

Democracy and Indexing Press Freedom

N.USHA RANI

Abstract

World media are either liberal or conservative struggling to model themselves on western philosophy of liberalism. Under the circumstances, the world events and media are judged from the perspective of 'free press' and accordingly dimensions and indicators have been evolved to judge the degree of freedom exercised by the press of any nation and rank them globally. Press is ranked on the basis of political rights and civil liberties enjoyed by the citizens in democracies and totalitarian countries. The two prominent agencies internationally involved in indexing media to measure its performance on an annual basis are Freedom House and Reporters Without Borders. The 2015 Report that provides numerical ratings to the global press reveals that press freedom around the world has declined. This paper endeavours to study the ratings Indian press received in post liberalization in terms of political, legal and economic dimensions.

Keywords: Democracy, Press Freedom, Net Freedom, Freedom House, Reporters without Borders

Author; N. Usha Rani, Professor, Department of Communication and Journalism, University of Mysore, Manasagangotri, Mysore- 570 006, India.
Email: usharani_mc@yahoo.co.in

Political philosophy has influenced the functioning of media. Different political ideologies recognized all over the world like Democracy, Totalitarianism, Authoritarianism, Monarchy and Theocracy have influenced media to evolve its own philosophy consisting of social and political thoughts. Media cannot function in a vacuum as it has to define its functioning on a set of beliefs about social, economic, political and cultural dimensions. Democratic philosophy has been categorized into liberal democracy and social democracy professing different shades of democratic beliefs. Liberal democracy

N. Usha Rani

propounds individualism, freedom, equality and justice whereas social democracy which is born out of socio democratic movement advocates democracy based on socialism and communism instead of capitalism. The press in US has been built on the political ideology of liberal democracy which is both a political and an economic philosophy as well. Indian press has accepted social democratic norms on the lines of country's belief in democratic socialism. India's political philosophy reflects social democracy and India is a Sovereign, Socialist, Secular and Democratic Republic with the inclusion of 'secular' and 'socialist' concepts under 42nd amendment to the Indian constitution in 1976.

The press in India is social democratic professing justice, liberty, equality and fraternity as opposed to individualism of the liberal press of the west. Liberalism promotes competitive market whereas social democracy believes in providing level playing field through subsidies and incentives to socially and economically marginalized sections of the society. Marxism that influenced social change in Europe has been disowned by the press owing to its utopian ideas and theory of media control and regulated press. Media that opposed western liberalism has found shelter under Neo marxism for its flexibility and its tradition of critical theoris on culture, gender and politics. Neo marxism has widened the scope of intellectual debates on politics and media and has paved way for the emergence of new schools of thought raising fundamental issues about propaganda model in the garb of western liberal press or capitalist model in the garb of socialist press in democracies.

Throughout the history of human civilization, fight for liberty has been paramount in the political conflicts in all cultures right from the days of Magna Carta which in 13th century advocated rule by the people, rights and basic liberties of the people. History has witnessed the fight of John Locke who propounded life, liberty and property as natural rights of citizens in 17th century through his liberal philosophy. Freedom to express dissent is the hall mark of democratic principles.

In the modern days the fight to establish democratic norms has seen the decline of other political philosophies to the extent that Francis Fukuyama says, '...democracy has come to suggest the triumph of west, western values and western liberal democracy.....universalization of western liberal democracy as the final form of human government'(Fukuyama, 1992).

Noam Chomsky calls modern American liberal media as propagandist to the core with his '5 classes of Filters in society' theory that resulted in global debate on , 'anti-communism' as the 'national religion' (Chomsky 1988) espoused by western governments and media. New schools of thought has intellectuals like Fukuyama who speculates that the 'enormously productive and dynamic economic world created by advancing technology has a tremendous homogenising power', illustrating the creation of homogenous media all in the guise of liberalism. Media and politics has been central to the philosophy of media 'as media are agents of political communication' (Habermas 1991). Media as 'Public sphere' as against 'bourgeois public sphere' (Ibid) is a vital concept in understanding the role of media practising liberal philosophy. The critical theory of public sphere argues, ' world of mass media is cheap and powerful.....it attempts to manipulate and create a public where none exists, and to manufacture consensus '(Ibid) throwing insight into private people modelling media on capitalist economy and espousing pseudo social democratic traditions.

World media are either liberal or conservative struggling to model themselves on western philosophy of liberalism. Under the circumstances, the world events and media are judged from the perspective of 'free press' and accordingly dimensions and indicators have been evolved to judge the degree of freedom exercised by the press of any nation and rank them globally. Press is ranked on the basis of political rights and civil liberties enjoyed by the citizens in democracies and totalitarian regimes.

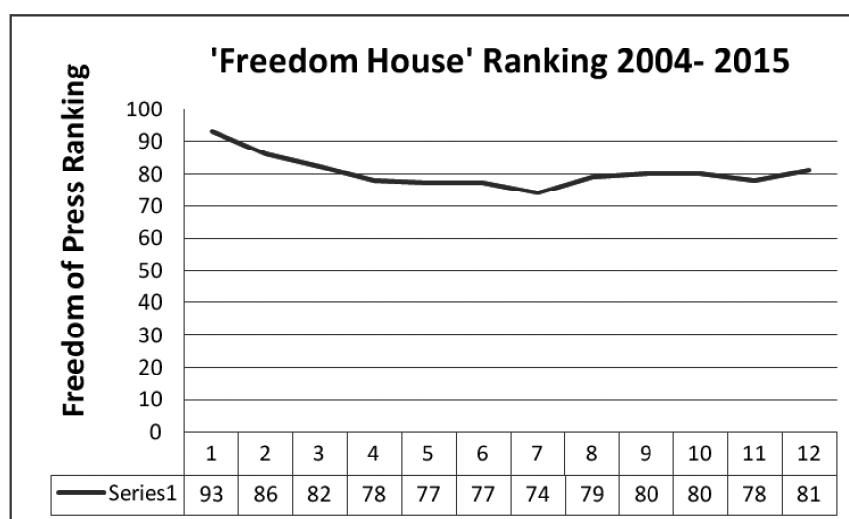
The two prominent agencies internationally involved in indexing media to measure its performance on a annual basis are Freedom House and Reporters Without Borders.

ANALYSIS OF PRESS FREEDOM BY 'FREEDOM HOUSE'

Table 1 - Global Ranking of Press Freedom in India by Freedom House and Reporters Without Borders – 2004 to 2015

Year	Press Freedom Ranking			
	Freedom House		Reporters Without Borders	
	Press Freedom Index	No. of Countries	World Press Freedom Index	No. of Countries
2004	93	193	120	167
2005	86	194	106	167
2006	82	194	105	168
2007	78	195	120	169
2008	77	195	118	173
2009	77	195	105	175
2010	74	196	122	178
2011	79	196	131	179
2012	80	197	140	179
2013	80	197	140	180
2014	78	197	136	180
2015	81	195	133	180
Average	80	195	123	174

Graph 1 *Freedom House* Press Rankings of India



The 2015 Report of Freedom House that provides numeral ratings to the global press reveals that press freedom around the world has declined. The deterioration is attributed to the market driven press dominated by private media enjoying the support of political party, government or business interests. Further, harsh laws, violence against journalists and rise in terrorism have aggravated the status of press freedom. Ironically, the threat to press freedom is increasing in a world where there is more access and reach to information through advanced communication technology. Interestingly, the threat to independent journalism is more seen in countries that practice democracy. An analysis of Freedom of the Press in the world shows that between 1989 to 2016, on an average 36.08 percent of countries have 'Free Press', 29.62 percent have 'Partly Free Press' including India and 'No Freedom of the Press' in 34.24 percent of countries.

Press ranking of Tunisia, the North African country, assumes importance as it is one of those countries where democratic movement in Arab land originated in December 2010 and engulfed the Arab world and the movement came to be called 'Arab Spring'. Tunisia that brought down dictator regime became the land for Arab revolution and its ranking in press freedom shows that it has improved its position in 2015 and was ranked 96 out of 199 countries. In 2015 Tunisia's freedom rating was 2.0 on a scale of 1-7 where 1=best and 7=worst illustrating the good rating. Further political rights and civil liberties received a rating of 1 and 3 respectively on a scale of 1-7 showing phenomenal improvement in the freedom profile of the country that just a few years ago ended dictator regimes and established democratically elected government. The top 10 ranks in the world for practising independent journalism in 2015 goes to west European democracies Norway, Sweden, Belgium, Finland, Netherlands, Denmark, Luxembourg, Andorra, Switzerland and Liechtenstein practising Free Press.

The country report about India by Freedom House (Table 1) (Graph 1) done on 3-pronged strategy consisting of legal, political and economic environment shows that the press freedom has declined in the last decade between 2004-2015. Independent journalism has declined to an average of 80th rank among 199 countries showing press in poor light. The Indian press secured least rank in 10 years in 2010 (74th) and consistently hovers around 80th rank on an average among 195 countries. India's rank in 2008-09 (77th), 2014 (78th), 2011 (79th), 2012-13 (80th), 2015 (81st), 2006 (82nd), 2005 (86th)

and 2004 (93rd) shows downward trend in post liberalization period.

India, the world's largest democracy is categorized as Partly Free country on the basis of its political philosophy and has scored 2.5 freedom rating, 3 for civil liberties and 2 for political rights on a scale of 1-7 where 1=best and 7=worst (2015). An analysis of India's ratings between 1972-2015 shows that the ratings pertaining to freedom (Table 2), political rights and civil liberties has not changed except during 1975 - 77 and 1991- 1997. It was in 1970s that India declared internal emergency for 21 months during 1975-77 when political and press freedom stood suspended against internal political threats under the leadership of then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. India witnessed worst political and economic crisis between 1990-1997 owing to rise in terrorism, violence in Kashmir where over 90,000 Kashmiri Hindus fled owing to worst terrorism India ever witnessed in the valley. During 1990s India witnessed many political scams showing a negative profile in international arena. Obviously, the freedom ratings of the country dropped during 1970s and 1990s reflecting the political and economic crisis correlating the findings of international agencies monitoring press freedom.

Table 2 Freedom Ratings of India between 1972-2015 by the Freedom House

Rating scale 1-7: Best=1 Worst=7

Year	PR	CL	Status	Year	PR	CL	Status	Year	PR	CL	Status
1972	2	3	F	1988	2	3	F	2004	2	3	F
1973	2	3	F	1989	2	3	F	2005	2	3	F
1974	2	3	F	1990	2	3	F	2006	2	3	F
1975	2	5	PF	1991	3	4	PF	2007	2	3	F
1976	3	5	PF	1992	3	4	PF	2008	2	3	F
1977	2	2	F	1993	4	4	PF	2009	2	3	F
1978	2	2	F	1994	4	4	PF	2010	2	3	F
1979	2	2	F	1995	4	4	PF	2011	2	3	F
1980	2	3	F	1996	2	4	PF	2012	2	3	F
1981	2	3	F	1997	2	4	PF	2013	2	3	F
1982	2	3	F	1998	2	3	F	2014	2	3	F
1983	2	3	F	1999	2	3	F	2015	2	3	F
1984	2	3	F	2000	2	3	F				
1985	2	3	F	2001	2	3	F				
1986	2	3	F	2002	2	3	F				
1987	2	3	F	2003	2	3	F				

PR: Political Rights, **CL:** Civil Liberties, **F:** Free, **PF:** Partly Free

Source: Freedom in the World Country Ratings (2015)

Table 3 - Analysis of Freedom of the Press in India between 2002-2015

Year	Press Freedom Score 0=Best 100= worst	Legal Environment 0=Best 30=Worst	Political Environment 0=Best 40= worst	Economic Environment 0=Best 30= worst	Status
2002	42	15	16	11	Partly Free
2003	45	13	20	12	Partly Free
2004	41	11	17	13	Partly Free
2005	38	10	17	11	Partly Free
2006	37	10	16	11	Partly Free
2007	35	9	16	10	Partly Free
2008	35	10	16	9	Partly Free
2009	36	10	17	9	Partly Free
2010	33	9	15	9	Partly Free
2011	35	9	17	9	Partly Free
2012	37	9	19	9	Partly Free
2013	38	10	19	9	Partly Free
2014	39	10	20	9	Partly Free
2015	40	11	20	9	Partly Free
Mean	37.92	10.42	17.5	10	

Source : *Freedom House*

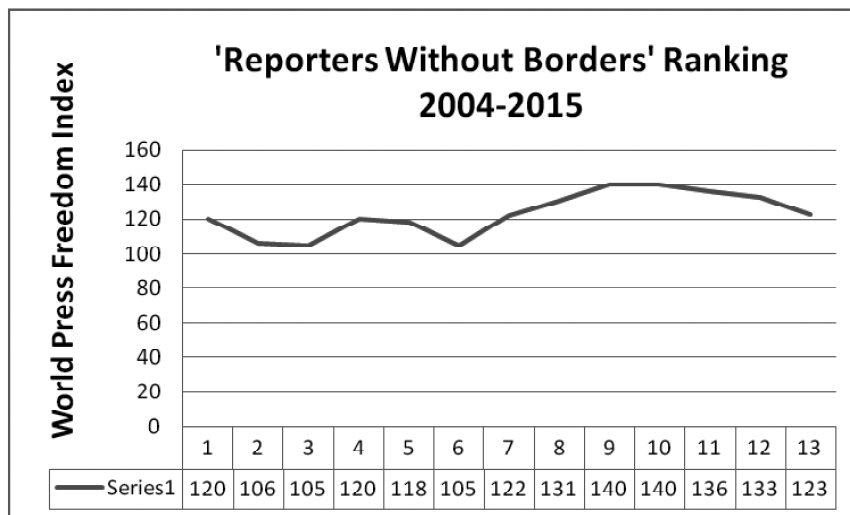
World's largest democracy has guaranteed Freedom of Speech and Expression under Article 19 (1)(a) of the Indian constitution. Successive judicial pronouncements by the Apex courts of India have interpreted this Article to encompass freedom of the press and accordingly the Indian press has the right to freedom of speech and expression on par with any citizen of India. The Indian press is not a nationalist press but an independent and vibrant press which is critical of government, political leaders and administration. However, according to the global rankings monitored by international agency, Freedom House, freedom profile of Indian press is not impressive. It is classified globally as a 'Partly Free Press' and not a 'Free Press' unlike the press in Western Europe and USA. The analysis of its Press Freedom Scores between 2002 -2015 (Table 3) shows that India has been consistently scoring between 33-41 points categorized as Partly Free

N. Usha Rani

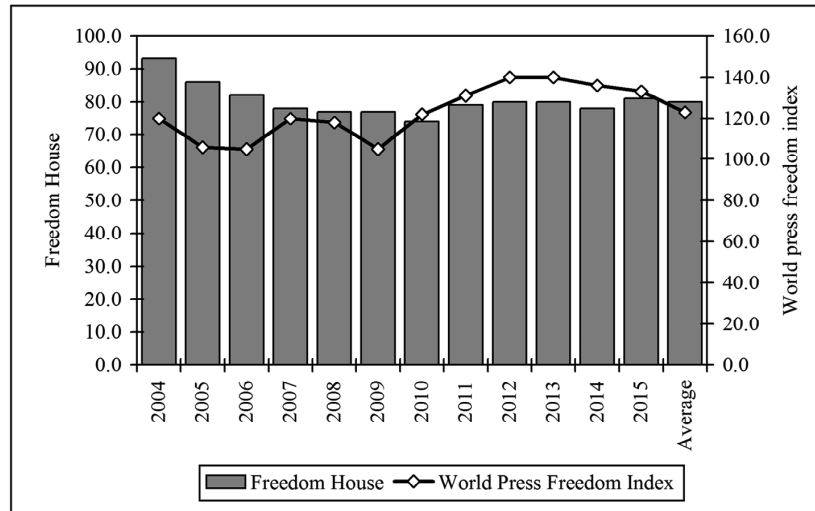
(Partly Free scores 31-60) press with an average of 37.92 score between 2002-2015 and few notches below the Free Press category (scores 0-30). The 3 categories used for Freedom Scores consists of Category –I Free Press (0-30 scores), Category –II Partly Free Press (31-60 scores) and Category III Press Not Free (61-100). Indian press is ‘Partly Free’ owing to the factors like anti press regulations, arrest of journalists, violence against press, political interference and non participation by the public. Freedom House has taken Legal, Political and Economic Environment as the 3 major dimensions in evaluating the degree of freedom exercised by the Indian press. Of the 3 dimensions, India scores good rating both in Economic (Average score 10) and Legal (Average score 10.42) dimensions but scores less in political environment (Average score 17.5).

ANALYSIS OF PRESS FREEDOM BY ‘REPORTERS WITHOUT BORDERS’

Graph 2 Press Rankings of India by ‘Reporters Without Borders’



Graph 3: Global Ranking of Press Freedom in India by Freedom House and Reporters Without Borders – 2004 to 2015 (correlation, $r = -0.1676$, $p = 0.6026$)



Correlative test about the ranking by the two agencies shows that there is no significant correlation ($r = 0.1676$, $p > 0.05$) at 5% level of significance. Therefore, the ranking of press freedom in India by Freedom House and Reporters without Borders has no significant relations and both the rankings are independent of each other. It shows that the press freedom index varies from one agency to another. The international agency that annually prepares the World Press Freedom Index says that ‘it is indicative of a climate of fear and tension combined with increasing control over newsrooms by government and private sector interests’ (2016). Analyzing the media in 180 countries mainly focussing on violation of press freedom and violence against journalists, the 2016 report states that violence against journalists is found highest in North Africa/Middle East (50.8%), followed by Eastern Europe/ Central Asia (48.4%) and Asia (43.8%). Europe continues to have free media with north European countries like Finland, Netherlands and Norway occupying top 3 ranks with free press of highest order. Interestingly Finland has held the No.1 position since 2010. The interesting country is Tunisia, the place where the first revolt against authoritarian regime began culminating in historic ‘Arab Spring’. Tunisia lead the Arab world in press freedom by moving up to 96th rank among 180 countries from its 164th

N. Usha Rani

rank in 2011 and moving up to 133rd and 126th ranks in previous years illustrating the emergence of media inclusiveness.

India's ranking of press freedom has seen decline in the last decade between 2004-2015. The quality of freedom presents a low profile with unimpressive ranking. It also reflects the present crisis of Indian press.

RATINGS OF CHINA AND RUSSIA BY 'FREEDOM HOUSE'

The one single factor that has influenced global press ratings is the democratic philosophy. Therefore, the dimensions as well as indicators are based on fundamental elements and tenets of liberal and modern philosophy. The rise of democratic forces has gradually influenced the fall of non-democratic philosophies and schools of thought. The global freedom index measures the status of media freedom from the perspective of political philosophy and obviously China despite rated as an economic superpower gets low and worst ranking in independent journalism. The global rating of freedom in China has been consistently negative between 1998 -2016 (Table 4). During this period, China though became a global giant its freedom ratings fell and was given worst ranking in the world. China's Freedom Rating of 6.5, Civil Liberties rating of 6 and Political Rights rating of 7 on a scale of 1-7 with 1=Best and 7=Worst with status as 'Not Free' and a global rank of 186 out of 199 countries has been dismal.

Comparatively, Russia which emerged as an independent state after the collapse of former Soviet Union in 1991 witnessed war, internal political turmoil and hostile relationship with members of federation. Comparatively, Russia, with an unstable political environment gets better rating than China between 1998-2016. Russia's Freedom Rating (Table 4) of 6.0, Civil Liberties rating of 6 and Political Rights rating of 6 on a scale of 1-7 with 1=Best and 7=Worst with status as 'Not Free' and a global rank of 181 out of 199 countries has been poor. However, Russia's ratings hovered between 5 - 5.5 during 2001-2014 and it was 4.5 in 1999. These ratings denote that political rights and civil liberties in Russia were comparatively better in 2000 decade than in 2015-16 where its ratings were low. Despite this Russia surprisingly has never been rated worst (7) like China. Interestingly Russia was rated 'Partly Free' as far as its press is concerned during 1999-2004 and was given the status of 'Not Free' for the period 2005-2016. Whereas China

was declared ‘Not Free’ in 1999-2016 with no presence of any shade of freedom in general and press freedom in particular.

Table 4 Freedom Ratings of China & Russia between 1999-2016 by the Freedom House

Rating scale 1-7 : Best=1 Worst=7

Year	Civil Liberties		Political Rights		Freedom Rating		Status	
	China	Russia	China	Russia	China	Russia	China	Russia
1999	6	5	7	4	6.5	4.5	Not Free	Partly Free
2001	6	5	7	5	6.5	5.0	Not Free	Partly Free
2002	6	5	7	5	6.5	5.0	Not Free	Partly Free
2003	6	5	7	5	6.5	5.0	Not Free	Partly Free
2004	6	5	7	5	6.5	5.0	Not Free	Partly Free
2005	6	5	7	6	6.5	5.5	Not Free	Not Free
2006	6	5	7	6	6.5	5.5	Not Free	Not Free
2007	6	5	7	6	6.5	5.5	Not Free	Not Free
2008	6	5	7	6	6.5	5.5	Not Free	Not Free
2009	6	5	7	6	6.5	5.5	Not Free	Not Free
2010	6	5	7	6	6.5	5.5	Not Free	Not Free
2011	6	5	7	6	6.5	5.5	Not Free	Not Free
2012	6	5	7	6	6.5	5.5	Not Free	Not Free
2013	6	5	7	6	6.5	5.5	Not Free	Not Free
2014	6	5	7	6	6.5	5.5	Not Free	Not Free
2015	6	6	7	6	6.5	6.0	Not Free	Not Free
2016	6	6	7	6	6.5	6.0	Not Free	Not Free

PR: Political Rights, **CL:** Civil Liberties, **F:** Free, **PF:** Partly Free

Source: Freedom in the World Country Ratings (2015)

Table 5 Comparative Analysis of Freedom of the Press between China & Russia-2002 to 2016

Year	Press Freedom Score 0=Best 100= worst		Legal Environment 0=Best 30=Worst		Political Environment 0=Best 40= worst		Economic Environment 0=Best 30= worst		Press Freedom Status	
	China	Russia	China	Russia	China	Russia	China	Russia	China	Russia
2002	80	60	26	13	31	30	23	17	Not Free	Partly Free
2003	80	66	26	14	34	30	20	22	Not Free	Not Free
2004	80	67	27	14	32	30	21	23	Not Free	Not Free
2005	82	68	27	14	33	31	22	23	Not Free	Not Free
2006	83	72	27	16	34	32	22	24	Not Free	Not Free
2007	84	75	28	18	34	33	22	24	Not Free	Not Free
2008	84	78	28	21	35	33	21	24	Not Free	Not Free
2009	85	80	28	23	35	33	22	24	Not Free	Not Free
2010	84	81	28	24	34	33	22	24	Not Free	Not Free
2011	85	81	29	24	34	33	22	24	Not Free	Not Free
2012	85	80	29	24	34	32	22	24	Not Free	Not Free
2013	83	81	29	25	32	32	22	24	Not Free	Not Free
2014	84	81	29	25	33	32	22	24	Not Free	Not Free
2015	86	83	30	25	34	34	22	24	Not Free	Not Free
2016	87	83	30	25	35	34	22	24	Not Free	Not Free
	83.46	75.73	28.06	20.33	33.6	32.13	21.8	23.26		

Media in both Russia and China are nationalist to the core and have the history of suppressing the voice of independent press. Obviously, the rating of press freedom shows a negative profile of media. Comparatively, Russian press seems to be less draconian in the early 2000 than China. But by and large there is total absence of independent journalism in both the countries says the ratings report conducted by Freedom House (2016). In Freedom score Russian average (75.73) is better than China's (83.46) and in legal environment, Russia (20.33) is better than China (28.06) denoting collapse of legal support to media in China. The worst ratings of political environment are attributed to the political philosophy of communism in both China (33.6) and Russia (32.13). Press in both the countries have been declared 'Not Free' except in 2002 where Russian press gets the tag of 'Partly Free'.

**ANALYSIS OF FREEDOM ON THE NET IN INDIA BY
'FREEDOM HOUSE'**

India is the third largest Internet user with 350 million subscribers next only to the United States and China. India's Internet penetration has reached 24 % as on March 2015. Mobile penetration has increased tremendously with India having over 1 billion mobile subscribers (TRAI) and 60 percent on mobile Internet continues which to increase reaching over 200 million. The greatest drawback of Internet in India is its speed which is less than global average consequently affecting the quality of broadband service. However, global reports termed the Internet and mobile tariff as lowest in the world and affordable by the common people. Despite progress made in telecommunications, India still lags behind in providing adequate infrastructure including electricity posing a stumbling block in increasing access to its services. Internet in rural areas is very low and only the state of Kerala has Internet cafes in 97 percent of villages but rest of India have an average of 10-17 percent of Internet cafes in villages. Though computer facility in schools and colleges has improved over the years with over 20 percent access, they lag behind in providing Internet to the students. The campaign of Digital India aims to connect grassroots governance institutions like *Panchayat Raj* to provide better connectivity to rural India. This is an ambitious programme of the government to increase Internet access in rural areas.

Free access to Internet connectivity has raised the issue of privacy, abuse, unrest and others in India. The apex court has scrapped the section 66A of the IT Act in 2015 which had led to public protest against arrest and harassment of innocent citizens for acts in social media by the police. Digital activism in democracy has received an impetus with the participation of large number of net users in the campaign to protect net neutrality.

The Gujarat unrest in August 2015 by the prosperous Patel community led by a young radical leader Hardik Patel demanding reservation in government jobs led to the blocking of mobile messaging and Internet in Gujarat. Mobile Internet messaging was blocked by the government on August 27, 2015 citing breach of peace after riots turned violent as the leaders of community spearheading the agitation resorted to organizing over 300,000 people using the mobile messaging network WhatsApp affecting over 63

million users. Gujarat government again banned mobile Internet services following the arrest of the leader of agitating community, Hardik Patel on September 20, 2015 to curb rumors across the state and control law and order.

Gujarat has a history of banning Internet in the past when in 2014, mobile Internet was banned following heavy rioting following the circulation of morphed images of famous Muslim shrine by the criminal elements to incite violence. There were frequent instances of blocking of Mobile Internet services in Gujarat in the months of February and April 2016 following continued agitation for caste reservation by the Patel community.

Table 6: Comparative Analysis of Freedom on the Net between India & USA in 2011-2015

Year	Total Score 0=Best 100=Worst		Obstacles to Access 0 = Best 25 = Worst		Limits on Content 0 = Best 35=Worst		Violations of User Rights 0 = Best 40 = Worst		Status PF= Partly Free F = Free NF = Not Free		Internet Penetration 2015	
	India	USA	India	USA	India	USA	India	USA	India	USA	India	USA
2015	40	19	12	3	10	2	18	14	PF	F	18%	87%
2014	42	19	13	4	10	2	19	13	PF	F	15%	84%
2013	47	17	15	4	12	1	20	12	PF	F	13%	81%
2012	39	12	13	4	9	1	17	7	PF	F	10%	78%
2011	36	13	12	4	8	2	16	7	PF	F	5%	78%

Freedom on the net illustrates that in India there is dramatic increase in the Internet users in the last decade but its performance has remained negative in global ranking. According to reports, India comparatively has created more obstacles to access and has imposed more limits on content than USA whereas both the democracies have violated user rights to some extent with marginal differences. USA scores over India in creating better access without obstacles and freedom in content creation than India. (Report 2015)

CONCLUSION

Freedom, of course, is intangible and difficult to measure (Veenhoven 2000). Measuring Freedom of the press is complex and non-linear. Most of

the agencies involved in evaluating freedom of press have based their assessment on Civil Liberties from Freedom House and Fraser Index that is comprehensive enough to cover important dimensions of press freedom namely, press killings, freedom of speech, laws and regulations that influence media content, political pressures and controls on media content (Fraser). Increased violence and public frustration against press and the emergence of new media as tools of free expression has put the spotlight back on the mass media as one of the crucial indicators in the determination of freedom of a country. Debate continues about the best way to strengthen the performance of the mass media for the public interest (McQuail, 2009). Many agencies including United Nations have developed indicators to measure freedom of the press. However, the lifeline of the measuring scale is the freedom as perceived by the west. In the process are we propounding the cause of USA that claims to be the champion of freedom where paradoxically the press is capitalist to the core? There is need to improvise the perception of press freedom from world perspective combining the political philosophy of the East including Gandhism and the west.

REFERENCES

1. Chomsky Noam with Edward Herman, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*, New York: Pantheon Books, 1988.
2. *Freedom of the Press Index 2015*, Freedom House, New York, USA
3. Freedom House, <https://freedomhouse.org> Retrieved March 14, 2016.
4. Fukuyama Francis, *The End of History and the Last Man*, Penguin Books, 1992
5. Habermas Jurgen, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, MIT Press, 1991
6. *Human Freedom Index*, Fraser Institute, Canada, 2013. www.freeworld.com : Retrieved March 14, 2016.
7. McQuail, D. (2009). *Media Performance: Mass Communications and the Public Interest*. London: Sage Publications.
8. Reporters Without Borders, <https://rsf.org> Retrieved March 14, 2016.
9. Veenhoven, R. (2000). Freedom and happiness. A comparative study in 46 nations in the early 90's. In E.Diener, E. Suh (Eds.), *Culture and subjective wellbeing*. (pp. 257–288). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press
10. *World Press Freedom Index 2016*