immigration from those countries and its general importance to the direction of the world.

I think historically The Globe has had somebody in London because of our interest in Ireland. Obviously, we've got a lot of Irish immigrants. It's also a good base for covering other parts of Europe. And, as I said, we have a tremendous amount of immigration from Latin America, particularly the Dominican Republic and Brazil. We also have a lot of people from Haiti.

We're fortunate in Boston in that we do have a very educated audience. The latest census showed that Massachusetts has the most educated populace of any state in the country: a lot of people with college degrees who will tell you what we ought to be doing. How broad is the audience for international news? I'm not sure I can say, but I know that the interest is particularly intense. In Miami, Carlos Castaneda, who is the longtime Editor and Publisher of El Nuevo Herald, always said that foreign news is local news, and I think that is definitely true in Miami, a place that has had waves of immigration not just from Cuba but from Venezuela, Colombia, Argentina. Right now half of the Hispanics in that area are from someplace other than Cuba. And even if that audience is not as broad as it is in Boston, the interest in foreign news is particularly intense.

ALEX S. JONES: Let me ask all three of you: You represent three different newspapers of different sizes, different resources, different audiences. I would ask you if you would please be as candid as possible. You're decision makers at your news organizations. If the ownership of your news organization said to you, on the one hand, I'm going to give you an extra page of news hole, you can put it anywhere in the newspaper you want--or, as an alternative hypothetical, I'm going to take a page of news hole away from you.

I would ask you, where would international news fit into both of those equations, adding a page and taking a page away?

MARTIN BARON: Well, you know, we can't take one page away. We can only take four pages away at a time, so it's a much more difficult decision than you present. But, in any event, in terms of adding a page, to be honest, because you asked me to be, I would not add it to international news. Thinking off the top of my head, I would probably add it to local news. I think that we need more coverage of local news, and we're tight on space there. I think we would probably add it there.

I want to avoid the issue of where to take space away from. I don't know. I'm not going to answer it, actually, because I won't hear the end of it, and I probably wouldn't be honest in answering it anyway.

ALEX S. JONES: Steve, will you be honest?

STEVE COLL: Up to a point, yes. Actually, we've

PHOTO BY JONATHAN ERNST

Martin Baron, left, listens to Marvin Kalb, director of the Washington office of the Joan Shorenstein Center, during a conference break.

> **"In effect we've taxed our soft features section to fund our national and international and national security coverage, and haven't stopped doing so since September."**
>
> — STEVE COLL

already undertaken this exercise in a way since September 11, because we felt, confronted with the breadth of the story, that our news hole wasn't arrayed adequately. So we've, in effect, taxed our soft feature sections to fund national and international and national security coverage, and haven't stopped doing so since September. The rate of taxation has declined somewhat as the months have gone on. But we found that we could increase by about the order of a page the amount of news hole we had available to cover the national security story, including the international dimensions of it, without changing the quality of the newspaper or even the quality of the feature sections that we taxed. And whether that's sustainable long run I don't know, but it's sustainable today.

We also have a very important local news mission and worry about resources we put against that, and we are adding resources to that mission at the same time. But these are unusual times for journalism.

J. GERARDO LOPEZ: Well, I would say we would add it to the local coverage, or reduce it. As I tried to explain earlier, we try to adjust to the importance of developments, and if an international news item is of great importance to our community, we just cut some space in some other areas and make room for it.

ALEX S. JONES: You mentioned, Marty, the Middle East as being right now one of the principal focuses of this kind of thing. I wonder if you would describe, very briefly, and then we'll go to questions, the kinds of pressures, new pressures perhaps, that you find yourself under to bend your coverage to respond and be sensitive to sensibilities. What is the reality out there?

MARTIN BARON: Well, the reality is that people are reading our every word, dissecting everything that we do, evaluating every term that we use. We heard some of this earlier about the use of the word "terrorism"--what's a freedom fighter, what constitutes terrorism, what's occupation, what's an invasion, what's a military operation, what is an incursion? If you thought about it too much, you could barely write a story, I imagine. And I can tell you that certainly in Miami the coverage of Cuba is monitored very closely, starting with the Cuban American National Foundation, but going on from there to innumerable other groups and ordinary citizens as well, who will let you know in no uncertain terms what they think of you and, I'm afraid, allege bias at every turn. The allegation of bias is being leveled constantly in relationship to the Middle East and not just by Jewish groups in the country, but also Arab American groups as well. And it's very intense and very sensitive.

What do we do about it? All you can do is fall back on what you think is good and fair and comprehensive. You listen patiently and intently to what everybody has to say. If they are making a good point, and frequently a good point is made, you have to take that into consideration in editing these stories in the future. Just because you've listened to someone and you end up acknowledging that they've made a good point, and you enforce that later on, does not mean that you're bending to pressure; it means that you're learning.

But the truth is that we're not going to satisfy everybody every day. And in many instances it doesn't matter what we did yesterday. It only matters what we did in today's paper, because today's story is evidence of bias and that you're anti-Palestinian or you're anti-Israel or you're anti-Cuban. In my career I've been "anti" so many things I can barely keep straight what I'm against.

QUESTION

SEYMOUR TOPPING: I'm at Columbia University. As editors, have you ever conducted some kind of a survey to determine in your circulation area how many jobs depend upon foreign imports, exports, or investments, or, generally speaking, the economic ties in your circulation area to countries abroad, how that might affect interest in foreign news? And have you addressed that at all?

MARTIN BARON: I'm not aware of one that the newspaper has done in the Boston area, although I'm sure that they exist by economic development agencies and organizations of various types. There are huge international ties. There are

banking ties. The mutual fund industry in Boston is investing in the world, the technology industry has its markets and its competition around the world. And universities get enormous numbers of students, a very lucrative form of student, from around the world, and the same is true of the medical organizations in Boston, which are profiting from a lot of foreigners coming there for treatment. Certainly in Miami, that is, Miami business for the most part, there is an enormous amount of international trade, and it has been quantified; I couldn't tell you exactly what it is.

QUESTION

MARVIN KALB: I am with the Shorenstein Center in Washington. Marty Baron, you touched on the issue of the impact of the budget on coverage. I'd like to ask Steve if he could help us understand the way in which budgetary considerations are affecting Post coverage. For example, how much was the budget for news, if you can tell us, prior to 9/11? What was it then? Within six months, how do you envisage it if this is a long-term story and it's all over the world? What kind of consideration has gone into thinking about the Post's budget two, three, four years down the road?

STEVE COLL: The events of 9/11 and the aftermath occurred in the worst advertising recession that the media suffered since the 1930's. Though The Post remained profitable and ownership and the publisher remained firmly committed to doing everything we needed to do to cover the story that we all recognized was a story of our time, at the same time it was not something undertaken without regard to the budget.

I don't think that the absolute amount of money that we have spent on news since September 11 has increased meaningfully, but it has been reallocated substantially. There are informal understandings that we're blessed to have with the boss that you do what's necessary; you just go, and we'll worry about it later. And that's been the tradition.

QUESTION

LOUISE LIEF: We've been hearing a lot today about this elusive under-35 audience that seems almost totally disengaged from news. I'm wondering, since we have three very distinguished editors here, if you have any ideas about how to reengage the under-35s in news.

MARTIN BARON: It's a very tough issue and a very important issue for us. The results of the polling were discouraging because I certainly had hoped that, if there was any good to come out of 9/11, it would be that young people who experienced a sense of vulnerability that they hadn't before would recognize that international events were important to them, and that would provide us with an emerging market of readers--not to be too crass and view this in commercial terms.

If we're to believe the results of the polling, and I have no reason not to, then we should be discouraged by that. What can we do about it? I don't know. I think reaching a younger market has proven very difficult. I think that our job is to do the best we can in terms of covering news events around the world. Unfortunately, I happen to believe that there will be more terrorist attacks on the United States.

To the extent that 9/11 engaged the interest of younger people, if it continues, which I think it will, then their interest will be engaged that much more often. In terms of what we can do on a regular basis, I wish I had some really bright ideas in that regard.

STEVE COLL: There is no doubt that the generation now in its 20's--never mind the generation now at home on Instant Messenger while we're here, chatting with their friends--is consuming information through a completely different set of media and assumptions and habits than did the boomers who are our core readers and will, fortunately, age slowly and gracefully and continue to read for a long period of time.

Whether that means that newsrooms can't fund journalism that those two generations wish to consume for their adult lives I think is an open question and an exciting challenge, and a really difficult one.

J. GERARDO LOPEZ: That has been a difficult group of people to attract to the newspaper. We've been trying hard to bring them in, and we have been to a certain degree successful, with our very good soccer coverage and also with the creation a couple of years ago of a weekly supplement that was targeted and geared totally toward young people 18 to 24.

They love In Español, rock in Spanish, and we're about the only vehicle in Los Angeles that provides news and information related to that particular kind of music. We've been able to bring in some people with the hope that they might migrate eventually into other parts of the newspaper and we get them to be regular readers of the paper.

About the Speakers

Doyinsola Abiola recently was named vice chairman of the Concord Group of Newspapers in Lagos, Nigeria, where she has worked since 1986. Prior to becoming vice chairman, Ms. Abiola spent 15 years as managing director and editor-in-chief of the Concord Group, supervising more than 500 employees nationwide and playing a major role in the growth of the newspaper industry in Nigeria. She also was editor of the National Concord in Lagos, features editor for the Daily Times in Lagos, and a reporter for the Daily Sketch in Ibadan, Nigeria. Ms. Abiola is the co-founder and president of the Foundation for African Media Excellence and is a board member of the National Commission for Women Affairs and the Nigerian Media Merit Awards. She holds a bachelor's degree in English and Drama from the University of Ibadan, a master's degree in journalism from the University of Wisconsin and a doctorate degree in mass communications from the State University of New York.

Emad Adeeb is a prominent Arab journalist who is chairman and editor-in-chief of a number of major Arab publications including the Al Alam Al Youm newspaper in Egypt. He also is the host of "Ala el Hawa" ("On the Air"), one of the most popular satellite television talk shows in the Arab world. He is chairman of Good News Network, an Arabic electronic media network that includes the Arabic language portal for MSNBC. A consultant on Middle East issues for television news outlets including ABC and the Orbit Network, Mr. Adeeb has interviewed virtually every major Arab leader as well as key U.S. and Israeli officials during his career. Mr. Adeeb began his work in journalism as a reporter on the Al Ahram newspaper. He also served as managing editor of Al Sharq Al Awsat in both the Cairo and Washington bureaus; editor-in-chief of Sayedaty magazine in London; and editor-in-chief of Al Magalla. He holds a degree in mass communication from Cairo University, a political science degree from Georgetown University, a degree from the International Press Institute in Berlin, and a degree in business administration from the University for Political Economic Studies in London.

Martin Baron has been editor of The Boston Globe since July 30, 2001. He came to Boston from the Miami Herald, where he served as executive editor and led the newspaper to a Pulitzer Prize for breaking news coverage in 2001. He was named "Editor of the Year" in 2001 by Editor & Publisher. Mr. Baron began his journalism career at the Miami Herald in 1976. He joined the Los Angeles Times in 1978 and held a number of positions culminating in 1993 when he was named editor of the newspaper's Orange County Edition. Baron joined The New York Times in 1996, and a year later, he became associate managing editor responsible for the nighttime news operations of the paper, a post he held until moving to the Herald. Mr. Baron was born and raised in Tampa, Fla., and holds both a B.A. and an MBA degree from Lehigh University.

Marcus W. Brauchli is national editor of The Wall Street Journal, a post he has held since January 2000. Prior to assuming the job of national editor, Mr. Brauchli was based in Shanghai from 1995 to 1999 while serving as the China bureau chief of The Wall Street Journal and The Asian Wall

Street Journal. He had covered China previously, in 1984, as a correspondent for AP-Dow Jones News Service. He also held overseas assignments for the Journal in Scandinavia, Japan, and Southeast and South Asia. Mr. Brauchli is a graduate of Columbia University and was a Nieman Fellow at Harvard University in 1991-1992.

Steve Coll is managing editor of The Washington Post, where he has worked since 1985. He joined the paper as a feature writer for the Style section, then moved to New York in 1987 as a financial correspondent. He and a colleague, David A. Vise, won the 1990 Pultizer Prize for explanatory journalism for their series on the Securities Exchange Commission. Mr. Coll moved to New Delhi in 1989 as The Post's South Asia correspondent covering India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Sri Lanka and Nepal, then transferred to London in 1992 as The Post's first international projects and investigative correspondent. He spent three years as editor and publisher of The Washington Post Magazine before being named managing editor of the newspaper in 1998. Mr. Coll is the author of four books and is the recipient of a number of awards for his international reporting including the Overseas Press Club's Ed Cunningham Memorial Award and the Robert F. Kennedy International Print Award for his reporting on the civil war in Sierra Leone.

Alex S. Jones is the director of the Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. Mr. Jones spent four years as the host of National Public Radio's "On the Media" program in the early 1990s, and he continues to do commentaries for the program as senior correspondent. From 1998 to 2000, Mr. Jones was the Eugene C. Patterson Professor of the Practice of Journalism at Duke University. He covered the press for The New York Times from 1983 to 1992, and his articles on the collapse of the Bingham family's newspaper empire in Louisville, Ky., won the Pulitzer Prize in 1987. He and his wife, Susan E. Tifft, are also the authors of "The Trust: The Private and Powerful Family Behind The New York Times," which was nominated for the National Book Critics Circle award in biography, and "The Patriarch: The Rise and Fall of the Bingham Dynasty." A graduate of Washington & Lee University, Mr. Jones was a Nieman Fellow at Harvard University in 1981-82.

Donald Kimelman is the director of the Venture Fund for the Pew Charitable Trusts. The Venture Fund pursues grant-making initiatives that fall outside the six major program areas funded by Pew as well as funding the Trusts' media programs. The six Pew media programs are the Pew International Journalism Program; the Pew Research Center for The People and The Press; the Project for Excellence in Journalism; the Pew Center on the States; the Media Unit on the "NewHour with Jim Lehrer" on PBS; and the Pew Center for Civic Journalism. Kimelman joined the Pew Charitable Trusts following a distinguished journalism career that included a series of reporting and editing positions during 18 years with the Philadelphia Inquirer. He also worked at the Annapolis Evening Capital and The (Baltimore) Sun. Kimelman earned his undergraduate degree at Yale University and a graduate degree from Columbia University.

Kevin Klose is president and CEO of National Public Radio, the nation's premier non-profit news and cultural radio programming service, with 600 stations and a weekly audience of nearly 15 million. Klose, an award-winning author, joined NPR in December 1998 following four years overseeing U.S. government television and radio broadcasts as director of U.S. International Broadcasting and as president of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty. Before moving into international broadcasting, Klose spent 25 years with The Washington Post in various positions including city editor, Moscow bureau chief, Midwest correspondent and deputy national editor. He is the author of "Russia and the Russians: Inside the Closed Society," which won the Overseas Press Club's Cornelius Award, and the co-author of four other books. Klose received a B.A. degree, cum laude, from Harvard.

Andrew Kohut, a nationally recognized expert on public opinion research, is director of the Pew Research Center for The People and The Press, formerly the Times Mirror Center for the People & the Press. Mr. Kohut joined the Times Center in 1990 as its founding director of surveys, and in 1993, he became its director. Prior to joining the Times Center, Mr. Kohut spent 10 years as president of The Gallup Organization and founded Princeton Survey Research Associates, an attitude and opinion research firm specializing in media, politics and public policy studies. A frequent commentator on the meaning and interpretation of opinion poll results, Mr. Kohut served as a consultant and analyst for

National Public Radio during the 2000 presidential elections, and he is a regular contributor to the "NewsHour with Jim Lehrer" on PBS. The author of three books and a regular columnist for the Columbia Journalism Review, Mr. Kohut received an A.B. degree from Seton Hall University and took graduate courses in sociology at Rutgers.

Bill Kovach, a former curator of the Nieman Foundation's journalism fellowship program at Harvard University, is chairman of the Committee of Concerned Journalists. His journalism career spans 40 years, including 18 years as a reporter and editor for The New York Times and two years as editor of the Atlanta Journal-Constitution. Kovach began his journalism career at the Johnson City (Tennessee) Press-Chronicle, and from 1960-1967, he covered civil rights, southern politics and Appalachian poverty for the Nashville Tennessean. Following a journalism fellowship at Stanford University, he joined The New York Times, where he held a variety of positions including Washington bureau chief from 1979 to 1986. As an editor, Kovach has supervised reporting projects that won four Pulitzer Prizes, and he served on Pulitzer Prize juries for 13 years. He has received a number of awards for his work as a reporter and editor and for his contributions to the field of journalism. The author of numerous books and articles, Kovach attended East Tennessee University, where he received a B.S. degree in biology.

Louise Lief is a deputy director of the Pew International Journalism Program, a post she assumed after spending 10 years as a State Department and foreign affairs correspondent and a senior editor for U.S. News and World Report. Prior to joining U.S. News, Ms. Lief worked in Paris as an associate producer/researcher for the CBS news show "60 Minutes" and as a stringer for Time and Newsweek. While in Paris, she was a contributor to The New York Times, The Christian Science Monitor and The Boston Globe Magazine, and she also was a stringer for several news outlets in Cairo. As a member of a team of reporters for U.S. News, she shared in the 1994 Edwin P. Hood Award for Diplomatic Correspondence, and she also won the 1990 Hallie and Whit Burnett Award for Best General Magazine Article on Foreign Affairs. Ms. Lief received a grant from the U.S. Office of Education to study Arabic at the Bourguiba Language Institute in Tunis and an ITT International Fellowship for Arabic language studies at the American University in Cairo. She is a cum laude graduate of Yale University with degrees in French and North African Studies, and she holds a Certificate of Arabic Language Studies from the American University in Cairo.

J. Gerardo Lopez is the editor of La Opinión, the largest Spanish language daily newspaper in the United States. He has held this post since 1995. As editor of the prominent newspaper that serves Hispanic readers in Southern California, Mr. Lopez oversees all news operations and the newspaper's editorial policy. He began his career as a reporter for La Opinión in 1977, and over the years, he has covered national and local politics, social justice issues and other events and topics of special interest to Latinos. He also has been the newspaper's metro editor, assistant editor, managing editor and associate editor. He is a member of the Inter American Press Association's board of directors and he sits on the board of governors of the Wallace Stegner Initiative, a project of the Institutes for Journalism and Natural Resources. Mr. López attended California State University at Northridge, where he received a B.A. degree in journalism in 1976.

Dwight L. Morris has spent 25 years in survey research and currently heads his own firm, Dwight L. Morris & Associates. Previously, he worked for the Campaign Study Group, Louis Harris & Associates, Opinion Research Corporation, the Los Angeles Times, the Atlanta Journal-Constitution and The New York Times. Among his specific projects, Mr. Morris was involved with two groundbreaking studies on non-voting which identified five distinct groups of politically disengaged Americans and also explored the political participation of young people and minority populations. In addition, Mr. Morris has conducted a number of studies for programs supported by the Pew Charitable Trusts, including a survey for the Pew Center for Civic Journalism that explored the attitudes of senior editors at newspapers with daily circulations of 20,000 or more about news coverage and the readers they serve.

Robert Rivard, the editor of the San Antonio Express-News since 1997, also has extensive experience as a foreign correspondent and a magazine journalist. Named the inaugural "Editor of the Year" in 2000 by Editor & Publisher, Mr. Rivard won national attention in December 1998 when he traveled to Mexico to lead the search teams that located and recov-

ered the body of Philip True, the newspaper's Mexico City correspondent who was murdered by Huichol Indians while hiking in western Mexico. Mr. Rivard began his journalism career as a sports reporter for the Brownsville (Texas) Herald and also worked for the Corpus Christi Caller before joining the staff of the now-defunct Dallas Times Herald. At the Times Herald, Rivard opened the paper's first Central America news bureau in San Jose, Costa Rica, and covered civil wars in El Salvador, Nicaragua and Guatemala as well as the Falklands war. In 1983, Mr. Rivard joined Newsweek as the magazine's Central American bureau chief, He worked in New York as a senior editor for the magazine until his return to Texas in 1990. The winner of a number of journalism awards including the Society of Professional Journalists' Distinguished Service Award for Foreign Correspondents, Mr. Rivard serves on the InterAmerican Press Association board of directors and the board of the Freedom of Information Foundation of Texas.

Richard Sambrook, the director of BBC News, began his journalism career as a newspaper reporter in the Welsh Valleys before trading the print press for broadcasting and joining the BBC in 1980. His first position was a sub-editor job in the radio newsroom, but four years later he moved into the television side of the operation as a producer and editor for BBC's national TV news shows. He spent five years with the BBC's flagship "Nine O'Clock News" during the period when the Berlin Wall fell, Margaret Thatcher resigned as British Prime Minister and Great Britain joined the United States and other allied nations in fighting the Gulf War. Mr. Sambrook was named deputy director of BBC News in December 1999 and also served as director of sport from April to October in 2000. He was promoted to his present position as director of BBC News in February 2001. Mr. Sambrook attended the University of Reading and the University of London, where he received a masters in politics degree.

Najam Sethi is the founder and editor of two newspapers in Lahore, Pakistan — The Friday Times, an independent weekly, and The Daily Times, a national newspaper. He also has served as the Pakistan correspondent for The Economist since 1990. Mr. Sethi is the founder of Vanguard Books, an independent publishing house, and has served as vice chairman of the Pakistan Publisher and Booksellers Association and senior vice president of the Council of Pakistan Newspaper Editors. Mr. Sethi is a frequent commentator for various international radio and television channels including the BBC, CNN, ABC, NBC, Radio Australia, Radio Iran, Voice of America and National Public Radio. In 1999, Mr. Sethi was imprisoned by the Nawaz Sharif government for exposing the Pakistan prime minister's corruption. For that work, he received the Journalism Under Threat Award from Amnesty International and the International Press Freedom Award from the Committee to Protect Journalists. He is an international trustee of the Asia Society in New York.

John Schidlovsky is the director of the Pew International Journalism Program, which he began in 1998 to encourage more international news coverage in the U.S. media. Previously, Mr. Schidlovsky spent four years as director of the Freedom Forum's Asian Center in Hong Kong from 1993 to 1997, where he monitored media changes as Hong Kong moved from British to Chinese rule and worked with journalists throughout the Asia-Pacific region on training and press freedom issues. From 1990 to 1993 he was curator of the Jefferson Fellowship program for journalists at the East-West Center in Honolulu. He spent 13 years with The (Baltimore) Sun including overseas assignments as the newspaper's Beijing and New Delhi bureau chief. Mr. Schidlovsky began his journalism career as a reporter at the Springfield (Mass.) Union and also was a free lance reporter in Beirut and Cairo for NBC, ABC and Newsday. He has written extensively on media issues for a number of magazines and scholarly publications. He studied Arabic at the American University in Cairo and received a B.A. degree in English from Columbia University.

The Pew International Journalism Program

The Pew International Journalism Program aims to increase the U.S. public's knowledge of international affairs by educating U.S. journalists on global issues through a wide range of fellowships, conferences, and publications. The core program is the Pew Fellowships in International Journalism, which brings 16 U.S. journalists in two groups each year to Washington, D.C. for 10 weeks of seminars on international topics. Each Pew Fellow then travels overseas for five weeks to a country of his or her choice to pursue a reporting project. In addition to the Pew Fellowships, the program offers an annual "Gatekeeper Editors" trip abroad to educate senior U.S. editors and producers about important international issues through first-hand observations. The program also offers a "Journalist-in-Residence" fellowship for a mid-career or senior U.S. journalist to complete work on a project, such as a book or documentary, about international affairs and international media. All of the programs are based at The Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) in Washington. The program is funded entirely by a grant from the Pew Charitable Trusts.

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