



# MEDIA IN SUPPORT OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT AND A CULTURE OF PEACE



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#### Cover Photo

*Group picture of Youth Delegates from the Asia-Pacific region at the closing of the Global Media Forum, 28 August 2015, Bali. UNESCO*

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## PREFACE

Indonesia, with a population of over 240 million, is the third largest democracy in the world and enjoys one of the most free media environments in the region. Although we are often still seen as a young democracy, in the last decades a free, pluralistic and independent media has flourished - contributing greatly to the strengthening of democratic institutions in the country. This has also allowed a greater engagement of the public. We increasingly have well-informed citizens who are better equipped to make decisions that affect their lives, and to make their voices heard, to participate in society and to play an active role in the development of the country.

In this way, a democracy and free media go hand by hand; they feed into each other and they contribute to building peace and eradicating poverty.

Today stories are not only produced in news houses; the public is also often a producer of information. This is especially true in Indonesia, which is home to one of the biggest number of social media users in the world. The archipelago is often referred to as a twitter and facebook nation. Whatever topic that Indonesians put in the spotlight quickly becomes a trending topic worldwide.

The role of both news media and social media is central to raising awareness and providing better understanding of the agenda for Sustainable Development. Indonesia recognizes this within its development priorities.

It is in this context therefore that the Government of Indonesia teamed up with UNESCO in August 2014 to organize the “Global Media Forum: The roles of media in realizing the future we want for all”. Experts, academics, journalists and media from around the globe met in Bali and shared their views on the roles that media could play in pursuit of social and human development.

Drawing from those discussions, this publication aims at generating further momentum to discussion about the prominent role of media in shaping the future we want for all. The Indonesian Government is pleased to see continuation of the discussion.

**Dr. Freddy H. Tulung**

*Director General of Public Information and Communications Ministry of Communication and Information Technologies Republic of Indonesia*

## FOREWORD

UNESCO's commitment to the crucial issues of free flow of information and free access to sources of knowledge is deeply rooted in its Constitution, which commits the Organisation to "advancing the mutual knowledge and understanding of peoples, through all means of mass communication and to that end recommend such international agreements as may be necessary to promote the free flow of ideas by word and image".

Today, the 195 Member States of UNESCO celebrate the 70th anniversary of the founding of the Organisation, and its continued relevance.

Since its establishment, the Indonesian National Commission to UNESCO has worked extensively in promoting UNESCO's mandate in the country, not only in the field of Communication and Information but also in all the core thematic areas of the organization, including Education, Culture and Science.

One of the milestones of the collaboration between the Indonesian National Commission at the Ministry of Education and Culture and UNESCO was the organization in 2007 of the Power of Peace, a global forum to discuss how to harness new and traditional media to build peace and promote dialogue. The forum reviewed a wide array of issues relating to conflict management and peace including cultural dialogue, and also paid special attention to the role of media and ICTs in self-expression and mutual understanding.

The Forum concluded with a declaration entitled "Spirit of Bali" which called for the creation of "an innovative mechanism to promote peace through media and ICTs to be inclusive, participatory and collaborative involving youth, to involve the internet, film, radio television and to utilize all possible delivery systems, including over-the-air, on-line, wireless and satellite".

Nowadays the rapidly growing use and impact of social media is changing the way people interact with the news media and vice-versa. This prompts discussion and debate about the role of this changing media landscape.

All this coincides with the opportunity to examine how it relates to the agenda that will follow the Millennium Development Goals – to the Sustainable Development (SDGs).

These were the factors that encouraged us to support the convening of

the Global Media Forum in Indonesia in August 2014. This built on the “Spirit of Bali” and transformed it into the action-oriented “Bali Road Map” – which has been sent to the UN Secretary General as a contribution to the SDG discussion in New York.

Key discussions from the Global Media Forum are reflected in this publication, thereby allowing a wider public to engage with the debates about the importance of communication and the free flow of information in pursuit of social and human development.

The National Commission and the Ministry of Education and Culture are pleased to see this follow-up to the Global Media Forum, and believe these discussions will help stakeholders worldwide and especially in our region to better understand how we can realise the future we want for all.

**Prof. Dr. H. Arief Rachman**

*Executive Chairman*

*Indonesian National Commission to UNESCO*

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# INTRODUCTION

## THE BALI ROAD MAP FOR THE ROLES OF THE MEDIA IN REALIZING THE FUTURE WE WANT FOR ALL

*Guy Berger, Charaf Ahmimed, and Mikel Aguirre Idiaquez.*  
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### THE GLOBAL MEDIA FORUM

The conference called the “*Global Media Forum: The role of media in realizing the future we want for all*” was hosted by the Government of Indonesia in 2014.<sup>1</sup> It was organized by UNESCO and the Ministry of Communication and Information in collaboration with the Ministry of Education and Culture in Bali, Indonesia, from 25 August to 28 August 2014.

The event brought together journalists, media experts and young communicators from South East Asia and around the world, as a contribution to the ongoing international debate about the importance of media and information and communication technologies for peace and sustainable development. The goal was to advance participants’ understanding of how a free, pluralistic and independent media can contribute. This was in the context of efforts to have media issues being recognised in the UN debates about the post-2015 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The output of the Global Media Forum was called the Bali Road Map, a key document that is included at the end of this book.

Reproducing some of the presentations at the Global Media Forum in this publication is a way to take the Bali Road Map forward. As the world marks 3 May 2015 as World Press Freedom Day, this collection presents a range of thinking about what a free media does – and what it can do. This is an issue important to the UN’s SDGs, but it has a much wider resonance – for national governments, media actors, civil society, Internet intermediaries, regional organisations, etc.

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<sup>1</sup> <http://bali-gmf.com/>



The words “press freedom” in some quarters are interpreted as meaning freedom for newspaper journalists. Indeed, that is how it started, historically. But today, thanks to technological expansion, “press freedom” covers the freedom for everyone to publicise information and opinion – whether on print, by radio or television, or on computers or cellphones. World Press Freedom Day is an occasion for anyone using media – to either consume or to produce information – to celebrate this public use of the underlying right to freedom of expression.

Exercising freedom of expression can be evident in a group discussion at a restaurant or in the street – or it can be amplified by means of media, in which case it becomes a press freedom issue. Such media can be news media, entertainment, educational or social media. Media makes messages travel, and like a transport system, different outlets and their contents can be owned by different parties - individuals, private companies, the public via the State, a community, political and civil society groups or others.

The difference that media makes can be compared to travelling locally, on foot, and at night, and using a scooter in broad daylight on a public road to reach a range of places. Media enables messages to move further, faster, and to many destinations. For communications technologies, institutions and users to constitute media, they depend on the existence of press freedom.

Messages made, or transmitted, by media range from news through to creative fiction and advertising. There is also gossip and rumour. The “press freedom” that underpins all this mass messaging, is possibly most treasured for the fact that it particularly enables journalism. In other words, press freedom is very important for protecting the publication of verifiable information or informed opinion, which should be produced according to ethics based on the public interest.

Think of journalism as a bit like riding a scooter in a way that is reliable and considerate. It observes higher standards for its producing and delivery of messages as compared to other uses of the road. Higher, for example, than compared to leisure-time strollers or pavement hawkers - even if everyone here has a shared interest in freedom of movement.

While press freedom applies more widely than to journalism, journalism is therefore a special use of press freedom. Underlying both press freedom and journalism is the right to freedom of expression. The *Universal*

*Declaration of Human Rights* established this in its Article 19 which reads:

*“Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers”* (United Nations General Assembly, 1948).

This helps us recognize that freedom of expression has two dimensions: (a) to “impart” – which is what press freedom is founded on, and (b) to “seek” and “receive” – which is often called “freedom of information”. The one is the output of communications, and the other the input.

To stay with the press freedom or “output” dimension for the moment, we can say that journalism as a special kind of expression is generally seen as essential to guarantee dialogue, democracy and sustainable development. However, the conditions under which journalism operates in many countries prevent it from playing this role. Its foundations can be corrupted or weakened due to problems in the media system.

First, the laws may not allow for press freedom. Second, governments may dominate state-owned media, instead of seeing the advantages in an independent public service media. Third, political or business interests may hold so much sway over privately-owned media that they undermine the possibilities for independent journalism. Fourth, community media is often barely recognized in national broadcast policy and faces a tough struggle for economic survival. Fifth, social media sometimes seems dominated by personal news and gossip, rather than quality news and information.

When the media landscape is like this, it is difficult for journalism to make its essential contribution to achieving an equitable, fair and sustainable development. World Press Freedom Day, however, is an occasion to focus attention on fixing the context so that media can make a difference.

## STATUS OF MEDIA WORLDWIDE

Recently, UNESCO (2014) has analysed trends about changes in the worldwide environment for press freedom. There has been a growth in laws providing for freedom of information (giving citizens, including journalists, the right to access information held by the state or by companies (at least when relevant to public functions). But there has also been a growth of

restrictive laws on the Internet and social media. There is even global trend of “legal deterioration by imitation”, which expands the obstacles to press freedom.

Furthermore, there are criminal defamation, slander, insult and lèse-majesté laws that do not follow the international standards in terms of which any limits of freedom of expression have to be exceptional to the norm of free flow. To be justifiable, any exception also needs to be shown to be necessary and proportionate in terms of a legitimate purpose like public safety or protection of other rights (eg. privacy). In addition to laws that fall short of these international standards, there are often other rules related to national security, anti-terrorism or anti-extremism that have been misapplied to restrict and silence critical views in media, even though these views should be accepted within democracy.

In regard to other issues, there is more media pluralism than ever before (especially because of social media), but there is also increasing concentration of ownership that could impact on the diversity of content. The independence of media regulation is weak, while self-regulatory systems are struggling in many places. Journalists around the world are insufficiently protected, and those who attack them are going unpunished. Women journalists continue to be confined to more junior positions.

These are all issues that need changing if media, and especially journalism, is to make an optimum contribution to society.

## MEDIA AND THE POST-2015 SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS

Media is an important stakeholder in regard to societies reaching the goals of development – both as a contributor and a beneficiary. However, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) proposed in 2000 did not include this topic in any of its eight Goals.

The year 2015 is the time limit of the MDGs and it is the right moment to review the achievements and the challenges, in order to propose a new development agenda that considers relevant subjects like media. It is exactly the process of developing post-2015 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) that gives an opportunity to recognize media as a relevant actor in the development process, and to highlight how freedom of expression is both a means to and a goal of development.

It is evident that the contribution of media can do a lot more in the direction of the draft SDG goal 16, which points to goals of peace, social inclusion, justice, accountability and effectiveness.<sup>2</sup> But it also has to be made clear that a free media may also greatly help with any of the other SDG objectives proposed – for example, goals on health or environment. For this reason it is important that all media actors participate in the current debates about the relation between media and development, because they have to underline the relevance of media and the multiple possibilities of contribution with each SDG.

To integrate the roles of free media as a positive factor for development, it also makes sense that the goals of that development should also include a specific goal related to building a media system which can ensure such an ongoing contribution to all goals. In fact, draft SDG goal 16 has a relevant subgoal or target: this is access to information. Social participation and integration, development decision-making and the safeguarding of democratic values all depend on access to information.<sup>3</sup>

Further, access to information is precisely related to whether the media environment is free, pluralistic and independent. The reference to access to information in Goal 16 leads inevitably to the point that freedom of expression covers twin dimensions: not only receiving information, but also imparting it. In this way, the broader right to freedom of expression can be understood as central within a wider reference to fundamental freedoms (which are acknowledged in Goal 16).

Media, and especially journalism, have a relevant role in many aspects of development, ranging from governance through to inclusion, empowerment, peace and youth involvement:

- They are a condition for legitimate and free elections, especially because they promote public and critical debate that democracy needs to thrive. Furthermore, media indirectly, and social media directly, give people the opportunity to be active and informed participants in society, which strengthens ownership of the development process.

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<sup>2</sup> Goal 16 is: “to promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels” (Sustainable Development Knowledge Platform, 2015).

<sup>3</sup> UNESCO and Sustainable Development, UNESCO, Paris 2005.

- Media can also promote peace, tolerance and dialogue between cultures, people, religious and political groups. In that sense, media can encourage knowledge and respect among nations or cultures in order to avoid conflicts. These exchanges are also key feeders of innovation.
- In addition, media and especially community and social media, can empower people - particularly marginalized and vulnerable groups. This can be through information that helps them to understand their local as well as global context - for the purpose of changing it. Empowerment means a population that is very well-informed and able to convert information into meaningful knowledge and expertise.
- Media are a support for accountable and effective governance - communicating the actions of the authorities, their shortcomings and their achievements. Moreover, media can open dialogue between governments and people, so that those in charge make decisions based on real needs.
- Last, but not least, media can give voice to youth and women, thereby enabling their full participation in their societies.

The point of all this is that media is to be taken seriously in development. This is certainly the case with the world's new and emergent development framework which is being built upon three main axes: Sustainable Development, Poverty Eradication and Peace. In more detail:

## MEDIA AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

The concept of sustainable development has been experiencing a shift from being considered an exclusive subject of interest for the academic, institutional and scientific communities, to a familiar term and an issue of concern for the general public. Being a complex and holistic idea, it needs to be popularized and engaged with at the grassroots level. Discussions in the Global Media Forum unpacked the dynamism of the meaning of "Sustainable Development", and debated initiatives by media and ICTS to empower and engage people about the issues.

Information and public awareness campaigns are indispensable tools in making the general public understand the concept and be aware of its importance. The media is a key vector that can help give practical meaning

to the concept and its relevance to daily life.<sup>4</sup> Not only through traditional print and broadcasting, but through the use of ICTs, media provides a channel for dialogue and discussion between experts, institutions and citizens.

In recent decades, the development of ICTs has advanced at such speed and on such a scale that it represents a global economic and social revolution, full of hope, even though there are challenges. In this context, the free exchange of ideas and knowledge, which UNESCO promotes as one of its principal mandates, is more than ever a practical driver of sustainable development. The Global Media Forum was one example of free exchange, sometimes critical and provocative, about how different stakeholders are impacting on media's role in sustainable development.

## MEDIA AND POVERTY ERADICATION

Observing the successes and failures of development efforts has led development agencies, non-government organizations and states towards structuring development around local participation. There is recognition that without the empowerment and understanding of locals, even the best-supported plans to uplift communities tend to produce negligible or unsustainable results.

In this context, free and independent media should be recognized as a key dimension of efforts to eradicate poverty, for two main reasons. First, they serve as a vehicle for sharing information in order to facilitate good governance, generate opportunities to gain access to essential services, promote accountability and counteract corruption, and develop the relationship between an informed, critical and participatory citizenry and responsive elected officials. Investigative journalism was a particular point of discussion during the Global Media Forum.

Second, community media and now social media are associated with a range of benefits that are highly relevant to the challenge of poverty eradication - including the recognition and strengthening of basic human rights, social inclusion and gender equality, a stronger civil society, institutional change, political transparency, support to education, public health awareness (such as education campaigns on HIV and AIDS) and sustainable livelihoods.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> UNESCO and Sustainable Development, UNESCO, Paris 2005.

<sup>5</sup> Media Development and Poverty Eradication, UNESCO, Paris, 2006.

## MEDIA AND PEACE AND DIALOGUE

With their huge ability to set social agendas and legitimize what they carry and convey, media has a key role to promote dialogue and build peace.

Conversely, when media is controlled, it can be manipulated to indoctrinate populations for war. This was precisely one of the contributors to the Second World War, and that is why the need for free media was historically incorporated into the DNA code of UNESCO when the Organization was formed 70 years ago. This was a basic premise informing the discussions at the Global Media Forum.

Ignorance, prejudice and stereotypes are obstacles to mutual understanding and peaceful dialogue. UNESCO's Executive Board has recognized that: "Dialogue, founded on mutual respect and understanding, constitutes the best way to overcome ignorance and promote peace, tolerance, and the dialogue among civilizations, cultures, people and religions".<sup>6</sup> Mutual understanding can only be achieved through a continuous exchange of information and knowledge – through the free flow of ideas by word and image, as UNESCO's Constitution puts it. Indeed, this free flow of information is a sine qua non for eradicating misconceptions about the "other" - one of the root causes of conflict and wars.<sup>7</sup> As such, the potential of media as a platform for human dialogue is irrefutable, and conflict-sensitive journalism can play a huge role in this regard.<sup>8</sup> Media's roles in all this were extensively debated during the sessions at the Forum.

## DEBATES AT THE GLOBAL MEDIA FORUM

The various potential roles of the media, which can do so much for the future, were at the heart of the Global Media Forum. Aptly described as "forum", the event provided for a range of views to be aired. The selection in this book represents the diversity of views expressed. They are not endorsed by UNESCO or any other party, but represent contributions to an exchange made by the individuals involved. The event was organized through a number of sessions as follows:

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<sup>6</sup> Stated during UNESCO's Executive Board in April 2006. Paris.

<sup>7</sup> "Spirit of Bali" Declaration, UNESCO-Government of Indonesia, 2007, Bali.

<sup>8</sup> UHoward, R. 2009. Conflict-Sensitive Reporting: State of the Art. A Course for Journalists and Journalism Educators. UNESCO: Paris.

During the session entitled **How can media contribute to human and social development?**, panelists looked critically at how media relates to development and the different functions that free and independent media can play that are conducive to progress. Moreover, this session also discussed how viable indicators could be set up to concretely measure the achievements of the SDGs, related to the role that media play.

The existing UNESCO Media Development Indicators, along with the Journalism Safety Indicators, constitute a very good basis. These are products of the 39-Member State body at UNESCO, called the International Programme for the Development of Communication. The same IPDC is also the basis of other indicators of development – for safety of journalists, gender, for public service broadcasting, and for Internet. UNESCO's position on the Internet and sustainable development will be considered at the Organisation's General Conference in November 2015, in response to a global study and related options for UNESCO, which was carried out during 2013 and 2014.<sup>9</sup>

The theme for the second session was **Providing voice to the voiceless. Empowering marginalized groups through media.** Increased access to information is particularly important for groups that are, or risk being, marginalized - like people with disabilities, people living in rural areas, indigenous groups and others. New media have had a groundbreaking impact on the way modern life is organized. There are both positive and negative aspects of this development, but one thing is certain, the mere explosion of information and communication opportunities has once and for all opened up borders, perspectives and minds, and when supported by education it has led to empowering, not least of all, young people all over the world. The energy at the Global Media Forum was testament to the strong component of young participants who also operated a multi-media newsroom during the event.

Youth has been a key actor globally in using new media, particularly social media. Media practitioners presented at the session on the **Revolution of Social and New Media** the huge potential in horizontal communication networks not only for social contacts but also for information and knowledge dissemination and active and participatory citizenship. Youth empowerment is critical in a world where labor markets often leave the

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<sup>9</sup> <http://www.unesco.org/new/internetstudy>



young generation in a dire situation. While we know that there are no simple technological solutions for democracy's dilemmas and that the availability of information and communication technologies is no guarantee that they will be used for civic purposes, we have witnessed - in all regions of the world - that Internet has become a critical feature for youth engagement. The Global Media Forum sessions involved much dialogue between different generations on these and other issues.

Gender equality issues are at the forefront of the international development agenda. In this frame, the Forum contributed to the follow-up on the **UNESCO Global Media and Gender Forum** which was held in Bangkok in December 2013. During that event, the Global Alliance on Media and Gender (GAMAG) was launched as a mechanism for systematic follow-up of the gender and media strategic objective of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action.<sup>10</sup> Child marriage, honor killings, female genital mutilation, workplace sexual harassment and cyber stalking are a few of the shocking violations of women's rights, which a gender-sensitive media can help to expose. Gender equality dimensions were mainstreamed throughout the sessions at Bali.

The Global Forum in Bali also hosted the Asia Pacific Launch of the **UNESCO World Trends in Freedom of Expression and Media Development report**.<sup>11</sup> This study covers trends at both global and regional levels, including the Asia and the Pacific. The session highlighted and compared the key global trends with those in the Asia and the Pacific region. In this, it covered the study's four sub-fields: media freedom, pluralism, independence and safety, which were all researched and written with a gender-sensitive perspective throughout.

The Forum also focused on **How Media can Contribute to Peace and Dialogue?** Our world is still marked by conflict and wars. The violence is increasingly lawless and the international community has difficulties in mediating in many of these conflicts because state authority or the rule of law is weak or absent. International media able to disseminate news in fractions of seconds globally have more and more become a target for manipulation, misinformation and direct pressure, often in radical and violent

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<sup>10</sup> <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/crosscutting-priorities/gender-and-media/global-alliance-on-media-and-gender/homepage/>

<sup>11</sup> <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/resources/publications-and-communication-materials/publications/full-list/world-trends-in-freedom-of-expression-and-media-development/>

forms. In such environments, reliable, professional journalism is a critical part of monitoring and explaining violent conflict, and covering solutions, and this needs skills and knowledge in reporting sensitively and accurately.

Financial pressures, also known as “soft censorship”, are a more widely used tool than ever before because they hit straight at the sustainability of media enterprises. Economic pressure from both private companies and authorities interferes seriously with the measures needed within the media to ensure professional and ethical journalism. At the session on **Ethical and Professional Standards in the Media**, panelists addressed questions such as: Is journalism selling itself to advertisers? Are the traditional divisions between the newsroom and the commercial units of the news media as strong as they ought to be? This session also touched on the blurred lines between professional journalism and reporting, and narratives on blogs and the websites of various organizations. When it comes to peace and intercultural dialogue, the most important demand for professional journalism is to report on facts and to ensure that all parties in any conflict are heard. This entails an open and pluralistic editorial policy and ethical and professional standards that do not fall into the easy trap of biased or even inflammatory reporting. As much as media can contribute to find common ground or to understand factual discrepancies or conflicts, they can also contribute to aggravating any crisis. A free media system will provide the public with alternatives to a diet of propaganda and war-mongering, and journalists can strengthen independence and editorial integrity through pushing back against economic and other pressures.

The Forum also looked into one of the fundamental conditions necessary for all citizens to fully benefit from the opportunities while effectively managing the risks that come with the information and communication explosion, namely the knowledge of how citizens can effectively engage with information and media in all aspect of their daily lives. **Media and Information Literacy** for every citizen is becoming ever more important, and the Forum put focus on why and how this comprehensive package of knowledge and skill must be integrated in the non-formal, formal and informal education systems, at all levels from basic education and onwards.

On the second day of the Forum, panelists discussed **How can media facilitate good and effective governance?** Good and effective governance includes the capability of the state to perform its key functions in response to the needs of its citizens, and to be accountable for what it does. Emphasis has therefore often been placed on a people-centered

approach – one that is governed by the needs of the people, public interest, transparency, accountability and responsibility of the policy-makers. All these have also become central to establishing sustainable development. Successful states are furthermore often characterized by a free and unhindered dissemination and sharing of information and knowledge, and this is mostly facilitated by efficient Freedom of Information Acts.

**Safety of journalists** is a precondition for freedom of speech and was also the subject of a special panel at the Forum. If journalists cannot report unhindered and without fearing for their own lives or welfare, or those of their loved ones, then society loses out on vital information flows. Furthermore, when the people who attack or kill journalists go unpunished, the prevailing state of impunity for their actions leads to self-censorship among both journalists and society at large. In this way, the problem of impunity exposes weaknesses in a society's criminal justice system, and is an index of the state of the rule of law in that jurisdiction. The UN Plan of Action on the Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity is a framework for multi-stakeholder collaboration, welcomed by the UN General Assembly, and contributes strongly to securing freedom of expression and the rule of law as factors for development.

Finally, in a Special Session, the Forum turned from the global to the national perspective and debated the **State of the media in Indonesia, its challenges and the way forward** with a panel representing the full diversity of media in Indonesia.

As a middle income country and one of the fastest-growing economies worldwide that is at the same time characterized by inequalities and great vulnerability to natural disasters, Indonesia is poised to take the lead in, and function as a model for, tackling old and new development challenges. Indonesia is a strong member of the Association of South-east Asians Nations (ASEAN) and the G20, and has played a significant role in the discussion around the Post-2015 Development Agenda. It can therefore serve as a positive example for other countries, both developing as well as developed, and represent some of the potential of the ASEAN region, while taking into account common challenges and shared potential. The Forum is an example of the importance that Indonesia has given to the promotion of the role of media in sustainable development, poverty eradication and peace. Its signal achievement is the Bali Road Map discussed in the Conclusion to this book, and which emerged out of the exchanges facilitated by the Forum.

The aim of reproducing some of these contributions here is to make available on a broader basis, the diversity of views and experiences shared at the Global Media Forum. They range from concrete case studies, through to broader analyses. As part of the ongoing process of exploring and advancing understanding of media roles in development, they will stimulate thought about many issues. This indeed is a key purpose of UNESCO – to be a laboratory for ideas.

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## PART I

# EMPOWERING PEOPLE THROUGH THE MEDIA: ACCESS TO INFORMATION AND CIVIC PARTICIPATION

## INTRODUCTION

Development in decades to come will largely depend on whether and how people have access to information. In order to have a say in spending priorities and to hold their governments to account, citizens need to be active participants. This is of particular importance with regard to groups and communities which are marginalized, whether due to poverty, disability or gender discrimination, among others.

Most people depend on the media for much of their information, and this in turn requires a media which is empowered, professional and close to their communities so that they can both inform and explain government policies and priorities in a way that most people can understand. Whereas in the past reliance was mainly on legacy media, now new technologies have

opened up horizons for wider public access. If traditional media adheres to high professional and ethical standards, and ways and means are found to harness new media to positively enhance access to information and peoples empowerment, then democracy will be a more meaningful process for citizens and governments can be held to account.

In this chapter, **Naranjargal Khaskuu**, arguing that ‘informed people are powerful’, looks at efforts in Mongolia to empower local communities through radio and similarly efforts to give local youth the tools to engage in digital activism and governance issues. Despite problems, there have been successes.

**Toby Mendel**, an expert on law and democracy, in his contribution focusses on the key issues of the power of digital media to foster empowerment and the threats posed by the same digital media to our privacy. He argues that it is too easy to say that social media is meaningful empowerment – because it communicates at the expense of informing and educating, and because it puts privacy at the mercy of the powerful.

From his unique perspective running Tunisia’s national internet agency, **Moez Chakchouk** looks at the battle over access to information between governments and civil society, and argues that people can only be empowered if they are allowed free and unfettered access to information. He also looks at the importance of bringing youth ‘into the spotlight’ through the provision of access to information and communication technologies, in order that they become engaged participants in building brighter futures for their countries.

**Lisa French**, who has wide experience on researching women in media, argues the importance of media and information literacy to empower women and reduce gender inequality to achieve full participation in development.

**Uni Lubis**, an Indonesian journalist, gives a historic overview of women journalists in Indonesia, and also looks at the current situation. She argues while there’s still a long way to go in ensuring womens’ rightful and equal place in the newsroom, some progress has been made.

## CHAPTER 1 PROVIDING VOICE TO THE VOICELESS

Naranjargal Khaskuu

*Naranjargal Khaskuu is Chairperson of Globe International, Mongolia*

Globe International Center, a Mongolian Non Governmental Organisation (NGO) was founded in 1999 and its mission is to sustain Mongolian democracy and civil society by spreading the power of information and knowledge. Our vision is to establish a democratic culture, with informed and empowered citizens. We carry out our activities under the motto: 'Knowledge is Power'.

Information is fundamental to knowledge, and informed and knowledgeable citizens are empowered and thus able to participate in civic affairs, social development and progress. The public's right to enjoy free expression and access to information are essential to consolidating and developing a democratic, civil, and healthy society which respects human rights and truly serves the public. Our strategic concept is "Informed People are Powerful".

We have been working with different community groups to empower them through media and two of our projects focus on 1) empowering the local population through community radio; and 2) empowering the local youth using the new technologies. Mongolia is one of the most sparsely populated countries in the world with 2.8 million people who live in a territory of 1.5 million square kms. The national minorities include the Kazakh and Tuvas, and there are more than 80 ethnic Mongol groups. They dominate in the four western provinces.

In 2011-2012, Globe International Center established 10 community radios in the 10 remote Soums of four western Aimags: Bayan-Olgii, Uvs, Khovd and Khuvsgul, with an assistance of the UNESCO, Beijing Office. The project was a part of the "Comprehensive Community Services to Improve Human Security in Rural Mongolia" initiative jointly implemented by the UN Trust Fund and Mongolian government under the UN Trust Fund. The project delivered Policy Recommendations to the Government of Mongolia, which included the following: 1) Foster a community media-friendly legislative and administrative environment (for instance, simplified registration procedures, simplified

licenses for small community broadcasters etc); 2) Implement automatic and transparent mechanisms to financially support community media with public funding with no editorial interference from local and central governments (for example: based on budget surplus at Soum/Aimag level, and income from mineral concessions and others); and 3) Find ways to provide further capacity building for community media on income-generation activities, resource mobilization, as well as broadcast production and management.

The mainstream media do not serve the local communities as the media outlets based in the provincial center towns do not reach the remote villages. The public broadcaster does not have branches in the provinces and their reports from those areas are occasional. The local population is more informed about national issues than their local problems and challenges. In this scenario, community radio is a unique tool to meet the information needs of the marginalized groups.

In Bayannuur of Bayan-Ulgii aimag, a Kazakh province, people can listen to the local news on the Kazakh language radio based in the provincial central town of Ulgii, with the Internet becoming a bridge to people living in the provinces. Community radio helps local people to make their voices heard and reinforces dialogue and the ability of the locals to take action. In Tsagaan-Uul Soum of Khuvsgul Aimag, the community radio gave voice to people's concerns about the high price of water. The discussions and dialogue which ensued led to a decrease in water costs.

In Bayannuur soum of Bayan-Ulgii Aimag, the community radio staff drew the attention of their communities to a polluted dam full of garbage which was obstructing the free flow of water and also posed the risk of disaster in the event of heavy rainfalls. Reporters began to interview people, conscientising locals on the polluted dam and asking if they were willing to participate in a clean-up. Most were in favour. People then came together to clean the dam and this in turn protected the village from floods as had happened the summer before.

The Mongolian media market is highly saturated with 506 media outlets. There were a total of 214 broadcast media, 221 print media and 71 online media by the end of 2013. Over 180 small broadcast stations operate in the provinces. The 1998 Law on Media Freedom prohibits government-ownership of media and private proprietorship is dominant in the country. In 2005, the Mongolian Parliament passed the Law on Public Radio and Television so the concept of media diversity is well known among the media community and politicians. In



the years since, the Open Society and UNESCO established community radios in the provinces, but community media was translated to mean public media.

In Mongolia, 'community media' is a new concept in terms of media form as well as terminology. We did not have a specific Mongolian word to define it and so we use the word 'Hui' which means 'navel' and so 'Huin' media is there to serve the people who have a 'navel' (umbilical) connection of their common interests.

Community media is not recognized at policy, legal and regulatory levels. The lack of an enabling environment creates a challenge for community radios to survive and be sustainable in a small community where there is no advertising market and no local government support. Globe International Center advocated for the Community Radio Association of Mongolia (CRAMO) aimed to promote the sustainability of community radio and also has a Lobby Group in Parliament.

The second example is how youth is able to advocate for change through increased digital activism. The Youth Ambassadors for Good Governance project targets the youth of 15 provinces: six western, three central, four southern and two eastern. The project was implemented in three phases: i) to identify local problems and issues, ii) to take actions to address these problems, and ii) to come up with their recommendations to solve them. At the outset, a guidebook was developed in order to educate the youth on good governance issues. The guidebook also deals with how to use online tools, including how to create social media accounts and thereafter how to organize a community event. It included explanations about pitching, how to edit photographs and videos using Windows Movie Maker, so on. The guidebook also directs the youth to important local links to learn more about human rights, anti-corruption campaigns, environmental protection, gender equality, etc.

The first project interventions were community events for local people to identify their problems. A total of 3300 students engaged (900 directly) in the knowledge-building workshops. To address the identified problems, the youth formed themselves into 48 groups and produced video pitches, talking about the ideas behind their actions and posting these on Facebook. The judges spoke with the groups on Skype and selected the best proposals. Over 300 small actions against corruption and promotion of good governance which included surveys, performances, production of audio and videos, contests, billboards, workshops etc, have been taken on by local youth groups. The youth organized rallies in front of the Aimag police station or local clinic and

students carried posters demanding a corruption-free future and better health services and more.

After these events, the youth invited local decision-makers to face-to-face meetings and presented their recommendations. As a result, governors from some provinces promised to establish youth committees or allocate budgets for youth activities.

The youth posted their news, videos and pictures online and expressed their opinions on the project on the Facebook Good Governance Youth Action site and students of two Soums created their own Facebook pages which were linked to the Aimag web sites. In total, over 17,100 young people and adults have been involved in the project interventions and activities.

New ICT technology is becoming popular among Mongolians. There are an estimated 880,000 Facebook users in Mongolia and 80% of them are aged between 18-35 years. As part of the objective of developing information technology, the government of Mongolia has adopted and been implementing the following national programs, including: Digital Mongolia (2005), Unified information Structure (2008) and E-governance (2012). In total 168 out of 340 Soums have been connected to high speed broadband Internet by 2012, and it is planned that fiber optic networks will cover a further 148 Soums by the end of 2014. This project that will see a total of 318 Soums covered by 2014 is implemented with a discounted loan from China. Five companies, including Telecom Network, a joint venture of private and government owners as well as private companies Mobicom Corporation, Railcom, Jemnet and Skynetwork, have built the fiber optic network with a length of 18,123.8 km. Over two million Mongolians use mobile phones.

At Globe International Center our strategic goal is to promote public access to information using all possible means of information and knowledge distribution, including traditional media, and new information and communication technology (ICT).

We carry out our activities within three strategic programs: Supporting the Rights of Independent Media, Promoting Good and Transparency Governance and Empowering the Public through Media and Arts.

In these ways, providing public voice to the voiceless is our contribution to sustainable development.

## CHAPTER 2

### WHY THE POTENTIAL OF NEW MEDIA HASN'T BEEN TRANSFORMED INTO DEMOCRATIC REALITY

Toby Mendel

*Toby Mendel is the Executive Director of the Canadian-based Centre for Law and Democracy*

I will be focusing on two key issues, first, the power of the digital media to foster empowerment and, second, the threats posed by the same digital media to our privacy.

#### THE POWER OF DIGITAL MEDIA

I strongly endorse the idea that the digital media revolution has the potential to radically alter power balances and to foster empowerment and I have often talked and written about this.

When someone begins with a strong endorsement like that, the rest is almost certain to track in the opposite direction. And that is exactly what I will do, by highlighting what I see as major obstacles to realising the potential of the digital media. Or, to put it another way, to ask why the potential of the new media has not yet been transformed into democratic reality.

There have been a number of reports about how digital media and communication tools have brought about change. Some are important examples, but they are arguably isolated developments which are essentially limited in nature. And, in many cases, the stories involve extreme histories, where simply exposing the problem by using digital tools created a sense of outrage which then contributed to addressing the problem. We have, however, heard far less about ways in which digital media have effected changes to traditional power dynamics, a far more profound and far-reaching notion of empowerment.

I would like to use the example of Egypt to illustrate my point. As an aside, I was in Egypt on 14 January 2011, the day the dictator Zine El Abidine Ben Ali fled Tunisia, at a regional workshop on freedom of the Internet.

There was euphoria among the group, and especially the Tunisians, some of whom had been jailed by Ben Ali, while others were still living in exile. And this sentiment was certainly shared by the Egyptians. At the same time, the latter were all adamant that what was happening in Tunisia would never happen in their country, and yet, a scant 11 days later, the Egyptian revolution was launched.

There is no question that the so-called social media played an enormously important role in fostering and supporting the Egyptian revolution and it is even possible that it might not have taken place or been successful without it. My organisation, the Centre for Law and Democracy, had an intern from Egypt a couple of years ago who was closely involved in the revolution and who has 20,000 followers on Twitter.

However, social media was, during the Egyptian revolution, used overwhelmingly as a powerful communications tool, a sort of high-powered telephone, rather than as a media or information source as such. This was also the case with our intern, who used Twitter to mobilise, direct and warn supporters about problems, rather than to inform them.

What I noticed when working in Egypt after the revolution was a very significant gap on the part of most of those I was working with – which included officials, civil society activists and media workers – in terms of their ability to engage substantively on the change issues they were interested in. Specifically in the area of freedom of the media and the right to information, the two areas I was focusing on, there was clarity that change was needed, but far less of a sense of how to deliver that change, even in the sense of what specific policy or practical adjustments were needed to this end. This was true not only of the weak and marginalised, but even the relatively empowered, educated individuals working in civil society.

It is perhaps a bit of a harsh and simplistic conclusion, but one might say that social media tools were relatively effective in mobilising people during the special moment that was the revolution, and in bringing people out into the streets to protest against dictatorship, and far less effective in empowering people in any more substantive sense of that word.

Even in established democracies, we are witnessing a phenomenon whereby powerful actors are discovering effective ways of using digital media tools so as to manipulate consultative and other processes that they want to control. This can give the impression of a truly participatory process, without it being real.

A good example of this is the idea of a Twitter town hall, which is becoming more and more popular among governing elites. These appear as truly democratic exercises, where even the lowliest citizen can communicate on an equal basis with a minister or other senior politician to discuss the issue at hand. In practice, however, this is simply an illusion. The inherent dynamics of the forum are such that the politician will be able to pick and choose which tweets to respond to, so as to avoid difficult or unwelcome topics or views. Furthermore, it is almost inevitable that, in a forum like that, a wide diversity of views will be expressed. This means that the politician will almost always be able to find a basis of support for whatever pre-selected decisions he or she brings to the forum in the discussion. In other words, one can be heard, but the leader of the session still very much controls the debate and its conclusions. It is no wonder governments are so enamoured of this type of consultation.

While this is just one particular format, the very democratic nature of digital media and communications almost inherently means that many formats have similar features. Everyone can engage and participate, but it is almost impossible to draw any sort of trend or clear conclusion from the discussion.

I would introduce one qualification for this, namely at the local level, where numbers are smaller and the ability to push for change may be greater. A good example of this is the power of community radio to provide local people with voices and to effect change at that level.

I have three sons – of 12, 15 and 17 years of age, respectively – all of whom are relatively engaged on social media in one way or another. Like the Egyptians during the revolution, however, they use these tools almost exclusively for communications purposes, or sometimes to do research for school, rather than to inform themselves for more empowerment-related purposes. It is not that they are not interested in or concerned about public issues. And it is certainly not a question of digital literacy; all three of them, even the 12-year old, are far more digitally literate than I am. Rather, it is that they do not really feel that these tools provide them with an effective way to engage in public processes or effect change.

I see enormous potential for grass-roots political influence to be wielded through digital media tools. They provide unique and powerful ways to share information, raise awareness and mobilise people to support worthy causes against powerful vested interests. It has been said that the advent of the printing press, the previous paradigmatic shift in terms

of information dissemination, fundamentally altered power relations in society. I think we have yet to see the emergence of new forms of information sharing and mobilization in the digital era that can really challenge existing power structures. When we do, I am sure that the youth will engage.

## PRIVACY

My second theme, the ways in which digital media are threatening our privacy, is fundamentally different in nature, but my conclusions are somehow similar. These are, in a nutshell, that powerful actors in society abuse new media and communications systems to undermine our privacy, while privacy is used as a sword against empowerment of not only the poor and marginalised, but, let us say, also the educated classes.

The Snowden revelations have made it clear to everyone that privacy is at risk in the modern world. But my own view is that the risk is far more profound than we may realise. Indeed, my position is that the very concept of privacy is in crisis today, both legally and socially.

I would start by asking you to define, in a way that is practically meaningful, what privacy is. Perhaps arrogantly, I would suggest that you cannot. This is a little bit unfair because even the highest courts in most countries and internationally have shied away from doing this. But the challenge of doing this today has become even more impossible.

The digital revolution has fundamentally challenged traditional understandings of privacy. One's age has always been held up as a paradigmatic example of something that is private. But only a digital hermit can hide his or her age in the modern world.

This challenge to traditional understandings of privacy does not come from oppressive government surveillance. It does not even flow from the fact that we have all sold much of our most private information to the likes of Google and Facebook. Rather, it is due to the truly massive flow of communications and information by private actors over public or relatively public channels. As a result, even my former claim that only a digital hermit can hide his or her age was not quite right. In the digital era, your age can be exposed to the world by anyone who is aware of it, even if you, yourself, truly are a digital hermit.

Traditional legal and social privacy constructs have signally failed to keep up with these changes, and often pose almost ridiculous barriers to socially useful outcomes. A good example of this was a conference last year in Berlin for information commissioners – i.e. the custodians of public transparency – from around the world. Someone asked the organisers, who were the information commissioners of Berlin and Germany, who also happen to be the privacy commissioners from those two regions, for a list of the participants. This request, to the disbelief of most attendees, was refused on the grounds that it was a breach of Germany's data protection rules. As absurd as this may seem, it may well have been legally correct. In the end, it was agreed that the list would be made public but that anyone who wished to do so, could opt out. I note that this was probably not legally sound because, if the information was data protected, it would require an explicit opt-in to allow for sharing. In any case, the document we received at the end of the conference had a list of all of the participants (no one opted out), along with their formal titles, but no contact information, which was what everyone had wanted in the first place.

There are many other examples of privacy being used as a barrier to ordinary people trying to achieve ordinary goals. Privacy has, for example, become one of the most relied upon grounds for refusing to provide access to information held by public bodies. There is a growing body of truly ridiculous privacy arguments being used in this context, such as that the details of what officials ordered at a meal paid for on the public purse could not be provided because their food choices were private in nature.

We have the massive scale of National Security Agency (NSA) surveillance in the United States, which is certainly only the tip of the iceberg; we can assume that almost every other country engages in similar surveillance, subject only to limitations on its technical capacity to do so. And we also have the Googles and Facebooks of this world hoovering up private information at a stupendous rate, basically as quickly as we can provide it to them. Significantly, all of this is deemed to be perfectly legal. The NSA activities had been approved by a (secret) court while the “I accept” buttons we click to join Facebook or other social media websites are deemed to meet even European data protection standards (since we are deemed to have given consent to their use of our personal data).

We are, as a result, faced with a situation whereby the powerful shamelessly take advantage of our private information for various security and commercial ends, while privacy is being used to prevent ordinary citizens

from achieving otherwise very reasonable goals. It is thus my view that we need to fundamentally redefine the very notion of privacy. We need to focus on what can be described as real or genuine privacy interests, and we then need to put in place robust and realistic rules and structures to actually defend these core privacy interests.

I have, to some extent, played the devil's advocate, suggesting that, instead of serving as tools of empowerment, digital media and communications tools are actually being abused by the powerful against not only the disempowered, but even ordinary citizens. I look forward to being challenged on my claims.



## CHAPTER 3 ACCESS TO INFORMATION: KEY TO THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS

Moez Chakchouk

*Moez Chakchouk is Director of the Tunisian Internet Agency (ATI) in Tunisia*

The recent developments of this century have highlighted the reality that the success of every country in the realization of its democratic process depends essentially on individuals. On the economic, social or cultural level, we have to focus on the basic rights of citizens for the common interest.

The issue of access to information has for a long time been an ongoing battle between civil society and various governments. In Tunisia, the dictatorship of Ben Ali resulted in a policy of total control over the public information. But this has been reversed since 2011, when the need for transparency from the governors, strongly voiced by Tunisians, led to a transformation of the information landscape in the country. This in turn resulted in a globally unique constitutional article which guarantees the right to information including online access.

Having experienced a democratic transition process in Tunisia, we have learned that the most important enabler for change is freedom of access to information and freedom of expression. These rights are essential in fostering human and social abilities as well as sustainable economic development which will never be guaranteed if we do not stand for our freedoms.

However, when we deal with information rights and access, the main actors are the media, because their role is essential in establishing a platform and environment for debate among citizens. Media, on the one hand, are a source of information and awareness for citizens, and on the other, they are the voice of the minorities and marginalized groups, especially in developing countries.

With the influx of new technologies, especially the Internet and social media platforms, the task of the media is enabled - if indeed these means remain free. New technologies have changed the way we express our ideas and have also further emphasized the fact that access to information and to an affordable Internet should be a top global priority. With legacy or traditional

media increasingly facing problems and decline, it will be necessary to adopt a new economic model along the lines of which Internet and online presence would become a sustainable source of revenue. The Internet is not as much media as it is a catalyst of development for this sector as with any modern technology.

The Internet has come to transform the information stream too, making it faster and largely accessible. This technology has also impacted the performance and independence of legacy media. Therefore, it is obvious to dissociate the development of media and the openness of the Internet to the achievement of broader objectives of development and democracy by considering all platforms under the convergence umbrella.

The new technologies of information and media are closely linked. Indeed, Internet and especially social media, are sometimes the source of information and also relay the information to a global audience. Furthermore, as newspaper sales continue to drop considerably, print's sustainability in many countries relies on the development of access to the Internet. Therefore, it is crucial for the development of media to reinforce the fruitful links between different sectors and foster the debate between different stakeholders regarding all governance issues, in order to achieve the common objective of building the future we all want for generations to come.

On this issue, we need to adapt and focus on reforms which will ensure the right for everyone to freely access information on any given platform. Initiatives need to be undertaken to promote the adoption of the multi-stakeholder governance model approach. This would strengthen the relationship between the different actors in a manner that ensures equal access and participation for all of them. In turn, it would represent the driving force that could lead a country towards sustainable development.

The main role of governments, public and private sector is to make means of access to information available to all in the form of the Internet and other information and communication technology (ICT) tools. They also have to act to support innovative initiatives on new media platforms and most importantly, to make more effort to engage in protecting and promoting the human rights.

The roles of media and civil society representatives remain important in providing a platform for citizen voices, and their efforts are necessary to encourage individuals to engage in public debates. They also have a key watchdog role in monitoring and reporting on governance issues, and working

to preserve the freedoms for citizens through capacity building training and advocacy campaigns.

The journalists of both legacy and new media have to stand up and ensure respect for a code of ethics and to remain principled in collecting and disseminating information to the public, doing so without any external pressure or corrupt influences or allowing themselves to be used as tools of propaganda or for the propagation of rumour. Patterns must change to limit the influence of the government or of individuals over media content. Democracy is measured by the number of media which are free, pluralistic and independent, and the role of society at large is to promote the safety of the journalists and to provide them with the tools to protect their integrity.

Accordingly, the participatory model can only exist and flourish if the legal framework allows it. Developing countries need to adapt their policies, not only towards facilitating more national openness and multi-stakeholder engagement, but also by adapting their constitution and other laws as well as press codes and acts regulating the Internet. All these laws should have as common basis the fundamental right of freedom of access to the information, as most barriers to this goal come from discrepancies between laws which govern the media and the Internet.

In the process of the transformation of both media and society in general, it is necessary to support and empower the youth. They are the carriers of new and innovative ideas; their contribution can only be beneficial to the power balance between the media sector and its development. Thus the concerned actors should re-double their efforts in bringing youth into the spotlight, particularly through providing access to information and communication technologies, so they become engaged participants in building a brighter future for their countries.

## CHAPTER 4 MEDIA LITERACIES FOR EMPOWERING FEMALES AND REDUCING GENDER INEQUALITIES

Lisa French

*Lisa French is Deputy Dean in the School of Media and Communication at RMIT University who has published and researched widely on women in the media.*

The Global Alliance on Media and Gender (GAMAG) Alliance was established in recognition that gender equality and women's empowerment (GEWe) issues will be a development priority of the next decade. It is an essential element in this empowerment which will be achieved through developing media literacies in both consumers and producers of media.

### MEDIA LITERACY

By 'media literacy', I am referring to critical and creative "communication competencies, including the ability to access, analyze, evaluate, and communicate information in a variety of forms" (American National Association of Media Literacy).

Through media literacy, particularly that attained via formal media education, people gain important competencies that enable a critical understanding of media, including an understanding of the ways media "have the power to counter or reinforce gender equalities", to quote the Background Paper of the Bali Global Media Forum (GMF, p.10). Promoting media literacy will therefore be essential to achieve the development goal of gender equality in and through the media. Expanding media education programs, and undertaking research into the impact of the media, are essential elements to achieve empowerment for women and girls.

At RMIT's School of Media and Communication, we focus on a range of media literacies that underpin key media education pedagogy:

- a. networked literacies: "the practice of making, doing, and being within networked ecologies"

- b. social literacies: “ethical collaboration and teamwork”
- c. evolving media literacies: “knowledge, skills, and competencies that are required in order to use and interpret media” (Buckingham, 2003, p. 36).
- d. literacies of learning: “critical thinking, research skills, reflection, critique and feedback, collaboration skills”. (Miles et al, 2007)

Students acquire all of these literacies whilst also considering axes of difference that include gender, history, race, class, culture, access to technology or education.

Literate consumers of media understand the role these industries play in forming knowledge of ourselves, and the world around us. Media literacy enables individuals to resist internalizing media representations that, for example, disseminate negative body image, or which propagate sexist, stereotypical or patriarchal worldviews. Media literate content producers are able to understand their role, responsibilities and power as media professionals.

Media and networked literacies empower females and reduce gender inequalities in several ways. These include facilitating fluency with technologies and thus enhancing information literacy (the ability to locate, understand, evaluate, and use information). Another is via aiding freedom of expression which enables females to produce material that makes visible gender inequalities, documents women’s achievements and issues, and makes creative expression through media possible.

## STRATEGIES FOR DEVELOPING MEDIA LITERACIES

Media literacies can be enabled through a range of strategies that include:

- Global and regional partnerships: The Australian Teachers of Media (ATOM) develop gender sensitive curriculum materials, conduct in-service training and seminars for teachers and produce media study guides and media magazines. This expertise could be expanded in the Asia Pacific region and globally.
- Research: Undertaking research on the involvement of women in the media, and barriers to access, enable understandings of participation (or lack of it), and provide an important evidence basis for action.

- Education and Training: is essential to underpin the development of skills and this might take the form of targeted scholarships, internships, curriculum development, or partnerships that expand community media—a sector where media training and access are a feature.

Expanding and committing to media education programs and ensuring access are essential elements to achieve empowerment for women and girls.

## EMPOWERMENT

The term ‘empowerment’ refers to the “collective and individual process of women and men having control over their lives, setting their own agendas, gaining skills, building self-confidence, solving problems and developing self-reliance” (UNESCO 2013, p.30).

UN Women (2010) have outlined seven key elements that facilitate women’s empowerment: leadership, equal opportunity, safe workplaces, ensuring health, safety and freedom from violence, education and training, enterprise development, community leadership and engagement, and transparency in measuring and reporting.

The elements identified by UN Women (2010) can be employed as a useful guide to think about media literacy empowerment strategies. Firstly, leaders who are media literate, particularly those in media organizations, can empower females through promoting non-discriminatory media representations, ensuring gender equality and increased participation via initiatives such as gender targets, safeguarding high level support to women, and gender sensitive policies (all of which encourage female participation and are likely to promote the empowerment of women).

Secondly, female participation and retention is increased by the adoption of equal opportunity in workplaces through prioritizing policies of inclusion and non-discrimination via initiatives such as equal remuneration, gender-sensitive recruitment, and flexible workplaces. Increased female participation is likely to result in diversifying portrayals, and in representation that depicts women as equals to men (e.g. as competent and successful in a range of careers and industries).

Finally safe workplaces, where health, safety and freedom from violence are a feature, will encourage increased female participation in media,

therefore enabling women who have media literacies to work in the media. Education has a significant role to play not just in developing media, online and other literacies, but foregrounding gender as an issue e.g. stating that there are gender problems and issues that need to be addressed. This is a significant development challenge.

## THE ROLE OF MEDIA IN BUILDING A CULTURE OF PEACE

The media have the potential to contribute to 'a culture of peace', which the United Nations (UN) defines as "a set of values, attitudes, modes of behaviour and ways of life that reject violence and prevent by tackling the root causes to solve problems through dialogue and negotiation among individuals, groups and nations" (United Nations, 1999). Essential elements within the UN conception of mainstreaming this 'culture of peace' is to work towards ensuring equality between men and women and also to foster democratic participation.

The uses to which social media have been put provide examples of the ways in which a culture of peace has been enabled. To date social media has increased access for women and enabled greater democracy and diversity of voices as well as providing platforms for women's issues. For example, human rights activist Rosebell's blog contains first-hand independent analysis of issues to do with women's rights violations in Uganda, and it has created awareness and communication of these issues, particularly with younger people (United Nations, 2011). As noted in the GMF Background Paper, increasingly, "newer digital and social media platforms are giving women a voice for self-determination and self-expression", and in some countries "social media are providing an effective platform for women's rights" (2014, p.10).

However, not all countries have access to technologies and therefore bridging this 'digital divide' (where some are technologically rich, and others in the world are technologically poor) is essential for development and to enable a culture of peace. Access to technology not only enables expression but is a source of knowledge - which is power. A lack of access to the internet and poor literacy (including media literacy) creates a 'digital divide' and is a barrier to social and economic equality.

## CONCLUSION

In conclusion, media literacy is an important development strategy in itself.

Media literacy initiatives will reduce gender inequities in media systems, structures and content, and thereby empower women. This will occur through leadership, education, and research, as well as through enabling women's access to information and freedom of expression. It will ensure that female voices are heard, and this will promote women's full participation in societies globally. Media literacy will develop capacity, and through this, choice and freedom.

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## CHAPTER 5

### INDONESIAN WOMEN JOURNALISTS AND WOMEN EMPOWERMENT

Uni Z. Lubis

*Uni Z Lubis, an Indonesian journalist, also runs a program in women journalism training, and was twice a member of the Indonesia Press Council, the only female to serve in four decades.*

In the year 1903, Raden Ajeng Kartini wrote in a letter to Dutch Minister of Justice:

*“... how can Javanese mothers now educate their children if they themselves are uneducated? The education and development of the Javanese people can never adequately advance if women are excluded, if they are not given a role to play in this“.*

We, in Indonesia, later learned about this letter which was titled: “Give The Javanese Education”. Kartini, (21 April 1873 - 17 September 1904) is known as Indonesia’s first female educator. She was born in Jepara, Nort Central Java and her father was District Regent of Jepara, Unlike other girls in aristocratic families at that time, Kartini was permitted by her father to have primary education in a Dutch language school. Her collection of letters to Madame Abendanon, entitled ‘Through Darkness Into Light’, was published and received widespread praise. In it, she shares her ideas about how Indonesian women need to be empowered.

Kartini was not journalist, but she is the first well-known woman writer from Indonesia. And the spirit that she shared, especially in the importance of education of women and how they, as mothers, have a strategic place in enlightening the family, still inspires. Nowadays women activists, including journalists, also criticized her for accepting polygamy in her marriage with her husband, but that does not devalue her contribution to women empowerment under Dutch colonization.

Indonesia’s first female journalist is Rohana Kudus (20 December 1884 - 17 August 1972). She was born in Agam, West Sumatera, and was also known as a women activist. Rohana Kudus never had the chance

to enjoy a formal education, but her father taught her about language and knowledge.

Kudus established a school in 1911, then published *Sunting Melayu* newspaper in 1912. The paper focussed on women issues and she was the Chief Editor. The school founded by Rohana Kudus taught women about crafts and skills beyond their ordinary duties in the household. She received support from her husband who defended her against society's criticism of women empowering other women. The school, named *Sekolah Kerajinan Amal Setia*, became a centre for artisans who worked with the Dutch government on sales of their work in major cities and overseas. It was the only craft producer then that met the international standards of purchase.

The most recognized woman journalist of the current Indonesian generation is Soerastri Karma (11 May 1912 – 20 May 2008). 'Trimurti' or 'Karma' was her byline on articles she wrote. S.K Trimurti was known as a teacher, writer and journalist and her contribution was significant in the Indonesian Independence Movement. She was imprisoned for nine months in Bulu Prison, Semarang, Central Java, for distributing leaflets which protested against colonial rule by the Netherlands.

S.K Trimurti worked for several newspapers and was critical of colonial rule. Later she served as Indonesia's first Labor Minister from 1947 - 1948 under Prime Minister Amir Sjarifuddin.

Because of Kartini, Rohana Kudus, SK Trimurti and others, women's empowerment became a core concern, and we, the current generation, have been inspired by them. Indonesian journalists, especially women, believe women's empowerment in media can be achieved through opening up access to education and language knowledge avenues to females.

As stated in the background document of the Bali Global Media Forum, access to and dissemination of information and knowledge is imperative for development. And a free, professional and independent media are indispensable to this goal.

Several areas and topics related to this have been discussed in many training workshops for women journalists held by the Indonesia Press Council, as well as professional media organizations such as the Indonesia Journalists Association, Indonesia Alliance of Independent

Journalists, Indonesia Television Journalists as well as Indonesia Women's Journalist Forum.

Overcoming cultural barriers and stereotypes are still raised as significant challenges, as well as sexual harassment both in the newsroom and on assignment. Gender pay and benefit gaps as well as lack of supporting facilities such as lactation and nursery rooms for women journalists with infants, are still some of the constraints they face. In regional, especially remote districts, the issue of safety for women journalists doing their job has been highlighted in discussions as one of concern.

In the newsroom, women journalists in Indonesia have become more competitive with regard skills and knowledge. More women have managed to break through the glass ceiling and are sitting in top newsroom editorial positions. However, business pressures, like ratings, number of pageviews and clicks, and also circulation competitiveness, to cover women's issues from more sensational angles, still remains a challenge for women editors. This includes coverage of corruption and violence against women.

Training for female (and male) journalists on issues related to the Post-2015 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) is still needed, and also the capacity to use information technology to access information. In this digital era, where greater numbers of people consume information from online as well as social media, the need to shape the agenda, take the right angles, as well as present the news package to build more engagement with the audience, becomes more important than ever.

According to 2013 Nielsen Media Research, Indonesians were still consuming information mainly from television, especially from ten privately owned stations which broadcast nationwide. Around 90% of people get their information from television, 27-30% from the Internet, especially online media operated under mainstream media standards. The third ranked source of information is radio, with about 20% listenership, mostly locals; while print media readership has decreased to 12-13% in the last five years.

The above landscape needs to be kept in mind when designing journalism training events, which include women journalists, so they are better equipped to deal with Post-2015 issues, especially with regard to gender and women empowerment. More importantly, this will enable them to present better journalistic content to the changing audience.

The Indonesia Press Council, 'Dewan Pers', began to focus on woman journalist empowerment in 2011. A series of training workshops in Jakarta, as well as regional cities has been undertaken, but due to budgetary limitations the Press Council only holds five to six events per year for women journalists. The training focuses on covering conflict and disaster from a gender perspective and also issues of violence against women. Identifying news related to Post-2015 issues and sustainable development goals are also addressed.

The use of information and technology to aid the journalist's work, including improved use of data journalism, has also been part of the training designed by the Press Council in 2011-2013. As head of the Press Council Commission on Journalist Training and Professional Development at that time, I regarded this as priority, in line with the spirit that women should be allowed to access STEM (science, technology, engineering and math) education in the global context.

Understanding of information communication technologies (ICT), as well as conceptual and practical issues, can support women journalists in using data journalism to tell compelling stories. Unfortunately, ICT training has not continued because of budgetary constraints. We do, however, expect media companies and organizations to provide ICT training for their journalists, most specifically women.

Currently, there are approximately 30,000 journalists in Indonesia. Only about 1000 (of which one third are women) of them can get access to training per year. There is no exact data available, but this is based on a quick survey of 30 mainstream media organizations. We must work towards a higher percentage of women in the media.

In their careers, many women journalists stop midway due to various reasons, and more flexibility in the workplace is needed to accommodate them. Journalists working in online media can do so from home while also nurturing their children. In print media this is possible too. In Indonesian culture, the support of family, a husband and parents, also benefitted those women journalists who had that privilege. Nowadays, more women are able to pass the various tests and become journalists, and they certainly have equal capabilities with their male counterparts.

In discussion at women journalist fora, we agree that the status of women in companies should reflect equality. There are still many things

that must be fought for, but more companies are treating their women employees better; for example insurance, which a few years ago only applied to male workers, now applies to women as well.

In the newsroom, some women journalists admit they have to work twice as hard in the early stages of their career, to show that they have the same capabilities as men. Verbal insults still occur, for example, when women cite family reasons for not going to work. This does not happen when men do the same.

In some of the 'hot-spot', conflict areas, such as Ambon, Poso, Aceh and Papua, safety issues for women journalists are important. Monitoring their work in such areas is important as they could become the target of violent acts too. Women journalists in Papua also face hardships and one local journalist shared her experience of having to drive a motorcycle in dangerous conditions and areas, to cover stories.

Journalists in Medan, Aceh and Manado formed the Indonesia Women Journalists Forum to provide a platform for women journalists to address challenges. Medan, the capital of North Sumatra, is the place where in 1919, 'Perempuan Bergerak' or 'Women Move', a newspaper for women, was published for the first time. It inspired women journalists in Medan to form the Indonesia Women Journalist Forum which now has about 100 members and has motivated women colleagues in Aceh and Manado, North Sulawesi, to follow suit.

There is still a long way to go to help women journalists to enhance their capabilities and competitiveness. But at least the process has started. Advocating women's issues through social media could also become an effective way of reaching the audience.

The Alliance of Independent Journalists of Indonesia is issuing a standard of work for women journalists. Some of the things that should be provided by a media company include protection from discriminatory treatment as well as sexual harassment in both office and field work. Decent standards of work are also needed to fulfill the reproductive rights of women by, for example, giving one day off per month for menstruation, and three months maternity leave as regulated by law. Transportation, nursing areas for mothers with babies, as well as health insurance and welfare have also been highlighted.

More than half the 250 million of the Indonesian population are women. To empower them is to empower the nation. Not only, as R.A Kartini said a century ago, 'because women is the first educator in the family', but also because of the significance size of their number in this country. Failing to do that would constitute a big loss for our nation, Indonesia, and of course, the world. Women journalists have a key role to play.



## PART II

# HOW CAN MEDIA FACILITATE GOOD AND EFFECTIVE GOVERNANCE?

## INTRODUCTION

Good governance is absolutely critical to sustainable development in a nation. If the climate for democratic development is an enabling one, making provision for free speech, access to information and media freedom, then it is more likely that governments will be open to transparency and accountability and good use of resources. It also means that the environment is conducive for citizens to hold their governments to account, and for themselves to be not only participants in their own development, but also ensure that their needs are met through governments which are responsive to their needs.

A free, pluralistic and independent media, holding high ideals of professionalism and ethics, are central to facilitating good and effective governance in a nation and promoting responsive government. Through accessing new media technologies to give a wider voice to citizens, and combining with incisive investigative journalism, abuses of power and

resources can be laid bare, and governments held more accountable through the watchdog role of media. Most critical to media's role in facilitating good and effective government is the question of whether journalists are able to do their jobs in safety.

In this section, Guy Berger, Director of Freedom of Expression and the Media Development Division at UNESCO, focuses on the need for the safety of journalists. If journalists are unable to work free of physical and other constraints, then neither sustainable nor equitable development can occur. Governance, he argues, is the connector between journalist safety and development.

Founder/editor of The Namibian and now Chairperson of the Namibia Media Trust, which owns the newspaper, Gwen Lister, takes a southern Africa perspective and talks about the importance of investigative journalism which abides by the rules of professionalism and ethics, to good and effective governance.

**Maria Ressa**, CEO of Rappler.com, looks at the way in which technology is changing the way we think, communicate and act. Harnessed properly, she reasons, it can give greater power to journalists to go beyond just telling stories to mobilizing audiences to act. In this way independent media can bring new meaning to participatory democracy.

**Prima Jesusa Quinsayas**, a private prosecutor and lawyer well-versed in journalism and law, deals with the difficult question of impunity, which she argues is well-entrenched in the Philippines and makes all citizens vulnerable.



## CHAPTER 1

### FOR DEVELOPMENT, ENSURE SAFETY FOR JOURNALISTS

Guy Berger

*Guy Berger is Director of Freedom of Expression and Media Development Division, UNESCO.*

Development is one thing, and attacks on journalists are another. But there's a link between them, and it's much deeper than many people may think. And because of this link, we can't expect sustainable or equitable development in a society unless journalists are able to do their work in safety.

Everyone knows that one of the worst violations of the right to freedom of expression is when journalists are subjected to threats or physical attacks. But less clear is how this impacts directly on development.

What connects safety and development is "governance".

Imagine a triangle of "development", "journalism" and "governance". Optimum performance at each point can contribute to strengthening the others. But weakness in one can also affect the possibilities in the others. To understand this, you need to explore the connections.

#### GOVERNANCE CONNECTS TO DEVELOPMENT

There are debates about the meaning of "governance" - sometimes called "effective governance" and "good governance". Yet, according to the UN Human Rights Council, the key issue is whether a society's arrangements of power can effectively guarantee "the right to health, adequate housing, sufficient food, quality education, fair justice and personal security?"<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Development/GoodGovernance/Pages/GoodGovernanceIndex.aspx>

This view is reinforced by the report of the UN's High-Level Panel of Eminent Persons on the Post-2015 Development Agenda. The panel was co-chaired by Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, at the time the President of Indonesia, along with President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf of Liberia, and Prime Minister David Cameron of the United Kingdom. The Report mentions media 20 times, and it provides a holistic framework for thinking of governance in terms of a society guaranteeing the freedoms of expression, conscience, and association, along with civic participation, among other elements.<sup>13</sup>

Ultimately, “governance” decides whether a state fulfills its responsibility to protect human rights and recognise political pluralism.

Equally, “governance” is about whether a state is transparent and accountable, and if it has an efficient and effective public sector. Another key element is the “rule of law”, meaning a system where no one is above the law, and where each person is entitled to justice.

If you put all this together, it is easy to see why governance is an absolutely necessary condition for optimum development. Simply put, it is hard to imagine human progress in a society that violates human rights and represses pluralism. The same goes for a society with a dysfunctional civil service or a leadership that does nothing to stop corruption.

Governance also affects the sustainability of economic growth. This means growth that meets people's needs today without sacrificing those of future generations. The point is that economic expansion cannot endure if governance only benefits a few, or if it comes at the expense of human rights and the natural environment.

## SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS

The link between governance and development is recognised in a 2014 document that was developed at the United Nations (UN) to propose “Sustainable Development Goals” (SDGs) to the international community. The SDGs will replace the universally-agreed “Millennium Development

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<sup>13</sup> United Nations. 2013. *A New Global Partnership: Eradicate Poverty and Transform Economies through Sustainable Development: The Report of the High-Level Panel of Eminent Persons on the Post-2015 Development Agenda*. New York: UN Publications. [0]. Available: [http://www.un.org/sglmanagement/pdf/HLP\\_P2015\\_Report.pdf](http://www.un.org/sglmanagement/pdf/HLP_P2015_Report.pdf). Accessed 05/02/2014.

Goals” which were targets to be reached by the end of 2015, and which have achieved a degree of success in parts of the world.

For the SDGs, the UN’s 2014 document states: “Good governance and the rule of law at the national and international levels are essential for sustained, inclusive and equitable economic growth, sustainable development and the eradication of poverty and hunger.”

This document reflects the agreement of some 40 governments, who were elected by the UN General Assembly as an “Open Working Group” to propose a “Post-2015 Development Agenda”. After a year and a half of consultation, the group agreed on 17 goals for the world to achieve by 2030.

The UN continues to discuss this proposal in 2015, and also how to achieve, monitor and report on SDGs. Nevertheless, much of what is contained in the proposal is widely expected to find broad agreement. The UN Secretary General has urged keeping the proposed 17 goals, although technical discussions are still ongoing as to whether to merge some goals, or whether some of the sub-goals can be dropped or treated as indicators.

The Open Working Group’s suggested SDGs cover objectives such as: ending extreme poverty by 2030, reducing inequalities, cutting mortality rates, ensuring universal schooling, ending gender discrimination, fighting climate change and ensuring sustainable energy and economic growth for all.

Of special relevance to “governance” is Goal 16. This goal proposes that for development to happen, the world should: “Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels.”

It should be crystal clear that this goal underpins the achievement of all the other goals. Without peace and the inclusion of everyone in development, humanity will go backwards, not forwards. Without working institutions, and without an effective system for law and justice, there will not be progress in areas like economic growth, health or education.

The point is that governance is key to Goal 16, and this goal is key to all the other goals. So, what does this have to do with the safety of journalists? Read on.

## ACCESS TO INFORMATION AND PRESS FREEDOM

Goal 16 includes important sub-goals or targets. One is 16.10, which says that governments should “ensure public access to information and protect fundamental freedoms, in accordance with national legislation and international agreements”.

For UNESCO, “access to information” is part of the wider right to free expression. It is contained in Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which affirms that everyone has the right to *seek* and *receive* information. The same right to free expression also includes the other side of the coin, the right to *impart* information.

It is self-evident that people cannot seek and receive – in other words, have access to – information, if there are fetters on producing that information. And there is no point in trying to disseminate information if people are blocked from receiving it. The two dimensions go hand-in-hand. Together, these are necessary conditions for the free flow of information – which is essential for people to make informed decisions about development.

For UNESCO the right to information means one also has to consider the right to press freedom – they are interdependent aspects of the basic right to free expression. At their 37th General Conference, UNESCO’s member states applied this perspective to the SDGs. They recognized “the importance of promoting freedom of expression and universal access to knowledge and its preservation - including, among others, through free, pluralistic and independent media, both offline and online – as indispensable elements for flourishing democracies and to foster citizen participation.” And they called for this to be reflected in the post-2015 development agenda.<sup>14</sup>

Having established that access to information and press freedom are key to the kind of governance that the SDGs envisage, we can now explore how all this is linked to the safety of journalists.

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<sup>14</sup> In Resolution 64(v). <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0022/002261/226162e.pdf>

## SAFETY OF JOURNALISTS AND THE RULE OF LAW

UNESCO's perspective on freedom of expression includes the safety of journalists, as is highlighted in the report *World Trends in Freedom of Expression and Media Development*,<sup>15</sup> which had its Asian launch during the 2014 Bali Global Media Forum.

Without safety of journalists, there can be no free, pluralistic and independent media. Safety is essential for the right of journalists to provide information without fearing for their security and life – in other words, to exercise their right to press freedom. Safety of journalists is also about citizens' right of access to information. Journalists often face violent attacks from people who want to keep certain information hidden. Such hostile acts jeopardize the fundamental right of society to be kept informed.

When journalists are killed or intimidated, the flow of information dries up – and development can be delayed or distorted. Conversely, by protecting journalists a society ensures that it can get the information it needs to shape its development. The safety of journalists is also relevant to three other sub-goals under Goal 16 – which propose that there should be development targets to:

- significantly reduce all forms of violence and related death rates everywhere.
- promote the rule of law at the national and international levels, and ensure equal access to justice for all.
- strengthen relevant national institutions, including through international cooperation, for building capacities at all levels, in particular in developing countries, for preventing violence and combating terrorism and crime.

The fight to prevent violence and crime, and to promote the rule of law, is relevant to every citizen. However, because of the visibility of the media, it becomes a prominent public issue when journalists become victims of intimidation or violence, and when impunity reigns – meaning that the perpetrators are not brought to justice.

The lack of application of the rule of law to attacks on journalists becomes an emblem of how the rule of law deals with crime and violations of human rights more broadly. When the killers of journalists act with impunity, the signal that goes out is that murderers at large can proceed without fear of consequences.

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<sup>15</sup> <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/world-media-trends>

The point is that attacks on journalists, and the way that these usually go unpunished under the law, have wide repercussions.

The effect is to gag other journalists as well as the wider society, including those who act as sources for journalism. This leads to widespread self-censorship which in turn further deprives society of the news and views needed for decision-making.

Lawyers, judges, prosecutors and their associations are concerned primarily with justice not journalism – but tackling the safety of journalists can help them make inroads into the wider problem. It is significant in this context that the UN General Assembly passed a resolution in 2013 to establish 2 November every year as the ‘International Day to End Impunity for Crimes Against Journalists’.<sup>16</sup>

This day provides an occasion to focus attention on how the rule of law impacts on journalistic safety, and vice versa.

It is an opportunity to tell society at large that criminal violence will not be tolerated, with the logical starting point being priority to cases involving journalists – cases of victims with public profiles and who are attacked because of their public work.

To prevent attacks, protect journalists and punish the perpetrators, a framework of co-operation has emerged, called the UN Plan of Action on the Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity.<sup>17</sup> This Plan calls for increased and aligned actions on safety within the UN system, as well as co-operation with other intergovernmental bodies, governments, civil society, academia and the media. It is an initiative that strengthens safety and the rule of law, and thereby enriches sustainable development.

To sum up, safety of journalists is linked to Goal 16, and that Goal is linked to governance, which in turn is needed for sustainable development.

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<sup>16</sup> [http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/CI/pdf/news/hrc\\_resolution\\_september\\_2014.pdf](http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/CI/pdf/news/hrc_resolution_september_2014.pdf)

<sup>17</sup> <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/freedom-of-expression/safety-of-journalists/un-plan-of-action/>

## CAMPAIGNING TO MAKE THE CONNECTIONS

While Goal 16 emphasises the issues of access to information, the fight against violence and the strengthening of the rule of law, it also calls for the protection of fundamental freedoms in general. This recognition has been strongly advocated by UNESCO, which has highlighted the role for sustainable development of freedom of expression, as well as the rights to education, culture and development.

UNESCO has also called for direct mention of the right to freedom of expression in the SDGs. In November 2014, UNESCO's 29th session of the intergovernmental Council of the International Programme for the Development of Communication (IPDC) expressed disappointment that there was "no specific reference to the right to freedom of expression and information and its corollary, media freedom."<sup>18</sup>

The IPDC Council urged UNESCO Member States to ensure that freedom of expression, free, independent and pluralistic media, and media development are integrated into the Post-2015 development agenda. A report to the Council elaborated how freedom of expression is both a means and an end with regard to sustainable development.<sup>19</sup>

Also significant have been the 2014 World Press Freedom Day Paris Declaration<sup>20</sup> and Bali Road Map<sup>21</sup>. Adopted at these UNESCO-convened events, the documents request UNESCO Director General Irina Bokova to share the contents with Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon.

In acknowledging receipt of the statements in 2015, he communicated back to UNESCO that freedom of expression, press freedom, independent media and the right of access to information were of great importance, and should not be forgotten in the ongoing post-2015 deliberations.

The UN's top official also issued a Synthesis Report at the end of 2014, titled "the Road to Dignity by 2030: Ending Poverty, Transforming All Lives

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<sup>18</sup> [http://www.unesco-ci.org/cmscore/aggregator/es/communication-and-information/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/CI/pdf/IPDC/ipdc29\\_EN\\_Decision1\\_Post-2015.pdf](http://www.unesco-ci.org/cmscore/aggregator/es/communication-and-information/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/CI/pdf/IPDC/ipdc29_EN_Decision1_Post-2015.pdf)

<sup>19</sup> <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0023/002300/230042E.pdf>

<sup>20</sup> [http://www.unesco-ci.org/cmscore/aggregator/es/communication-and-information/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/CI/images/WPFD/2014/wpfd\\_2014\\_statement\\_final.pdf](http://www.unesco-ci.org/cmscore/aggregator/es/communication-and-information/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/CI/images/WPFD/2014/wpfd_2014_statement_final.pdf)

<sup>21</sup> [http://bali-gmf.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/BALI\\_ROAD\\_MAP\\_FINAL.pdf](http://bali-gmf.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/BALI_ROAD_MAP_FINAL.pdf)

and Protecting the Planet”. This recognises that many submissions to the post-2015 development debate “called for strengthening effective, accountable, participatory and inclusive governance; for free expression, information, and association; for fair justice systems; and for peaceful societies and personal security for all.” The document also stated: “Press freedom and access to information, freedom of expression, assembly and association are enablers of sustainable development”.

Besides UNESCO, many civil-society groups have campaigned for the UN to make explicit linkage between free expression and sustainable development. For example, an international coalition has called for this in the Nairobi Declaration on the Post 2015 Development Agenda issued by the African chapter of the Global Forum for Media Development (GFMD).<sup>22</sup>

The GFMD is an international body bringing together over 200 media development actors, and it has endorsed UNESCO to lead the monitoring of relevant indicators for free expression in the post-2015 agenda.<sup>23</sup>

UNESCO stands ready to assist in tracking progress, and informing the UN General Assembly accordingly, over the next 15 years. The Organisation already collects a range of relevant information, including on the safety of journalists, that is directly relevant to monitoring and reporting on SDG Goal 16 and its subgoals.

## SUMMING UP

The links between development and safety of journalists may be complex – but they are strong. They connect via the issue of governance, and they are central to the SDGs through Goal 16. But not everyone perceives the connections. There is a great need to raise more awareness about the importance of freedom of expression and journalists’ safety for development. If these connections are not seen by everyone, we risk doing development in the dark. Who would want to do that?

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<sup>22</sup> <http://gfmd.info/en/site/news/721/The-Nairobi-Declaration-on-the-Post-2015-Development-Agenda.htm>

<sup>23</sup> <http://gfmd.info/>



## CHAPTER 2 INVESTIGATIVE JOURNALISM SHINES A LIGHT INTO DARK PLACES

Gwen Lister

*Gwen Lister is founding editor of The Namibian newspaper and Chairperson of the Namibia Media Trust.*

Good investigative journalism is essential in holding power accountable. Many have said this before me, and some have said it better. Walter Lippman put it well, nearly a century ago, when he equated great journalism to the “beam of a searchlight that moves restlessly about, bringing one episode and then another, out of darkness and into vision”.

And if we accept that this is so, what is the state of investigative journalism in the world today and what can we do to enhance it in the interests of facilitating good and effective governance?

Some are very upbeat. Sheila Coronel of the Philippines Investigation Journalism Centre is one of them. She wrote in a recent article in *The Nation* that we are living in what she called the “golden age of investigative journalism”.

Others are more skeptical. “We are losing our eyes and ears around the world precisely when we need them most”, says the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists (ICIJ) referring to the facts that media are increasingly crippled by short attention spans, lack of resources, and disbandment or lack of investigative teams. And, I would add, both deficiencies and dangers that jeopardize its good practice. The ICIJ, which links over 100 journalists in different countries around the world to do in-depth probes, is accurate when it adds that “the need for investigative journalism has never been greater than in the present with globalization and development placing huge pressure on human societies, posing huge threats from corruption, polluting industries, transnational crime networks, rogue states, and the actions of the powerful in business and government’.

It is important to note though, that investigative journalism is not just about crime and corruption. As veteran investigative journalist David Kaplan has pointed out, great investigative journalism should also focus on education and the abuse of power, among others. And what better reason could there be for investigative journalism than to hold power accountable and in so doing, to promote good governance?

However, it is also true to say that nowhere is it more difficult to practice investigative journalism than in unfree societies. It is important therefore, to look at ways in means in which investigative journalists in such countries can be supported in what are often very dangerous assignments.

## WHY IS CORRUPTION SO IMPORTANT TO FIGHT AND WHAT ARE ITS EFFECTS?

Corruption hits poor people hardest and there's little doubt that it has devastating consequences on the development agenda by undermining growth and poverty reduction and also impeding good governance. Particularly hard-hit are countries already deemed least-developed, several of which are in southern Africa.

A UNECA/African Union Advisory Board on Corruption document on the anti-corruption programme for Africa acknowledges that media engagement is vital in fighting the scourge. It also agrees that anti corruption agencies on the continent are weak, mostly non-independent, poorly funded and don't receive backing from political leadership.

We cannot forget either, that media are mirrors of the societies in which they operate, and in some African countries, Malawi is just one example, where journalists are at times themselves susceptible to corruption or 'brown envelopes' as they are known, and this is a phenomenon media needs to fight from within. But there is nevertheless no doubt about the importance of investigative journalism in promoting a corruption-free environment.

## WHAT CAN MEDIA DO ABOUT IT?

Exposure of corruption can prevent further wrongdoing. The more that civil society, voters and consumers are properly informed of graft involving

public monies, the less likely public wealth will be squandered, which in turn will have a positive socio-economic impact.

Independent media is especially important in the fight against corruption: How often has one heard of state owned/run media exposing corruption in the very governments they serve? Not often, if at all.

In Angola, journalist and human rights activist, Rafael Marques de Morais, has been on trial for criminal defamation charges, has been jailed, and faces constant personal risk due to his efforts to reveal corrupt practices, in areas of conflict diamonds and the oil industry. Through his blog, Maka Angola, he has become an important voice on corruption and he has inspired others there to campaign for more transparency in that country.

### IF MEDIA WON'T, DON'T OR CAN'T DO IT, WHO WILL?

Stolen funds have a huge impact on society, especially on poor and marginalized communities. Several African countries like Namibia have anti-corruption commissions, but they are often under-resourced and under-funded and focus on the small stuff. It is clear, in my own country, that media only touch the tip of the iceberg in exposing corruption and that it is fast becoming an endemic problem.

### CONSTRAINTS ON REPORTING CORRUPTION

There remain many constraints on reporting corruption in various parts of the world. There is constant danger for journalists exercising their right to report on it. The deaths of scores of journalists, as well as the impunity that often follows, are also huge deterrents to investigative journalism, and many are afraid to practice it for this reason.

There are increasingly limited newsroom budgets and lack of resources to carry out investigations. Some of these include: 1) a shortage of or small staff components; 2) poor remuneration for many journalists mean they often succumb to the very evils the media should be fighting; 3) there's a lack of cooperation by public officials, who hide behind secrecy and criminal defamation laws, and; 4) access to training, which is necessary to increase independence, capacity and professionalism in the media, as well as to combat self-censorship, is also limited in many countries.

## SO HOW CAN MEDIA BE EMPOWERED TO EXPOSE CORRUPTION?

Investigative journalists both in legacy media or online, constantly battle to access information, especially in countries where Freedom of Information laws do not exist. Yet these journalists contribute to power being held to account and to good governance by exposing inefficiencies, theft and abuse of power, and through providing such information to citizens, helps them become more empowered to shape society for the better.

Freedom of speech and the media is a non-negotiable for an environment in which investigative reporting can truly flourish. And these freedoms must apply equally to both traditional and online journalists as well as citizens at large to be able to effectively hold governments to account.

In order to report effectively on corruption, an enabling environment needs to support free speech, press freedom and independent press. Access to information is key to transparency and public accountability, and in places without freedom of information laws, it is a daunting, if not impossible task. In Swaziland, journalists constantly battle on this front; and dealing with a government which distrusts independent media, further constrains investigative work in areas that really matter.

Investigations tend to be more vigorous in countries where access to information laws exist. In South Africa the media uses these laws extensively to pry information from the state and the private sector. This has resulted in big investigations and many subsequent policy and other changes. A notable investigation there is the Nkandla case involving President Jacob Zuma and the state's unauthorized expenditure on his private home. It has certainly helped put the public spotlight on the use of public resources.

Without access laws, draconian regulations often used by governments to prevent scrutiny, thus limiting media's capacity to exercise its public accountability function. (It is significant that in Namibia, for example, which is regarded by Freedom House and Reporters sans Frontiers as 'most free' in terms of media in Africa, ranks very low in terms of an access to information survey conducted by the African Platform on Access to Information (APAI)).

Media itself needs to be held to the highest standards if it is to have impact on ensuring good governance. This necessitates the importance of adherence to codes of ethics, self regulation and professionalism.

National security, criminal defamation and libel laws both provide a chilling effect, and make investigative journalism costly in terms of litigation. Several organisations continue to campaign tirelessly for their scrapping on the African continent and further afield.

Journalist safety is an absolute precondition for freedom of speech and the media and needs to be protected. There must be no impunity when media workers are killed or harmed. Journalists cannot do their work professionally and to the best of their ability when their lives and safety are constantly under threat.

## THE IMPORTANCE OF FACILITATING INVESTIGATIVE JOURNALISM

Given compliance with the above-mentioned scenario for an enabling environment in which investigative journalism can thrive, it is important also to look at ways and means in which it can be enhanced.

In Africa there's been a move towards the creation of specialist investigation units. While I personally believe that all journalism should be investigative in nature, to deepen and enhance professionalism, special skills and expertise are often necessary for 'dig-deeper', complex and often time-consuming reporting.

Recognition of this need has resulted in the creation of specialized units at newspapers in southern Africa, as well as intent to work more collaboratively rather than 'go it alone' given small staff components and limited budgets. Sahara Reporters, young Nigerians based in the USA, as well as AmaBhungane at the Mail and Guardian in South Africa are good examples of some of the initiatives, and there is a further push to set up more units in various southern African countries. The newly formed African Network of Centres for Investigative Reporting (ANCIR) also aims to focus on the mechanics for sustained and world-class investigative reporting on the continent.

I made mention earlier in this piece of the ICIJ and the need that has been identified for cross border investigations. Already the ICIJ has done a number of investigations with global impact and it includes African journalists. This kind of journalism is expensive and also risky and the ICIJ has done a number of big investigations into corruption, environmental

exposes, poverty and health issues and accountability. One example, 'Dinner and a Deal' highlighted the sidelining of human rights and good governance at the 2014 US-Africa Summit in favour of business and corporate deals, as well as the most recent 'Swiss Leaks' revelations of a giant global tax evasion scheme.

## THE NEED FOR PUBLIC SUPPORT

It is vitally important for the media to get public support and earn the trust of their communities so that civil society is also fully engaged in fighting corruption and realizes the import and impact on their own communities if corruption goes unchecked.

In Namibia, media exposure of a scandal involving the loss of 30 million from the Social Security Commission in a botched deal, has dragged on for years and some of those responsible are currently before in the courts, even if it is many years later. Again this, and other cases of high-level corruption, has helped conscientise Namibians about the effect of corruption on development.

Because there is at times lack of continuity in media follow-ups once corruption has been exposed, a monthly Namibian magazine, Insight, carries a Corruption Tracker, which takes note of corruption reported in the media and follows through with these exposes until they have been concluded.

It is important that civil society be lobbied globally to support campaigns for freedom of information and access in order to promote investigative journalism to combat corruption and promote good governance. It needs to be emphasized, and the realization must hit home, that these rights are not just about media, but that governance issues affect everyone, most particularly citizens, and peoples' voices must be freely heard in order that they exercise their rights and have a say in their own development.

## CHAPTER 3 JOURNALISM, TECHNOLOGY AND GOOD GOVERNANCE

Maria A. Ressa

*Maria Ressa is CEO of Rappler, author of 'From Bin Laden to Facebook' and head of Philippines' largest television network.*

We are living in a science fiction world, and the tipping point is social media, which introduces technology's network effects to everyone. It is changing the way we think, the way we communicate, and the way we act.

Harnessed properly, it can give journalists greater power and allow us to go beyond telling stories to actually mobilizing audiences to act. In this world, independent media is the first step to good governance because by harnessing collective action, a news group can bring new meaning to participative democracy.

### SOCIAL MEDIA AND CROWDSOURCING

The first change is personal: social media has a distinct, measurable physiological effect on the people who use the platform. Studies have shown that the use of social media can be mildly addictive because it literally can change the chemical makeup of one's body, affecting the emotions.

The use of social media increases levels of dopamine,<sup>24</sup> the chemical that causes addiction, as well as hormones like oxytocin, nicknamed the "love hormone."<sup>25</sup> It's identifiable on brain scans or Functional Magnetic Resonance Imaging (fMRI) studies. Our emotions are triggered by chemicals and hormones in our bodies, and using social media tweaks our emotions by changing the chemical levels in our brains. Because emotions are heightened, behavior can change.

<sup>24</sup> "The Role of Dopamine in Social Media," *ComputerWeekly.Com*, November 26, 2009. Available at <http://www.computerweekly.com/blogs/enterprise-social-software/2009/11/the-role-of-dopamine-in-social.html>

<sup>25</sup> "The 'Love Hormone' Drives Human Urge for Social Connection," *PsychologyToday.Com*, September 12, 2013. Available at <https://www.psychologytoday.com/blog/the-athletes-way/201309/the-love-hormone-drives-human-urge-social-connection>.

How does this affect news consumption? The technology we use has kept us on a perpetual emotional high and is rewiring our brains, giving a physiological reason why tabloid journalism has become the norm globally: the interruptions in modern-day life are flooding our brains with chemicals like dopamine and conditioning us to like “sensationalism” over “objectivity.”<sup>26</sup>

That leads to the next technological enabler: crowdsourcing, when each participant takes one small action that allows collaboration on a much larger scale. An easy example is Wikipedia, a crowdsourced online encyclopedia which pays no writers, researchers or editors. Anyone, anywhere around the world, can write an entry, and when someone notices a mistake, they can correct it. Compare that to Encyclopedia Britannica, which hires a phalanx of people to create and vet its content, and yet, on average, a 2005 peer review study said it has nearly the same number of errors as Wikipedia.<sup>27</sup>

In many ways, you can argue that a news group is the perfect leader of a crowdsourcing effort to impact society. For an independent news group with clearly articulated values, using social media to engage and interact, leads to faster crowdsourcing – and faster growth.

That’s been our experience at Rappler, a fully digital news, information and entertainment site built in the age of social media, which we created in 2012. Led by a strong investigative arm of credible journalists<sup>28</sup> with proven track records, we built a separate civic engagement unit that works with government agencies and non-governmental agencies to push real-world actions and solutions to problems journalists have long tackled. Rappler is part of the Open Government Partnership and works actively with different sections of the Philippine government to help make our democracy more accessible to our people – all this while making it clear that there is a Chinese wall between our civic engagement team and our journalists.

Ironically, the same model for journalism is also the foundation of our new business model with four distinct phases: content creation, social media engagement, crowdsourcing, and big data.

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<sup>26</sup> Jack Fuller, *What is Happening to News: The Information Explosion and the Crisis in Journalism*, (London: University of Chicago Press, 2010), p. 46.

<sup>27</sup> D. Terdiman, “Study: Wikipedia as Accurate as Britannica,” *CNET News*, December 15, 2005. Available at [http://news.cnet.com/Study-Wikipedia-as-accurate-as-Britannica/2100-1038\\_3-5997332.html](http://news.cnet.com/Study-Wikipedia-as-accurate-as-Britannica/2100-1038_3-5997332.html)

<sup>28</sup> “Rappler’s Founding Board” available at <http://www.rappler.com/about-rappler/about-us/6677-the-people-behind-rappler>.



## NEW BUSINESS MODELS

Existing business models for traditional journalism are hemorrhaging as revenues moved from print to online. Yet, online digital monetization models based on CPCs (cost per click) and CPMs (cost per web page impression) are not enough to sustain a full journalists' organization. Rappler's business model combines technology, crowdsourcing and big data into the mix, much like disruptive companies have done in other fields.

For centuries, we lived in a linear production world where businesses were producers which sold to consumers. Today, however, consumers are creating value and becoming producers, giving birth to new, technology and data-driven companies like Waze, Uber and Airbnb.

Like journalism, our principles of economics and business, the way we build companies, are in massive upheaval. In 2011, Babson's Olin Graduate School of Business predicted that in 10 years, 40% of existing Fortune 500 Companies would no longer survive. Richard Foster of Yale University estimates that the average lifespan of an S&P 50 company has decreased from 67 years in the 1920s to 15 years today.

We're living through a time of creative destruction.<sup>29</sup> Technology gives journalists new power, which when harnessed can provide new ways of solving age-old problems.

## RAPPLER'S CROWDSOURCING INITIATIVES

We wanted to create a pilot, scalable model for journalism in countries like the Philippines, where institutions and governance remain weak, leading to a lack of accountability. They must be societies where internet and mobile penetration rates are high enough to create an alternative distribution platform that could empower the bottom of the pyramid, and there must be high adoption rates to new technology and social media.

Rappler lies at the center of three overlapping circles: professional journalism, technology and crowdsourcing, or what James Surowiecki

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<sup>29</sup> M.Ressa, "Journalism's Creative Destruction," Rappler.com, December 1, 2012. Available at <http://www.rappler.com/thought-leaders/17097-journalism-s-creative-destruction>.

called, ‘the wisdom of crowds’ – when large groups of people take small steps to create something specific and unique. Drawing on the founders’ investigative print and television backgrounds, we blended expert opinion and analysis with the crowd.

At its center is a patented user-engagement model, a hearts-and-minds approach to news. Every story has a unique mood meter. Neuroscientists say the very act of defining how you feel can make you more prone to listen to reason. So after watching or reading a story, you can click how you feel. After clicking on your mood, you’re then prompted to write why you feel that way and to share both the story and your comments on your social networks.

While you’re doing that, the data from every mood meter is aggregated onto the site’s mood navigator, which displays the top 10 stories (with the most number of votes) and the crowdsourced mood of the day. Pulling all that data together, you can see trends in months and years – only one of the strands of big data we monitor, giving more insight to the public we serve.

As mentioned above, social media is literally rewiring our brains and agitating our emotions. Studies show social media use triggers elevated levels of dopamine and oxytocin, which is behind the need to connect, third in Maslow’s hierarchy of needs. The last idea behind Rappler’s mood meter are findings that up to 80% of the way people make decisions in their lives is not because of rational thought but because of their emotions.<sup>30</sup>

When you put these ideas together, you begin to see a fundamental shift in the way our minds consume media and how technology is heightening our emotions. By anchoring emotions on stories, Rappler stimulates community engagement and creates specific crowdsourced actions which can spread faster through social media.

Rappler has four main initiatives turning social media crowdsourcing into civic engagement working collaboratively with our partners.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> De Martino, et al, “Frames, Biases, and Rational Decision-Making in the Human Brain,” Science, 2006. Available at [http://www.cof.orst.edu/cof/teach/agbio2010/Other%20Readings/Frames\\_Biases\\_Rational\\_Decision-Making\\_Human\\_Brain-Scienc2006.pdf](http://www.cof.orst.edu/cof/teach/agbio2010/Other%20Readings/Frames_Biases_Rational_Decision-Making_Human_Brain-Scienc2006.pdf) as well as A. Bechara, H. Damasio, AR Damasio, “Emotion, decision-making and the orbitofrontal cortex,” *Cerebral cortex*, 2000. Available at <http://cercor.oxfordjournals.org/content/10/3/295.full>

<sup>31</sup> The list of Rappler’s 4 main crowdsourcing initiatives first appeared in my piece, “Journalism’s new power lies in technology,” November 30, 2014. Available at <http://www.rappler.com/thought-leaders/76459-journalism-new-power-technology>.

1. #BudgetWatch<sup>32</sup>: How can we stop corruption? Show me the money. Which is exactly what this microsite, with the Open Government Partnership, Department of Budget Management, and about 19 non-governmental organizations, is about.

We present budget data and concepts in easily digestible and visually engaging ways like the game of Slides & Ladders<sup>33</sup> to show the budget approval process or another interactive game<sup>34</sup> allowing the public to submit their own budget priorities and see how their proposals impact different sectors.

Moving easily between real-world forums with newsmakers, social media interactions and virtual actions,<sup>35</sup> this is the first iteration of Rappler's anti-corruption efforts.

2. #ProjectAgos<sup>36</sup>: We turn the same tested workflow to deal with climate change adaptation and disaster risk reduction in a country that has an average of 20 typhoons every year and includes 8 of the 10 most disaster-prone cities in the world.<sup>37</sup> According to the World Disaster Report 2012, the Philippines is the 3rd most disaster-prone nation globally.<sup>38</sup>

In collaboration with the Philippine Climate Change Commission, the Office of Civil Defense (OCD), the National Disaster Risk Reduction & Management Council (NDRRMC), the Department of Social Welfare & Development (DSWD), the Department of Interior & Local Government (DILG), the Philippine National Police (PNP), the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP), other national and local government units as well as Australian embassy in the Philippines, the UNDP, and private sector partners, Rappler created a one-stop online platform that combines top-down government action with bottom-up civic engagement on social

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<sup>32</sup> #BudgetWatch available at <http://www.rappler.com/move-ph/issues/budget-watch>.

<sup>33</sup> Budget game of Slides & Ladders available at <http://www.rappler.com/move-ph/issues/budget-watch/27897-slides-ladders-philippine-budget-process>.

<sup>34</sup> Interactive national budget game available at <http://www.rappler.com/move-ph/issues/budget-watch/33857-national-budget-game>.

<sup>35</sup> Live forum, livestream, live blog with top government officials available at <http://www.rappler.com/move-ph/issues/budget-watch/45025-live-blog-beyond-napoles-public-funds>.

<sup>36</sup> Historical Project Agos crowdsourced alert maps available at <http://www.rappler.com/move-ph/issues/disasters/73580-agos-alert-relief-maps-list>.

<sup>37</sup> "8 of 10 most disaster-prone cities in the world in PH," Rappler.com, March 6, 2015. Available at <http://www.rappler.com/move-ph/issues/disasters/85933-disaster-prone-cities-ph>.

<sup>38</sup> World Disaster Report 2012 available at <http://www.ifrcmedia.org/assets/pages/wdr2012/resources/1216800-WDR-2012-EN-FULL.pdf>

media. We are also part of Patrick Meier's Digital Humanitarians, a global network of volunteers deployed during disasters.

Project Agos includes a risk knowledge database and interactive tools like hazard maps and compliance trackers which aid officials in preparing for a storm. Our microsite includes a wide range of information necessary before, during, and after any weather disturbance.

During a typhoon, a crowdsourced map of floods, related information and calls for help provides real-time reporting, and first responders see and reply, giving others who want to help a broader view. We're in the process now of adding machine learning, an algorithm the crowd can effectively "teach" and which will then automatically map social media inputs building on the work of the Qatar Computing Research Institution (QCRI).

3. #HungerProject<sup>39</sup>: The Philippines' incidents of hunger continue to increase despite its growing GDP, among the highest in Asia and the world in recent years. Working with the World Food Programme and the Philippines' DSWD, we tell the stories that show how this can impact our future.

Stunting is a serious problem: we are #9 globally from a list of 14 countries where 80% of the world's stunted population live. Stunted children are not only physically smaller, but they grow up with impaired cognitive development and suffer other health conditions.

4. #WhipIt<sup>40</sup>: This commercial partnership with Pantene focuses on gender bias and women's rights by questioning society's labels. Rappler organized a women's forum<sup>41</sup> to launch an innovative ad campaign and commissioned a survey<sup>42</sup> looking at how the more progressive part of society perceives women today in the Philippines. The online ripple reverberated globally.

The campaign hit a tipping point when Facebook COO Sheryl Sandberg posted the campaign, prompting P&G to announce that it would bring

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<sup>39</sup> #HungerProject microsite available at <http://www.rappler.com/move-ph/issues/hunger>.

<sup>40</sup> #WhipIt microsite available at <http://www.rappler.com/brandrap/whipit>.

<sup>41</sup> Details about #WhipIt women's forum available at <http://www.rappler.com/brandrap/44663-whip-it-ncr-survey-women-issues>.

<sup>42</sup> "#WhipIt: NCR survey show stereotypes persist," *Rappler.com*, November 27, 2013. Available at <http://www.rappler.com/video/reports/44742-whipit-ncr-survey-gender-stereotypes-persist>.

the Philippine-born campaign to the West.<sup>43</sup>

Let me end with big data and social network analysis. In the end, technology empowers by removing barriers to entry and engagement. Big data is publicly available – starting with what we put out there voluntarily on social networks, and understanding that and the way messages ripple out through social networks give us added insights into the kind of content we create for our audience.

Let me end with two examples of how Rappler used big data to strengthen participatory democracy:

1. In our mid-term elections in 2013, Rappler signed an agreement with the Philippines' Commission on Elections, giving us access to the full data set of automated voting results. With that, we created a real-time reporting template that broke results down into granular details. Now, you no longer needed to wait for the television anchor to announce the results that affect you. Now you can search – and go back in time – instantly. This made reporting transparent and removed old allegations of bias or “trending” when reporting election results. It was the first time globally that such granular details of voting outcomes were available in near real-time.<sup>44</sup>
2. In August 2013, a Facebook post against institutionalized corruption – a scandal Rappler reported on extensively – took seven days to mobilize a protest of more than 100,000 people out on the streets using #MillionPeopleMarch.<sup>45</sup> While the crowd was fewer than a million, it was enough to push President Benigno Aquino to reverse his policy on something popularly known as “the pork barrel”. This outrage continues to simmer beneath the surface, demanding accountability from both the public and private sectors.

It's a brave new world of endless possibilities – all of which give new power to journalists and citizens, who – armed with information – can work collaboratively with other stakeholders to find technology-enabled solutions to old problems and strengthen democratic processes.

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<sup>43</sup> “#WhipIt A Filipino campaign goes global and viral,” *Rappler.com*, December 18, 2013. Available at <http://www.rappler.com/brandrap/whipit/46129-whipit-gets-international-mileage>.

<sup>44</sup> Rappler's 2013 voting results available at <http://election-results.rappler.com/2013/live/senatorial-race-results>

<sup>45</sup> D. Go, “#MillionPeopleMarch: Online and offline success,” *Rappler.com*, August 26, 2013. Available at <http://www.rappler.com/nation/37360-million-people-march-social-media-protest-success>.

## CHAPTER 4 THE CULTURE OF IMPUNITY IN THE PHILIPPINES

Prima Jesusa Quinsayas

*Prima Jesusa Quinsayas is a private prosecutor and lawyer working for the Freedom Fund for Filipino Journalists.*

The culture of impunity is deeply entrenched in the Philippines. Since the ousting of the Marcos dictatorship in February 1986 and the restoration of democracy, there have been 146 work-related media murders.<sup>46</sup> Of these, there have been only 15 convictions or around 10% (ten percent). While this is higher than the worldwide figure of 1% (one percent) conviction in media murder cases, none of these 15 convictions involve the mastermind. Instead those convicted are usually the hired gunmen, lookouts and accomplices.

The five pillars of the Philippine criminal justice system - Law Enforcement, Prosecution, Judiciary, Correctional and Community - are all vulnerable to corruption, political power-play and the perennial problem of lack of funds and logistics.

Police units are politicized with those in the top posts appointed by elected public officials who are subject to very little oversight from other agencies. In the cases for which the Freedom Fund for Filipino Journalists has provided a *pro-bono* lawyer for the family of media victims, two of these cases involve police officers as the accused gunmen,<sup>47</sup> one a soldier as the accused gunman,<sup>48</sup> while another involves members of the police and military.<sup>49</sup>

Government prosecutors more often than not have to make do with poor police investigations, and are overworked because of the undermanned

<sup>46</sup> Center for Media Freedom & Responsibility database at [www.cmfr-phil.org](http://www.cmfr-phil.org)

<sup>47</sup> *People of the Philippines versus Police Officer 1 Dennis Jess Esteban Lumikid* (Desiderio Camangyan media murder) and *People of the Philippines versus Police Officer 2 Darwin Quimoyog* (Crispin Perez media murder).

<sup>48</sup> *People of the Philippines versus Corporal Alvaro Obregon and Ronilo Quiñones* (Alberto Martinez frustrated murder case) [Note: Alberto Martinez passed away on January 15, 2015, finally succumbing to complications caused by the spinal cord injury caused by the April 10, 2005 attempt on his life; he spent the last 10 years of his life in a wheelchair as the injury left him paralyzed from the waist down].

<sup>49</sup> *People of the Philippines versus Andai Ampatuan, Jr. a.k.a. "Unsay", et al.* (the 23 November 2009 Ampatuan, Maguindanao Massacre case, where 70 of the 196 accused are members of the police and military).

national prosecution service. The judiciary fares no better as it is overburdened by court dockets.

The government has tried to address media murders by creating task forces such as TF 211 of the Department of Justice and TF Usig of the Philippine National Police. Both task forces were created to focus on the extra-legal killings of journalists, activists, judges and the like.

The most recent task force was created through Administrative Order No. 35 more than two years ago. This new task force replaced TF 211 and is composed of the Department of Justice, the Philippine National Police and the Commission on Human Rights. Media has suggested that private lawyers be included in such task forces, but the government has not been receptive to the proposal.

The Philippine judiciary has also tried to address the problem of protracted criminal proceedings with the Supreme Court ordering the transfer of trial venues of media murder cases, and issuing special guidelines for the Ampatuan Massacre case to speed up the trial.

In contrast to these positive efforts, the Philippine Congress has not passed a Freedom of Information law. Moving faster are proposed laws on the Right to Reply which penalizes the failure of publishers, editors and/or reporters to publish or air the reply of a party to allegations of wrongdoing.

The executive branch appears to be even more passive than the legislature. The creation of a special committee or task force through Administrative Order No. 35 has not been widely publicized nor presented as a strong signal of concern. In December 2012, the President was quoted as saying media killings in the Philippines are “not a national catastrophe.”

Even the public seems unaware that these attacks against journalists affect their right and access to information, and their ability to engage in the public sphere. There is no outrage at the surge in media killings.

In a way, this is understandable as the country has urgent challenges on many fronts. It has yet to start full implementation of rehabilitation after super-typhoon *Yolanda*<sup>50</sup> and already it has had to deal with other natural disasters.

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<sup>50</sup> International name: *Haiyan*.

But the killings of journalists that reflect the culture of impunity as being deeply embedded in society, makes all citizens vulnerable. The campaign against media killings is the most visible advocacy, and yet many others – lawyers, judges and human rights activists – are also murdered.





## PART III

# HOW CAN MEDIA CONTRIBUTE TO PEACE AND DIALOGUE?

## INTRODUCTION

The role of the media in peace and dialogue is a controversial one. Whether it can be ‘peacemaker’ or not, is open to dispute, but it can certainly ensure that through its own adherence to high ethical standards and professionalism, it does not itself become a catalyst for further conflict and/or violence in a society. Freedom of speech can be abused by those with extreme views on race, gender and religion, among others, and the media’s role is to ensure that hate speech, and/or the incitement to violence or discrimination, for example, is kept at bay by adherence to codes which guard against spreading intolerance, whether online or in traditional media.

In this section Ulla Carlsson, Director of the International Clearinghouse on Children, Youth and Media at NORDICOM in Sweden, outlines the importance of media and information literacy as a crucial element to

democratic development. She emphasizes the importance of combining fundamental literacies with the common good.

**Endy Bayuni**, senior editor at the Jakarta Post, and a columnist on religious issues himself, takes a long and hard look at whether ‘peace’ journalism is at all sustainable. He also cites the need for more training and resources to be applied to religion reporting, since it deals with one of the most controversial issues in the world today.

**Bill Orme**, who takes the message of the Global Forum for Media Development (GFMD) into UN discussions on the Sustainable Development Goals, takes on ‘The Great Debate’, namely, the key role of freedom of information and media in the UN’s new global development goals due to be adopted at a UN summit in September 2015. While he was not personally at the Global Media Forum, these views were reflected there by Leon Willems, the chair of the GFMD.

The Executive Director of the Media Rights Agenda in Nigeria, **Edetaen Ojo**, argues that not only can media contribute to peace and reconciliation, but that it can also help resolve conflict by in disseminating information, by creating awareness, knowledge and promoting accountability and transparency and participatory governance.

Looking at the importance of citizen journalism, and how it can empower communities and be a invaluable source for both legacy and online media, **Harry Surjadi**, an expert on environmental journalism and communication in Indonesia, discusses his ‘information broker’ model and how it can empower grassroots communication.

In the conclusion, co-authors **Guy Berger**, **Charaf Ahmimed**, and **Mikel Aguirre** Idiaquez, look at the way forward for the Bali Road Map, especially against the background of host country Indonesia having taken the initiative to hold the Global Media Forum. How to continue the momentum of the Global Media Forum, perhaps with a follow-up meeting, and how to ensure the Bali Road Map serves as a living document in time to come, are two of the key questions for media in search of a sustainable development and a culture of peace in the future.

## CHAPTER 1

### MEDIA AND INFORMATION LITERACY: A CRUCIAL ELEMENT IN DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT

Ulla Carlsson

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Society changes, but some of its fundamentals do not. Among these fundamentals are intellectual freedom – the freedom to express our ideas, the freedom to think, to speak, to read, to listen, to write and to communicate with others – referred to as fundamental literacies.

But, many people live in poverty and are unable to exercise their rights. In many cases, their situation is due to social injustice, poor education, gender discrimination, unemployment, or lack of access to health care – and lack of access to information and knowledge. People in war zones and regions of unrest are especially vulnerable. Millions of people today have been driven from their homes and have no civil rights whatsoever.

So, fundamental literacies, according to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights with its Article 19, have to be combined with a common good.

A situation that has to be considered – constantly – and not least when discussing the Post 2015 Development Agenda – is recognizing that power, justice, equality and identity are still concepts of decisive relevance.

Many researchers and international organizations – the United Nations with several of their programmes and bodies, especially UNESCO, together with the World Bank, OECD, and several NGOs, underline the links between human rights, freedom of expression, and poverty reduction.

Access to a variety of media and online services is a vital factor for political, economic, social and cultural development - the role of media and communication has been formulated in these terms for decades. By identifying problems and initiating public discussion of them, the media can raise awareness and enable citizens to know their rights. Critical scrutiny,

information and public education through the media can improve health, raise the level of formal education, reduce corruption and more – all important steps toward poverty reduction.

Media are vital to freedom of expression. The presence of pluralism and independence of the media are essential to democratic rule-whether publishing takes place offline or online.

## FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION IS TECHNOLOGY-NEUTRAL

Media have long served as central, shared sources of information, as ‘watchdogs’ and as fora of discussion – in short, they have provided a public sphere.

Digitization, with increasing commercialization and far-reaching media convergence, is changing our communication systems – in terms of time and space, as well as modes of social behavior.

The ongoing process has altered not only the function of the media, but also the structures of governance and the nature of markets, with new kinds of transnational companies. Some of these assume no responsibility whatsoever vis-à-vis the societies in which they operate. They are entirely accountable to holders of political power or the market.

These changes are transforming the public sphere-which has repercussions on democracy and on freedom of expression. And the public sphere relates to the nexus between the media, democracy and civic engagement.

The communication society of today has a tremendous potential – for those who have access. Media and communication represent social and cultural resources that can empower people, in both their personal development and their development as citizens from a democratic perspective. We now have access to knowledge and an awareness of events that only ‘yesterday’ were far beyond our horizons.

And, we can make our voices heard in many different ways. Each of us can be our own writer, editor or director. We can communicate and interact as never before – across many different boundaries.

It has never been easier to find qualified information than it is today. But,

also, it has never been easier to avoid that kind of information, or to be misinformed - which implies a risk of widening knowledge gaps and increasing inequalities between social classes. With what implications for democracy and freedom of expression, we have to ask.

Democracy does not work without well-informed citizens with a critical eye, and well-informed citizens cannot exist without reliable media and journalism that trains a critical eye on those who wield power – a public sphere. This has long been considered axiomatic. But does it still hold?

Every day we see threats to freedom of expression-even murder of journalists; new forms of state censorship and repression, self-censorship, surveillance, monitoring and control, gatekeeping, propaganda-misinformation, organized crime, acts of terror, anti-terror laws, plus a variety of commercial hindrances.

On the web there is an ongoing battle for a free Internet addressed to both ideologically-driven governments and commercially-driven players.

Media users of today also need to be able to handle the risks that a new communications society entails. There is clearly a need for considerably heightened awareness of aspects like security, integrity, defence of one's private life – things related to being a part of the public sphere. Expressions of hatred and mobbing are, for example, recurrent themes in public discussions these days.

Participation, privacy and security are closely interrelated with freedom of expression. The great challenge is to devise policies that strike a good balance between two objectives: to maximize opportunities, and to minimize risks associated with the digital media culture.

These conditions together emphasize that media and information literate citizens are essential for democratic development in every country of the world. The ability to use, to choose, evaluate, and understand content, messages and flows, to communicate and to express oneself via media and other communication channels involves many different kinds of knowledge and skills – that media and information literacy is a crucial aspect of freedom of expression. It is about defending media as a public sphere.

Media and information literacy is without doubt a key competence today – it is not enough to be technology savvy. Democratic society requires media-savvy

– and media-critical – citizens. And there is a relationship to other literacies, not only to fundamental literacies, but also to civic and cultural ones.

Many different groups of actors face these challenges: politicians and policy-makers, the media industry, media professionals, content providers, school and teachers, and civil society organizations; children, youth, parents and other adults. And such challenges call for the advancement of knowledge and learning.

We know very well that education, good schools for everyone, girls and boys, and adult learning, for women and men, is a vital prerequisite to democracy and freedom. Also to remembering the importance of fundamental literacies – and media and information literacy.

UNESCO has done an excellent work in the international arena - not least regarding media and information literacy. Success on this front will, however, depend on the formulation by regional and national bodies to be able to identify existing needs and to ensure positive results. And a prerequisite is dialogue - fruitful national and regional dialogues are a great boon in international exchanges, and vice versa. It is about policy as well as assessment.

Democratic rule is not possible without informed citizens with a critical eye, and as researchers and experts we have to call attention to the importance of ensuring media literacy as a crucial element in democratic development – a crucial aspect of freedom of expression – one side of the same coin – and other fundamental literacies: a fundament of democratic learning.

Our contemporary global and multicultural societies raise more complex issues than ever before. And it is also probably more urgent than ever before for the research community to contribute to a better understanding of the current problems and crises that trouble our societies today. The challenge is not only to formulate and explain the problems, but also to propose solutions.

Media and information literacy could be such a solution – in the perspective of freedom of expression. The kind of a solution to problems that arises in processes of not only to fundamental literacies, but also to civic and cultural ones. changes, in this case regarding the communication system. Such calls have to be based on proven knowledge – of relevance.

Issues surrounding freedom of expression and freedom of the press are

among the most politically ‘charged’ areas on the international arena; But we should not allow ourselves to shy away from the task for fear of reprisals.

In the complex society of the digital era, there is a need to broaden the context in which freedom of expression, freedom of information, freedom of the press, and media development are conceptualized.

In such a context media and information literacy constitutes a key competence, and intercultural dialogue an obligation.

Internationalization is both enriching and necessary in the intercultural and global world of today as it is with regard to our common interest in broader, more all-inclusive paradigms. This implies a learning process.

Quite definitely, we need more collaboration-with society around us and collaboration across national frontiers – not least beyond our familiar intellectual habitat. There is an urgent need for multipolar world perspectives. We need to learn more from one another, to share knowledge and context. The dialogue must never stop.

Well established international, regional and national platforms with a sense of the history of the field are more important than ever. As researchers we need platforms where we consider the relevance of the questions we formulate, where we are more judicious in our choice of the theoretical perspectives, contexts and methods, and where we evaluate the validity of our findings and the conclusions we draw from them.

We need to remember that access to the media and network society and the opportunities it affords is not equal for all. Millions of people in the world today live in poverty – especially young people. In the least developed countries where they make up nearly 70 per cent of the population, whereas in the industrialized regions of the world the figure is less than 25 per cent. Many of them lack access to media, information and knowledge.

That is why the Post 2015 Development Agenda is so important – to be aware of the fact that freedom of expression and media development is crucial for a sustainable democratic society.

## CHAPTER 2

## MEDIA CAN HELP PROMOTE PEACE. BUT SHOULD THEY DO SO?

Endy M. Bayuni

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If media can launch a war, the reverse must also be true. While they may not be able to stop the war they helped start or inflame, media can certainly create the necessary environment to restore peace and order. The bigger question however, is whether media have any obligation at all to contribute to peace and dialogue.

Opinions in the news media industry and the journalism profession are divided on this issue.

There are those who feel that media and journalists have an obligation to society or the community they serve. Assuming that society in general wants peace, then media and journalists should help promote harmony.

Others are of the opinion that building peace is not the job of media or journalists. Journalists are supposed to be objective observers. Their job is to report facts. They should not under any circumstances tamper with development in society.

The second interpretation appears to be the more widely accepted convention everywhere today. Journalists who engage in peace building are regarded by peers as activists. They lose all claims of impartiality and can no longer claim to be journalists.

Journalists, by the definition of their trade, thrive on conflicts, wars, tensions and tragedies. So why would any one of us want to see or contribute towards peace?

News is still largely driven by bad news. That is the nature of our profession. The adage “bad news is good news, and good news is no news” is still widely embraced by the profession and the media industry. It is the business



mantra of the news industry more concerned with circulations, ratings, and now also the number of hits or visits.

Within the profession, war reporters are considered to be in a league of their own, a class above the rest of us. Many are killed in action, others are injured. Many who survive would go on to report the next war. Today, the world is never short of any bloody conflict to report on. These journalists are often referred to as “veterans”. We still encounter a few veterans of the Vietnam war, but there are many who came out of the first Gulf War, and many veterans of the conflicts in Rwanda, Afghanistan and Iraq. Pretty soon, we’ll meet veterans of the Syrian war.

Being called a ‘veteran’ carries the highest badge of honor in this profession. And they thoroughly deserve it. These journalists risk their lives and limbs in the name of reporting the truth. Truth need not be the first casualty of war, thanks to the work and dedication of these journalists.

In contrast, ‘peace journalists’ are almost unheard of.

The idea of journalists working towards peace was first broached by Norwegian scholar of journalism, Johan Galtung, in the 1970s. He felt that journalists covering wars and conflicts could help restore peace and dialogue by going beyond just reporting the truth, and by focusing less on the violence, the number of casualties and the killing machines themselves. Instead they should focus more on the impact of war on people’s lives.

‘Peace’ journalism has never received widespread acceptance inside the profession that is stuck in its conventional ways. Journalists have no business building peace. Let somebody else worry about it. We just report on the developments, whatever happens and whichever way it goes.

Indonesia has had more than its share of conflicts for a country that ranks as the fourth most populous in the world. We have had armed insurgencies in Aceh, Papua and East Timor (renamed Timor Leste after independence in 2001), and we had bloody communal conflicts, particularly between the majority Muslims and Christians, the largest minority religious community.

With the exception of Papua, all these insurgencies and communal conflicts have been resolved through the democratic processes. Media played little or no role in the peace process. They reported on all these conflicts in the conventional way.

Except in Maluku at the beginning of the millennium. The only time Galtung's 'peace' journalism was put to the test, was in trying to help end the conflict between Christians and Muslims on the island of Ambon in the Maluku archipelago. It worked like magic. 'Peace' journalism did not end the conflict itself, but the media helped to create a conducive environment and reflect the public pressure for the warring sides to sit down and negotiate to end the conflict, which had killed more than 1,000 people and displaced half a million others between 1999 and 2002.

When the communal conflict broke out in 1999, the media quickly divided along the religious lines, as was the case in the city of Ambon, the main town on the island which saw the worst of the killings. A newspaper in the Christian area of Ambon reported on the conflict from its perspective, as did a newspaper in the Muslim quarters. Both papers did their part engaging in conventional reporting, but in so doing inflamed tensions by giving blow-by-blow accounts of the war and the number of casualties from their different viewpoints.

In 2001, the Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI) of Indonesia, in collaboration with the Indonesian Press Council and the British Council gave Galtung's peace journalism a chance. Journalists from both newspapers were taken out of the conflict area on the island to Bogor, near Jakarta on Java Island, where they received training on how to report without inflaming conflict and tensions.

At the end of the workshop in April 2001, the Maluku journalists issued a declaration that they would help initiate the peace process. They came up with the idea of establishing a joint clearinghouse, later named the Maluku Media Center, where they would share news and information that otherwise would not have been available to the other side. It is unclear how much effect this initiative had on stopping hostilities, but the change in media reporting certainly helped to create the environment and necessary public pressure for the community leaders to sit down, negotiate, and finally sign a peace deal in March 2002.

Unfortunately, new tensions have emerged between different religious communities in different pockets of the Indonesian archipelago, pitting the majority Muslims against one of the religious minorities. Within Muslims themselves, there are also tensions between the dominant Sunnis against followers of smaller denominations, like Shiism and Ahmaddiyah.

In the main-and I am generalizing that this is the case across the world and not just in Indonesia-the media have failed in the task of 'peace' journalism. In the way we cover conflicts or tensions between different religious communities, more often than not, we have become part of the problem. Some of the hatred, tension and intolerance, between religious communities that is on the rise in many parts of the world, happened in part because of the way the media have been reporting on religion and these communities.

Media stereotypes them and sows prejudice against the other, sometimes unintentionally, but at other times deliberately. When conflicts break out, we tend to perpetuate them.

Religion is the most difficult and sensitive issue to report in journalism. In many societies, it is an emotional issue. It is a subject that needs to be handled with the greatest care. Yet, it is one of the areas in which media and journalists have failed the most.

Typically, in any newsrooms, religious reporting does not carry the same prestige as reporting on other issues like politics, crime, sports, business and entertainment. Reporting about religious communities-and thanks to migration almost all parts of the world have now become multi-ethnic and multi-faith-suffers from lack of attention and does not get the resources it deserves. The task of reporting religion is usually given to the most junior reporter, who simply cannot wait to leave that beat and move on to other far more prestigious and exciting reporting areas.

Until recently, this under-reporting worked well because the media had been able to take religion aspects out of the news spotlight with no real consequences. We have secularized the news effectively, even in societies like Indonesia where religion plays an important role in people's lives. Now we are seeing the impact of our failure to pay more serious attention to reporting on religion and about the various communities that make up society, with serious consequences to interfaith relations.

There is a gross lack of understanding between different religious communities that must lead peaceful coexistence. The media is partly if not largely responsible for this because of our tendency to secularize news reporting.

Many of the tensions we see now between religious communities - not just in Indonesia, but around the world, in Myanmar, India and Pakistan, across the Middle East, but also in Europe, Latin America, in the US and

Australia - happen because of the media's failure to report about religion, religious communities and interfaith relations.

This realization prompted more than 20 concerned journalists from countries on all five continents and representing all the world's major faiths, to launch the International Association of Religion Journalists (IARJ) in March 2012 at a meeting in Italy. They shared concerns on the need for journalists to report better on religion and about religious communities in their respective societies.

It is not the job of journalists to spread the good message. We are not preachers to bring the glad tidings. We are just journalists who owe it to our audience and to our society to do a better job in reporting about religion, and hopefully build a better understanding between the religious communities. We need to change the prevailing mindset in newsrooms about religion reporting, and start giving it more serious attention, focusing on more resources and training in this area.

In the less than three years since its founding, more than 500 journalists have joined the IARJ, a clear testimony to the relevance of its mission. The association today runs a website on best practices in religion reporting around the world. It has also conducted training and conferences on religion reporting.

In religion reporting, more than in any other area, journalists must apply the highest professional and ethical standards of their trade - nothing less than the 'gold standard' of journalism.

Journalists, and the media we work for, are not peacemakers. But surely we have a stake in the future of our own societies and communities. If we do our job with professionalism, we will go a long way towards answering the question as to how media can contribute to peace and dialogue and even pre-empt conflicts by staying true to this mandate.

## CHAPTER 3

### HOW MEDIA CAN CONTRIBUTE TO PEACE AND DIALOGUE

Edetaen Ojo

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The potential influence of the media in situations of political instability and conflict has long been recognized and is generally accepted, so there is already a great deal of agreement that the media can contribute to peace and reconciliation.

The media, as a community, can prevent and help to resolve conflict by disseminating information, creating awareness and knowledge, promoting transparent, accountable and participatory governance. It can also address perceived grievances by all sides in a conflict and create an environment which makes it possible for the parties to a conflict to opt for dialogue.

The media not only contributes to peace and dialogue in these ways, but often provides the platform where the necessary dialogue can occur. It is through media platforms that the initial exchange of views and articulation of grievances take place when face-to-face meetings are not possible or feasible.

However, there appear to be some disagreements in the area of the preconditions that are necessary for the media to play its roles effectively and the steps needed to ensure that those preconditions are met.

For the media to be effective in its role of building peace and resolving conflicts, it needs to be free, independent, professional and credible.

Where these conditions do not exist and there are no basic professional standards and guidelines, there is a risk that the media can resort to an emotive kind of reporting, which can further inflame conflicts negatively. This frequently manifests either in inadvertently unbalanced reporting or as overtly propagandistic or biased reporting. Such negative reporting in the media based upon ethnic, political, religious or other biases, can aggravate tension and conflicts.

This can also quickly degenerate into a vicious cycle, as conflicts, with the attendant political and financial uncertainties created by them, also often have the effect of undermining the individual and collective strength of the media community.

When individual journalists and media outlets are harassed, as often happens in conflict situations, the media is disempowered as it struggles for survival either by embarking on self-censorship or becoming co-opted into the propaganda machine of either the government or armed groups or other parties in the conflict.

The importance of media freedom for conflict resolution can also be seen through the negative repercussions that restricted public debate and/or propagandistic information can have on fuelling tensions and provoking violence. Moreover, in circumstances where the media is interfered with or abused by governments, parties to a conflict, or other vested interest groups, as well as when the media lacks access to resources and the opportunity to develop its professionalism, its role as a 'mediator' can be seriously undermined with the consequence that the society or community is ill-informed, insecurity is exacerbated and inflammatory speech goes unchecked.

Clearly, therefore, if the media are neither credible nor trusted, they cannot bring much value to the task of building peace and resolving conflict. Also, if they do not know what to do or how to do it, they cannot help to build peace or resolve conflicts.

Experience has shown that in most conflict areas, local media are fragile, have scant resources and lack professional skills. They are often beholden to some government, religious body, political party or ethnic and other interest group. As a result, media in conflict areas often lack the requisite credibility, independence, and professionalism to make a positive difference.

Conversely, professional and balanced reporting by a free and independent media can reduce tensions and help to resolve conflict situations.

At an international roundtable on 'Assistance to Media in Tension Areas and Conflict Situations' held in Sweden in May 2003, participants observed in the final document thus:

'Media underpins development and democratization and is a vital element of conflict resolution and peace building... An independent media is the foundation of a democracy and more often than not the only guarantee for transparency and good governance in conflict management and post- conflict development efforts'.<sup>51</sup>

There is some controversy around the issue of using the media to build peace. Some of the arguments centre on the concern that in actively pursuing a peace agenda, there is a risk of the media taking sides and losing credibility with its audience. For the proponents of this view, the duty of the media should simply be to observe and report the events objectively, without introducing any advocacy agenda. But others argue that a strong case can be made for a moral responsibility for journalists not just to observe but to try and use the unprecedented power of the media to help build peace.

I personally believe that the media has a social responsibility to use its power to help build peace and that it is in its enlightened self-interest to do so because in situations of political instability and conflict around the world, the media itself is often a brutal victim. In such situations, the first signs are usually the restrictions on media freedom. These restrictions may be blatant and stringent or they can be in the form of more subtle controls, suppression of freedom of expression or the development of conflict-inciting media outlets.

In proposing a framework for peace media, I believe the guidelines and conclusions of the *Strengthening Lifeline Media in Regions of Conflict* conference remain relevant and compelling. Held in Cape Town, South Africa, in December 1998, the conference was organized by Radio Partnership of the Geneva-based International Centre for Humanitarian Reporting in conjunction with the South Africa Media Peace Centre (MPC). It brought together media professionals, leading experts and organizations in the field of conflict resolution from different parts of the world to examine how media can impact on peace-building in conflict situations.

Guidelines on developing media projects in conflict situations were subsequently produced with the support of the European Commission Humanitarian Aid Office (ECHO), based on the conference conclusions.

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<sup>51</sup> Seminar on Assistance to Media in Tension Areas and Conflict Situations: Conclusion of Seminar Discussions and Proposed Recommendations (SIDA/ UNESCO, Vaxholm 25-27 May 2003).

The conference concluded that the media can make an impact on peace-building if it adheres to a number of guidelines articulated in the conference document.

These include the need for the media to obtain a detailed understanding of the conflict as well as build partnerships with conflict resolution organizations/experts and other NGOs working in the field. Media professionals should also be trained in conflict resolution, and interventions should be long-term and sustainable. The media should not be too ambitious but should 'do the do-able'; and should adopt a participatory approach, which should lead local people to 'own' the media interventions.

It was also proposed that those using the media to build peace should choose credible media outlets and, if possible, that a multi-media approach should be utilized while practitioners should encourage the search for positive outcomes.

It was recommended that the media should avoid stereotyping and simplistic representations of the 'goodies and baddies'; that the media should aim to level the playing field by giving the powerless a voice; stakeholders should encourage the development of a wider range of solutions; and that in covering negotiations, the media should not focus only on losses and gains made by the parties as this would result in additional difficulties in selling the proposed solution to hard-liners on either side.

In order to ensure the effectiveness of media interventions and the use of pro-active radio and video programming for peace-building, a range of 'good practices' were also developed. These include requiring the media to help:

- Ensure that the public have realistic expectations about what can be achieved, and about the length of time necessary to achieve long-term, positive results.
- Give all the parties the opportunity to speak and to see each other's position clearly and without bias. Help understanding by facilitating communication in order to avoid misunderstandings.
- Inform the populations in conflict areas about the possibilities for action, even if on a very small scale, towards community level conflict resolution. Communities need the confidence of knowing that measures have been tried, with success in other places, and that their efforts will be supported and publicized, by the media.



- Help to prevent the circulation and broadcasting of propaganda, inflammatory material, hate-speech or damaging rumours which destroy communities and prevent the building of trust.
- Give accurate representation of the causes of a conflict, and of the situation in a conflict area which will also help to ensure that the right, and most useful, type of humanitarian aid is provided by the international community. Sensitivity to religious and cultural requirements, even in a time of crisis, is important, and helps counteract the image of those in conflict areas as passive victims.
- Establish networks of information and facilitate the maintenance of a 'collective memory' - measures which worked in one area or situation may work again elsewhere.
- Avoid stereotyping of groups, populations, leaders, and so on.
- Participate in the process of social reconstruction and democratization in the aftermath of conflicts by providing a positive and participatory forum for the exchange of ideas, democracy, and nation-building.

It bears restating therefore that a free, independent and professional media is critically important to fostering peace and dialogue and that efforts and resources should be devoted to achieving such a media environment.

In any event, even in the absence of conflict, it is indisputable that every society needs a free, independent and professional media that can contribute to development.

There is therefore a great need to develop the skills of media practitioners to use their craft to facilitate dialogue and peace-building.

It is also worth mentioning that there are security challenges which the media face in trying to play their role in many areas and that these security issues remain largely unaddressed.

For instance, it has been extremely challenging for the Nigerian media to report on the insurgency in the north-eastern part of Nigeria, precisely because of the absence of some of the pre-conditions required for the media to effectively engage.

Most worrying is the fact that any attempt at any form of 'truthful' reporting by the media has resulted in severe consequences from either the Boko Haram insurgents or from government security forces.

Some journalists have been killed and newspaper premises bombed by Boko Haram because they were angered about the manner of reporting.

On the other hand, in June 2014, media in Nigeria came under siege by the military establishment. This culminated in the arrest of newspaper workers, confiscation of vehicles and thousands of copies of newspapers as well as other forms of harassment in different parts of the country as a result of coverage which suggested that the military was not adequately equipped or prepared to deal with the security situation.

If we expect the media to be effective in these sorts of situations, we have to be able to prepare them for the challenges and to support them when such challenges arise.

## CONCLUSION

The above contain elements of a framework for the media to contribute to peace and dialogue, which can be applied in a number of different contexts, depending on specific needs.

There is no doubt that many civil society groups, donor agencies and governments have in the past attempted to use some of these elements in an effort to address challenges posed by conflicts. However, such interventions have not always been very effective, at least to the extent that the problems continued to persist. The main reason for this lack of effectiveness, in my view, is the absence of a comprehensive and long-term strategy.

We have to recognize that most of the problems which undermine the effectiveness of the media have crystallized over a long period and that resolving them effectively and conclusively would similarly take many years and concerted efforts.

## CHAPTER 4

### THE GREAT DEBATE: FREEDOM OF INFORMATION AND MEDIA IN THE UN'S NEW GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT GOALS

Bill Orme

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In January 2015, the UN General Assembly began its final negotiations over the UN's next set of global development goals, which will succeed the expiring Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and help guide international aid and policy priorities for the next 15 years. The new "Sustainable Development Goals" – or SDGs – will be adopted at a UN summit meeting in late September.

In an unexpected but still provisional victory for civil society and media activists, these new goals are likely to include a commitment to open public access to what should be public information, in all countries. But the SDGs must still be finalized and adopted, and much will depend on the factual 'indicators' that are then chosen afterwards to monitor progress and compliance with this provision, now included in draft Goal 16.

The 'SDGs' differ from the MDGs in that they are intended to be universal, applying to the developed North as well as to the South, with goals ranging from poverty eradication and disease prevention to gender equity and environmental protection. They also differ notably in that they include several quite specific obligations to promote just and effective governance, an area in which the MDGs were silent.

Among them, to the surprise of many UN observers, is a commitment to public access to information, as one of the 169 proposed SDGs 'targets'. Indicators for that target could and should include legal guarantees and factual observance of the right to "seek, receive and impart information and ideas, through any media and regardless of frontiers" – to cite the prescient but nonbinding language of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

World leaders and development experts advising the UN on the post-2015 goals have stressed the need for freedom of expression and independent media in monitoring and ultimately achieving these goals. Secretary-General

Ban Ki-moon, in his official recommendations to the General Assembly on the post-2015 agenda, pointed to “press freedom, access to information and freedom of expression” as essential “enablers of sustainable development.” Nonetheless, in the negotiations that produced the proposed SDGs that the General Assembly is now considering for adoption, draft references to “independent media” and “freedom of expression” were deleted in response to objections from several influential UN members.

Yet surviving in the final text, as the tenth of 10 ‘targets’ in the 16<sup>th</sup> of the 17 recommended goals, is a requirement for all countries to “ensure public access to information and protect fundamental freedoms, in accordance with national legislation and international agreements.”

As diplomats convened in the UN General Assembly halls for the final post-2015 negotiations, there was deep resistance to any major redrafting or reduction of the painfully achieved compromise proposal for 17 goals. This was due to shared concern that any possible gains in precision or practicality would be outweighed by losses in substance and impact. But some of the 169 aptly named ‘targets’ remained in the crosshairs, vulnerable to weakening or effective elimination through the assignment of official statistical or other factual indicators.

These final indicators will be determined in March 2016 by UN member states, through the UN Statistical Commission, with their selection driven by both political and practical considerations. There are merited concerns about the capacity of many countries, and then the UN system as a whole, to measure and monitor these complex new goals. As one diplomat noted during the post-2015 debates, the proposed SDGs in aggregate would in effect obligate UN agencies to monitor 32,617 different data sets from 193 governments on 169 targets on an annual basis – a task that many fear would be politically and technically daunting, if not impossible. And many proposed targets would require two or more indicators.

Progress on access to information, however, is not that hard to track, UN experts acknowledge. Many governments and civil society activists from North and South alike strongly endorse the target on access to information, improving chances of meaningful monitoring. International human rights groups, in a joint message to the UN as civil society representatives met with UN officials in New York at the onset of the year’s post-2015 deliberations, stressed the need for “transparent monitoring and accountability mechanisms at the national level which are underpinned by a safe and free

environment for civil society, and access to information”.

In January, experts in the UN Sustainable Development Solutions Network proposed that UNESCO monitor the adoption and implementation of access to information laws, as well as cases of journalists killed or abducted in the line of duty. In March, the UN Statistical Commission released a preliminary assessment of other UN-proposed indicators for SDG 16.10. The first would measure access to information by this statistical metric: *“Percentage of actual government budget, procurement, revenues and natural resource concessions that are publicly available and easily accessible.”*

That latter proposal, from a UN consultation process, is poorly conceived on several levels. First, it limits the scope of ‘accessible information’ to government fiscal and contractual data – important, yes, but just a small sliver of the public information required to assess progress towards all 17 goals, and an even tinier fraction of the wide universe of information we need to make informed choices about our futures. Second, it adopts a narrow ‘supply-side’ measure of compliance – what governments choose to divulge – rather than a rights-based approach, rooted in the principle of legally guaranteed public access to what should be public information, whether from governments or elsewhere. Finally, even disregarding the first two objections, this indicator would operate on the peculiar presumption that there is some objective way to know and arithmetically measure the full range of budgetary and contractual information maintained by public institutions in all countries, whether publicly disclosed or not, and then calculate what percentage of that data is secret – as an official statistic!

Simpler, and far better, is the alternative proposed by the UN’s Sustainable Development Solutions Network (SDSN): *“Existence and implementation of a national law and/or constitutional guarantee on the right to information.”* This indicator is not only rights-based, but includes an irrefutably factual test: Is there an access-to-information statute or constitutional provision, or not? A majority of UN member-states have already adopted such legal guarantees, most in the past decade. A goal of universal national compliance with this proposed SDG commitment would be practicably attainable and easily measurable.

Passage of an access-to-information law is only the first step. Monitoring ‘implementation’ of A2I laws is politically challenging, as it necessarily includes analysis of press freedom realities, broader freedom of expression considerations, and citizens’ access to this information, especially digitally.

Yet the adoption and enforcement of legal guarantees is key. Simply tracking voluntary government disclosure of official information is unacceptably insufficient.

Any analysis of ‘implementation’ of SDG 16.10 would need to factor in press freedom. Without an independent press freely obtaining and openly analyzing and widely disseminating information relevant to the SDGs, a pro forma promise of ‘access to information’ is meaningless. That principle is already implicit in draft SDG 16.10: The ‘fundamental freedoms’ it cites include freedom of expression, as enshrined in Article 19 of both the UN’s Universal Declaration of Human Rights and its legally binding International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights, which state that all people in all countries should be free to ‘seek, receive and impart information, through any media, and regardless of frontiers.’

Encouragingly, both sets of proposed SDGs indicators accept that basic premise, and propose a second access-to-information indicator on press freedom. Yet both are focused statistically and too narrowly on the killings and kidnappings of journalists, without wider analytical context:

**UN Statistical Commission:** *Number of journalists, associated media personnel and human rights advocates killed, kidnapped, disappeared, detained or tortured in the last 12 months.*

**SDSN:** *Number of journalists and associated media personnel that are physically attacked, unlawfully detained or killed as a result of pursuing their legitimate activities.*

This is to be commended, conceptually. It shows that the UN statisticians and other experts consulted for this purpose embrace the principle that press freedom is a prerequisite for genuine public access to information, as called for in draft target SDG 16.10. But as a stand-alone indicator it is unlikely to be accepted by UN member states, either politically or statistically, as the Statistical Commission has already signaled. Most national statistical agencies consulted by the Commission on the draft indicators contended that this proposed measurement was neither feasible nor appropriate for member states or, by extension, the UN system.

This resistance is unsurprising. Yet this narrowly statistical approach is not necessary, or advisable, as better, more contextualized press freedom assessments are already in use by the UN. The UN member states should

empower UNESCO, which has a mandate to promote press freedom, to provide what the Statistical Commission calls 'expert reviews' – analytical reports complementing data-based indicators.

UNESCO research on independent media development already informs its annual World Press Freedom Day reports and awards as well as the statements by its Director-General condemning murders of journalists. Its reports go beyond the grim annual tallies of threats and violence to take into account the overall national legal, political, cultural and economic contexts in which media operate. UNESCO oversees the 2012 “UN Action Plan on Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity,” based on Security Council and General Assembly resolutions advocating a “free and safe environment for journalists and media workers, both in conflict and non-conflict situations, with a view to strengthening peace, democracy and development worldwide.” The Action Plan calls on UN agencies to coordinate and report on support for countries to pass legislation “favorable to freedom of expression and information.” Reports on the Plan’s progress could be readily incorporated into the measurement process for Target 16.10.

UNESCO’s own “Media development indicators: a framework for assessing media development” – endorsed unanimously by the UN member states overseeing UNESCO’s International Programme for the Development of Communications – has already been used to conduct assessments of news media independence and effectiveness in 28 countries. The UNESCO Framework analyzes five categories of pertinent factors, from the regulatory and economic environment to public access to official information to cases of threats and attacks against journalists. Similarly, the two best-known independent press freedom rankings – the annual indices published by Reporters sans Frontières (RSF) of France and Freedom House of the United States – also utilize multiple and diverse criteria, including but not limited to the deaths, abductions and other attacks against journalists. (Such abuses are one of seven categories in the RSF index, along with pluralism, independence, the political environment, the legislative framework, transparency, and the national “infrastructure” for news media operations).

Unquestionably, the abductions and assassination of working journalists are grave violations of human rights - not only of the rights of the victims themselves, but the rights of all people, as these are deliberate acts of censorship and intimidation aimed ultimately at the public’s right to know. All such cases should be rigorously documented, publicly denounced and aggressively prosecuted by the appropriate authorities. Much more should

be done to safeguard the ability of journalists to work freely and safely, without fear of violent reprisal. But the number of job-related deaths or kidnappings of journalists in any given country should not be used as a statistical 'proxy' for press freedom more widely – because it isn't. Countries where few or no independent journalists are allowed to operate have by definition few cases of journalists killed, or abducted, or imprisoned. Looking at such a figure in isolation can be highly misleading.

In conflict zones, such as in Syria and Iraq and Mali, journalists are killed and kidnapped by and while covering insurgents waging war against local authorities. Many journalists have also been killed in recent years in countries such as Mexico and the Philippines that are in many ways increasingly open and democratic, with more news organizations reporting on criminal gangs and political corruption – and with more reporters threatened and murdered in reprisal by the targets of their reporting. The country with the highest number of journalists killed in the first quarter of 2015 was France, because of the tragic Charlie Hebdo massacre. Should France rank last on a press freedom list?

Governments should be held to account for their responsibility to bring these killers to justice. The incidence of unpunished murders of journalists is a better inversely correlating press freedom indicator than the number of fatalities alone, but that can be measured reliably only over time, by independent experts, taking into account such factors as government capacity and armed conflict and overall homicide rates. That's why the Committee to Protect Journalists produces an 'impunity index' in addition to its authoritative annual documentation of journalists killed and imprisoned. But a UN agency or any other intergovernmental institution would be ill-equipped practically and politically to undertake such a task.

Kidnappings of journalists - a related and growing problem - are inherently difficult to track in any systematic manner. Most cases are not even reported in real time, due to their criminal, clandestine nature, the ruthlessness of the perpetrators, and concerns that publicity could thwart efforts to secure hostages' release. And governments are rarely complicit in these cases.

The prosecution and imprisonment of journalists is a better measure of official behavior toward the press, but it is problematic, to say the least, for a UN agency like UNESCO, or any similar intergovernmental institution, to challenge the legal or evidentiary basis of judicial actions by their own member states.



Press freedom is a precondition for access to information, which the SDG indicators must reflect. Without independent media dissemination and debate and analysis, information from governments and others - including data directly pertinent to all of the proposed goals and target - would not even reach most people in the world, much less be considered significant or credible. But to monitor press freedom fairly and rigorously, with the aim of expanding open public access everywhere to all information as part of the UN's universal new development goals, it must be assessed analytically, as an integral aspect of our "fundamental freedoms," rather than simply statistically, as numbers alone.

Diplomats and staff professionals at the UN who strongly support the proposed SDG 16.10 target have stressed to civil society activists that meaningful transparency and accountability provisions and indicators in the SDGs require sustained public engagement on the issue - and active coverage of the debate by the journalists whose interests a post-2015 access-to-information commitment would help protect.

## **Civil society has mobilized in support of the inclusion of a commitment to public access to information and independent media in the UN's new Sustainable Development Goals.**

The inclusion of a clear 'access to information' commitment in the SDGs has been consistently supported by civil society participants in post-2015 consultations as well as by the UN's expert advisors on the new global goals, including in the reports of the Secretary General's High-Level Panel of Eminent Persons and Independent Expert Advisory Group on the "Data Revolution for Sustainable Development." In February 2014, a coalition of more than 200 national, regional and international civil society organizations dedicated to freedom of expression and support for independent media sent a joint statement to the summarizing their shared position on this critical issue to the General Assembly's Open Working Group on the post-2015 global development agenda. The statement said :

### ***Post-2015 Agenda: Access to information and independent media are essential to development.***

*Human development in the coming decades will depend on people's access to information. Groundbreaking new media and technology are enabling major expansion of economic, social and political progress. We believe that freedom of expression and access to independent media are essential to democratic and economic development. Freedom of speech and the media are means to advance human development and are ends in their own right. We, the undersigned, therefore call on the Open Working Group to fully integrate the governance recommendations of the UN High Level Panel of Eminent Persons Report (A New Global Partnership: Eradicate Poverty and Transform Economies through Sustainable Development) into the proposed Post2015 Sustainable Development Goals, specifically in relation to its recommendations to:*

- *Establish a specific goal to "ensure good governance and effective institutions"*
- *Include as components of this goal a clause to "ensure people enjoy freedom of speech, association, peaceful protest and access to independent media and information" and to "guarantee the public's right to information and access to government data"*

In August 2014, the Open Working Group proposed 17 SDGs to the General Assembly, in which Target 10 of draft SDG 16 would require UN member

states to “**ensure public access to information and protect fundamental freedoms, in accordance with national legislation and international agreements.**” In November 2014, the Global Forum on Media Development (GFMD) presented a paper to the General Assembly’s ‘Friends of Governance’ group identifying available factual indicators for UN monitoring of this target in the SDGs. (<http://gfmd.info/en/site/news/?ls-art15=10>)

In December 2014, the GFMD issued a statement welcoming Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon’s endorsement of guarantees for freedom of information in his “synthesis” report on the UN’s post-2015 development agenda, in which he stated that “press freedom, access to information and freedom of expression” are essential “enablers of sustainable development.” (<http://gfmd.info/en/site/news/730/UN-Secretary-General-Freedom-of-Information-and-Media-Needed-For-New-UN-Global-Development-Goals.htm>)

The General Assembly is now deliberating on the final set of SDGs to be presented to world leaders for their approval at the UN Sustainable Development Summit in September 2015, based on the recommendations of the Assembly’s post-2015 Open Working Group. **The GFMD strongly supports proposed Target 16.10, the sole provision in the proposed new goals that would explicitly require member states to provide the public with the information needed to demonstrate if any of the agreed new global goals are in fact being achieved.**

## CHAPTER 5

## CITIZEN JOURNALISM: EMPOWERING COMMUNITIES

Harry Surjadi

*Harry Surjadi is an expert on environmental journalism and communication in Indonesia.*

In the last 10 years – driven by information and communications technology (ICT) development – almost all mainstream media in Indonesia, including print, radio, TV, and online, developed citizen journalism sections or programs. The most popular citizen journalism model in mainstream media is Kompasiana. Kompasiana which belongs to and is managed by Kompas Online of Kompas Daily.

In Asia the most promising citizen journalism model is Citizen Journalists Malaysia with its site: <http://cj.my/>. Malaysiakini, the alternative online portal, initiated the cj.my.

There are also examples of citizen journalism practices from the point of view mainstream media. The mainstream media therefore enjoys free content news at no cost.

In 2011, I (as Knight International Journalism Fellow of the International Center for Journalists) developed a different practice of citizen journalism in West Kalimantan with RuaiTV, a local television station. There were several considerations and reasons why I did this.

1. I found a perfect definition of citizen journalism in The Encyclopedia of American Journalism, which reads: “Citizen journalism is maintained by citizens who are often marginalized and dissociated with mainstream news media...” (Vaughn, 2008: p. 101)
2. Indonesian mainstream media only serve 20-30% of people at the top of population pyramid. They are the middle and upper class citizens.
3. Big corporations own most of mainstream media in Indonesia and some of the owners are chairs of political parties.

4. Indonesian mainstream media tend to forget their important roles as watchdog, giving voice to the voiceless, only telling the truth, and being the fourth pillar of democracy.
5. As described by Banda (2010), citizen journalism practices supposedly advance aspects of democratic citizenship. There are seven aspects of democratic citizenship outlined, namely: ownership of communication channels; civic participation; access and accessibility; deliberation or thoughtful debate among citizens; decision-making or action by citizens; power to hold public officials to transparency and accountability; and interactivity.

## INFORMATION BROKERS

When they decided to join citizen journalism training workshops facilitated by RuaiTV in 2011-2012, farmers, indigenous people and locals in West Kalimantan could not imagine how sending text messages using their cellphones could help them to resolve their problems. But they have since have turned their cellphones into powerful weapons to fight for their rights on land/forests, to monitor and report civil servant wrongdoing as well as illegal logging and highlight other social problems.

Three conflicts between locals and oil palm plantation companies have been resolved because of text message (or SMS) news reported by trained citizen journalists. A broken bridge was repaired several days after RuaiSMS revealed that it was broken.

RuaiSMS is a communication channel using mobile phone and FrontlineSMS to empower locals in resolving their own problems, and around 200 people in West Kalimantan and 250 people in Central Kalimantan have been trained as citizen journalists.

When I did this, I tried to think outside the journalism box and I call this grass-roots communication model an 'information broker'.

These information brokers are citizen journalists tasked with a special role to broker information that is important for community members and for the general public and also mainstream media. In time their work and their skills can be upgraded by learning to use GPS trackers, and also doing video reporting with smart phones or digital cameras.

There are four components of the information broker communication model.

1. Information brokers are trusted community members
2. They undergo a two-day training workshop
3. A communication channel using SMS also connects them to mainstream media
4. They provide information, for community members and those further afield.

I continue to expand the communication model in Sumatra and other provinces with the support from BP REDD+ and World Wildlife Fund (WWF). Now, all trained information brokers can send their SMS news to Tempo.co for national mainstream media and Pers Daerah - a local newspaper network belonging to Kompas Gramedia Group.

## REFERENCES

Banda F., 2010, Citizen Journalism and Democracy in Africa. "Grahamstown: Highway Africa".

## CONCLUSION

ROAD SENSE: THE BALI ROAD MAP FOR THE ROLES OF THE MEDIA IN REALIZING THE FUTURE WE WANT FOR ALL.

*Guy Berger, Charaf Ahmimed, and Mikel Aguirre Idiaquez.  
The authors of this chapter are members of the UNESCO Secretariat.*

It is not by chance that the 2014 Global Media Forum came up with a “Road Map”, rather than a final “statement” or a “declaration”.

This is because the gathering had a purpose that went beyond pure symbolism. The intention, from the start, was to assemble and synthesize insights into a practically useful document – a map. A map that reflected the agenda of the deliberations, and served as a record of key points made. A map that is also a guide that would point the way forward for follow up.

Another Bali Road Map<sup>52</sup> had been produced seven years earlier. Back then, its focus was to chart how governments could deal with climate change, and it fed into the 2009 United Nations Climate Change conference in Copenhagen.

The 2007 Bali Map has been questioned as being overly optimistic and underestimating complexity<sup>53</sup>, but the document did nevertheless help to establish the global understanding that development has to be sustainable. Today, the environmental momentum continues and in December 2015, Paris will host the 21st Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change.<sup>54</sup>

The 2014 Bali Road Map aims for a different destination. It points the way for the world to improve development by understanding that the roles of the media are essential to this cause. The 2014 Map is a concrete call to action for the inclusion of media in the global development agenda. It pinpoints a wide range of actions for governments, media, civil society and the international community.

<sup>52</sup> [http://unfccc.int/key\\_documents/bali\\_road\\_map/items/6447.php](http://unfccc.int/key_documents/bali_road_map/items/6447.php)

<sup>53</sup> [http://unfccc.int/key\\_steps/bali\\_road\\_map/items/6072.php](http://unfccc.int/key_steps/bali_road_map/items/6072.php)

<sup>54</sup> <http://www.cop21paris.org/>

All the proposed directions in the Map aim at strengthening the media as a whole, elaborating on its potential roles, and at linking these to development.

This is not the place to repeat the full richness of the Road Map, which is presented as an Appendix to this book. However, to provide a glimpse, there is the example of the Map urging media to provide society with development-relevant information, and for journalists to report on debates about developmental issues.

Another example is that the Map encourages governments to work towards “universal access to the Internet and other ICTs as a means of realising the universality of freedom of expression, and in a manner that ensures equal access and participation for men and women”.

A third example in the Map is the recommendation that international aid programmes should take into account the importance of freedom of expression issues in all development efforts.

In this way, the 2014 Bali Road Map highlights where the treasure is buried. This is the result of the pooling the wisdom of many minds at the Global Media Forum.

## MAP-MAKING

The Bali Road Map emerged from a transparent and consultative process. A draft was distributed at the start of the Global Media Forum. The contents were then enriched with points made by participants during the proceedings. Tweets at the hashtag #media4future were also taken into account. Some participants gave detailed written comments.

An expert committee worked iteratively on the evolving versions, concluding with the final edition which was unanimously adopted by the conference.

The members of this expert group were Chelsia Chan (Indonesian Press Council), Toby Mendel (Centre for Law and Democracy), Lisa French (Deputy Dean, Media School of Media & Communication, RMIT University), Ermiel Thabrani, Gati Gayatri and Ides Lustrarini (Indonesia’s Ministry of Communication and Information Technologies), as well as Andrea Cairola and Charaf Ahmimed (UNESCO). Their work in finalising the Road Map has given us an aide that helps everyone to understand the potentials of



the media in sustainable development. This means that on the table today is nothing less than a chart to help join up and orientate our thinking about media and the future. Whether you are in government, media (professionals, or social media users), in the international community or business, there are suggestions relevant to you.

The Bali Road Map is not compulsory or binding. Far from issuing instructions, it offers pointers. It is a knowledge resource for any actor or institution which wants to use it for their decision-making.

Of special importance is that the Map underlines the importance of including freedom of expression and independent media in the wider atlas of development.

Key to this, is the call in the Map to get this recognition into the emerging Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

To be finalised in September 2015, the SDGs will inform how UN agencies and governments come together in national level UN Development Assistance Frameworks. While the SDGs are developed within the UN and will impact on UN and government partnerships at country-level, they will also have much wider resonance.

This wider impact on society will be on the development roles and priorities of international donors, banks, businesses, civil society, academia and the media, for example. Overall, the SDGs will provide for better and more focussed co-ordination within countries and worldwide – and the Map shows the importance of media issues in all of this.

UNESCO is pleased to have not only co-organized with Indonesia the Global Media Forum that produced the Bali Road Map, but also for having contributed to the thinking behind both. Valuable inputs to shaping the Map were research articles by the Communication-Information sector of UNESCO<sup>55</sup>, as well as the Paris Declaration that came from the 3 May 2014 conference on World Press Freedom Day.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0023/002300/230042E.pdf>

<sup>56</sup> [http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/CI/images/WPFD/2014/wpfd\\_2\\_014\\_statement\\_final.pdf](http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/CI/images/WPFD/2014/wpfd_2_014_statement_final.pdf)

Officials of the Organization have played a role in follow-up. They spoke about the Global Media Forum to the UN Secretary General during his meeting with the UN Country Team in Bali in late August, and the message was further shared participants at the conference of the United Nations Alliance of Civilizations in Bali, which took place directly after the Global Media Forum.

It is also worth mentioning that UNESCO's Director-General acted on the request in the Road Map that the document be made available to key actors. In a letter to her, acknowledging that he had received the Bali Road Map, Ban Ki Moon expressed appreciation for what he described as the constructive suggestions in the Bali Road Map towards a transformative development agenda. He further stated that freedom of expression, press freedom, independent media and the right of access to information were of high importance. They should not be lost sight of in the ongoing post-2015 deliberations.

True to this, in December 2014 the Secretary General issued a Synthesis Report titled "the Road to Dignity by 2030: Ending Poverty, Transforming All Lives and Protecting the Planet". This document stated clearly: "Press freedom and access to information, freedom of expression, assembly and association are enablers of sustainable development."

## THE ROAD TO DEVELOPMENT

The extent to which the final SDGs will follow this lead remains to be seen. Either way, however, the enduring insight of the Bali Road Map is: *how any society defines and delivers on development hinges upon free expression and its corollaries of press freedom and access to information.*

This is vital to the success of the SDGs, whether fully referenced in them or not. You can see the value of this insight in relation to the fact that there is no one-size-fits-all formula for development as regards each country. Instead, in each national case, there is a need to respond to the specific problems and potentials.

As an example, take the proposed SDG to develop sustainable energy and economic growth for all. There are many different paths to reach this point. The best method for a country to identify what suits its people best is to be open to debating the multiple ideas and interests in these issues. All these then need to be considered, compromised and fused into a national

project for sustainable energy and inclusive economic growth.

In other words, how we interpret the SDGs, prioritise them for a given country and national budget and monitor and evaluate their progress, depends on the free flow of information. For this to happen, freedom of expression is fundamental, along with its components of media freedom, pluralism and independence – as well as safety of journalists.

The Bali Road Map affirms “the potential role of the media in underpinning how a country shapes development, shares ideas and innovations, and holds powerful actors to account”, while stressing that that “this can only be realized where the media is free, pluralistic and independent and where there is safety for actors producing journalism.”

Governments can embrace media roles in development by promoting and respecting freedom of expression, including press freedom and the right to seek and receive information. They can recognise in actions that these fundamental rights are also enablers of development.

There are also major development potentials for media outlets, media professionals and social media users. Professional and independent journalism, along with ethical use of social media, can make a huge contribution to how people shape national paths to development. Whether media can advance sustainable development over the long term depends on the engagement of youth. Recognizing this, the Global Media Forum involved more than 70 youth from around Asia-Pacific who added a lively element to forum discussions, provided coverage of the forum results and helped stir a robust debate on social media. The Bali Road Map reflects this youth infusion.

## HIGHLIGHTS ON THE ROUTE

A map is a chart to help orientate stakeholders about the optimum roles of media and future. It plays its role by indicating the key features of the landscape that should be taken into account on a journey.

The Global Media Forum played this role for the Bali Road Map by identifying a number of key landmarks. These include:

- The global context as encapsulated in the UNESCO’s World Trends in

Freedom of Expression and Media Development,<sup>57</sup> which had its Asia-regional launch during the Forum.

- The importance of the Internet for development, which was discussed many times, including in the context of UNESCO's consultative study about online access, freedom of expression, privacy and ethics.<sup>58</sup>
- The significance of empowering people through Media and Information Literacy programmes, and the launch of an Asian chapter of the Global Alliance for Partnerships in MIL (GAPMIL).
- The critical value of gender equality for development, and the related quest for this in media staffing and content. The participation of the UNESCO-initiated Global Alliance for Media and Gender (GAMAG) in Bali was a signpost to this key landmark.

Also relevant as a landmark for the Map, as discussed at the Forum, is the date of 2 November. This is the UN's new International Day to End Impunity for Crimes against Journalists – an annual occasion to highlight how this freedom of expression issue impacts on development.

The Bali Road Map is a creation developed in direct relation to this background of landmarks.

## BUILDING THE ROAD

The presence of Irina Bokova at the Global Media Forum showed support for the occasion from the highest level. The UNESCO Director-General speaks for the 195 Member States of the Organization. She affirmed in her closing remarks that “freedom of expression and media development are essential for crafting a new, truly human-centred approach to development.”

Explaining, she added: “Freedom of expression is essential to dignity, democracy, sustainable development, dialogue, peace and tolerance. Information and knowledge hold the key to crafting the future we want for all.

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<sup>57</sup> <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/resources/publications-and-communication-materials/publications/full-list/world-trends-in-freedom-of-expression-and-media-development/>

<sup>58</sup> <http://www.unesco.org/new/internetstudy>

“The UNESCO Constitution calls for the ‘free flow of ideas by word and image’ – as we shape a new agenda to follow 2015, this mandate has never been so important for international peace and for the common welfare of all humanity, for the future we want for all.”

In addition, Ms Bokova recalled that UNESCO Member States have underlined the need for freedom of expression and universal access to knowledge and its preservation to be reflected in the post-2015 development agenda.<sup>59</sup>

“These ideas, powerful ideas, are now being taken forward by Member States and I appeal for an ambitious agenda with human rights at its heart. This is indeed the spirit of the Bali Road Map you all have agreed,” she said.

With the Bali Road Map, a unique contribution has been put forward for progress. Now the road needs to be built further, and the media vehicles that will help us take this route need to be environment-friendly, ICT powered, and designed in a gender-sensitive manner.

## AND THE FUTURE?

The journey ahead has many stages – beginning with the finalisation of the SDGs in September 2015, and then extending up to 2030 at least. In this scenario, the Road Map:

- Can contribute to the global development path even beyond that being shaped at the UN General Assembly.
- Can be valuable for individual countries and regions.

In particular, the UNESCO offices in Jakarta and in the Jakarta office and Asia- Pacific region have a Map that enables them to draw up “journey planners” for their development work. There is a need for everyone to raise awareness about the Bali Road Map, and to monitor, evaluate and review its impact.

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<sup>59</sup> <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/general-conference-37th/>

It is clear that the Map was created in the “geo-location” of Bali, even if its relevance is very much wider. A Global Media Forum, hosted by a leading country of the South, is something unique. Indonesia is to be congratulated for making this exercise possible.

Having taken the initiative and leadership to catalyse this momentum, the country could now consider how to continue it. For example, the Road Map could be profitably revisited at a second Global Media Forum. There will be an ongoing need to update details, to expand and revitalise stakeholders.

Because media roles are so key to development, the Bali Road Map must continue as a living document into the future.

# ANNEXURE I

## BALI ROAD MAP: THE ROLES OF THE MEDIA IN REALIZING THE FUTURE WE WANT FOR ALL.

### PREAMBLE

Recalling the many conventions, declarations and statements which guarantee and affirm the human right to freedom of expression;

Affirming that this right includes the right to press freedom and the right to seek, receive and impart information;

Recognising that peace and sustainable development increasingly depends on the participation of informed people which requires a free flow of information and knowledge, and that this in turn depends on freedom of expression on all media platforms;

Affirming the potential role of the media in underpinning how a country shapes development, shares ideas and innovations, and holds powerful actors to account, but stressing that this can only be realized where the media is free, pluralistic and independent and where there is safety for actors producing journalism;

Cognisant of the importance of civil society and the public as key stakeholders in both media and sustainable development, and of the need to ensure their involvement in media and development processes;

Believing that capable and engaged media actors can provide a robust forum for public debate, as well as foster the participation of marginalised people and those living in poverty who lack equitable access to communications;

Acknowledging that the ability of media actors to fulfil their potentials in development also depends on public access to Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs), information and knowledge;

Noting that the world has a new opportunity to articulate clear goals and targets in the form of the post-2015 Sustainable Development Goals, which will succeed the Millennium Development Goals;

Emphasising the importance of including a goal on freedom of expression and independent media in the post-2015 Sustainable Development Goals, and of including this recognition in development practice more broadly.

## THEREFORE

The *Global Media Forum* (Bali, 25-28 August 2014) adopts this Road Map to realize the potentials of the media to contribute to sustainable development, and to promote the inclusion of a goal acknowledging the importance of freedom of expression and independent media in the post-2015 Sustainable Development Goals.

*We propose the following actions for the consideration by key stakeholder groups:*

## GOVERNMENTS

- to respect freedom of expression, including press freedom and the right to seek and receive information, as fundamental rights as well as enablers of the post-2015 development agenda goals;
- to review legal restrictions including criminal defamation laws and other restrictions on media content or structures, in order to promote the free flow of information;
- to reconsider cases of imprisoned journalists in;
- to avoid the use of state economic levers to undermine media freedom, independence and diversity;
- to work towards universal access to the Internet and other ICTs as a means of realising the universality of freedom of expression, and in a manner that ensures equal access and participation for men and women;



- to promote diversity in the media, including by creating a positive economic environment with appropriate incentives, fostering equal access for women and men in media ownership and decision-making, and supporting the coverage of gender equality issues as an integral part of development;
- to combat historical discrimination, prejudices and/or biases which prevent the equal enjoyment of the right to freedom of expression by certain individuals and groups;
- to systematically collect and make accessible to the public, including by digital means, information which is related to development issues, while protecting privacy;
- to promote programs for media and information literacy competencies among all citizens, not least children and youth, so they are equipped to find, evaluate and use information, and create and express their own information and opinion, including that pertaining to development debates;
- to make concerted efforts to ensure that those involved in the production of journalism can work without fear or risk of attack, and to promote and implement the UN Plan of Action on the Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity;
- to create a legal environment in which public, commercial and community broadcasters are empowered to serve the information and communication needs of different individuals and groups in society;
- to enable publicly-owned media to be editorially independent, be protected against political interference and be adequately funded in order to provide quality content in the public interest,
- to support the provision of quality training and education for journalists and media professionals, including about the development debate;
- to put in place systems to promote greater transparency of media ownership;
- to promote the inclusion of a goal recognising the importance of freedom of expression and of independent media in the UN's post-2015 Development Agenda.

## MEDIA OUTLETS, MEDIA PROFESSIONALS AND SOCIAL MEDIA USERS

- to promote respect for the highest professional and ethical standards in journalism;
- to provide society with development-relevant information;
- to raise awareness about, and actively participate in, debates about developmental issues including the relationship between free expression and development, and to provide opportunities for the public to participate in these discussions;
- to reflect a diversity of views so as to satisfy the public's right to a broad range of information and ideas;
- to promote gender-sensitive policies and strategies to foster the participation of women and marginalised groups in all levels of media, including as news sources;
- to take concrete and effective steps to eliminate harmful gender and other stereotypes, prejudices and practices, including traditional or customary values or practices, which undermine the ability of individuals to enjoy the right to freedom of expression;
- to strive for appropriate time and resources to be allocated for investigative reporting, with a view to ensuring that such journalism can play its part in holding powerful actors, both public and private, to account;
- to empower producers of journalism through training and support for professionalism;
- to support the safety of journalists, engage with the UN Plan on the Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity, and enhance cooperation with other actors.

## UNESCO AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

- to endorse the inclusion in the Sustainable Development Goals of

freedom of expression, including press freedom and the right to seek and receive information, given that these are not only essential rights but also enablers in the Sustainable Development Goals and the wider development agenda,

- to promote greater understanding about the importance of freedom of expression and a free, independent and pluralistic media, including their value as underpinnings for sustainable development, good governance and the rule of law;
- to advocate for media institutions across the range of public, private, community and social sectors as a foundation for free, pluralistic and independent media to play their full role in sustainable development;
- to continue to advocate for gender equality in and through the media by developing programmes and resources through the Global Alliance on Media and Gender and to ensure systematic follow up to the media and gender critical area of concern of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action;
- to continue work to support journalistic professionalism as well as media and information literacy, including the Global Alliance for Partnerships in Media and Information Literacy;
- to promote and monitor the safety of journalists and the fight against impunity, and to expand implementation of the UN Plan of Action
- to prepare for the first commemoration of the International Day to End Impunity for Crimes Against Journalists on 2 November 2014, following the declaration of this day by the UN General Assembly in 2013;
- to ensure that aid programmes take into account the importance of freedom of expression issues in all development efforts, and that they promote press freedom, the right to seek and receive information, and the safety of journalists;
- to follow up on the Bali Road Map for Media and Development, and make the document available to Member States, the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Open Working Group, and to other international and regional organisations.

## ANNEXURE II

### GLOBAL MEDIA FORUM

25-28 August 2014, Bali Nusa Dua Convention Center (BNDCC), Bali

### PROGRAMME

#### ► 25 AUGUST

19.00 – 21.00	<p><b>Welcome Dinner</b> <b>Venue: Taman Jepun</b></p> <p>Welcoming remarks:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Tifatul Sembiring, Minister of Communication and Information Technologies, Republic of Indonesia</li><li>• Hubert Gijzen, Director and Representative, UNESCO Jakarta Office</li></ul> <p>Dinner hosted by the Ministry of Communication and Information Technologies, Republic of Indonesia</p>
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#### ► 26 AUGUST

8.00 – 9.00	Registration of all participants
9.00 – 9.20	<p><b>Opening ceremony</b> <b>Venue: Nusa Dua Hall 4</b></p> <p>Opening Remarks</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Hubert Gijzen, Director and Representative, UNESCO Jakarta Office</li></ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Arief Rachman, Executive Chairman, Indonesian National Commission for UNESCO (TBC)</li> </ul> <p>Welcoming Remarks</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tifatul Sembiring, Minister of Communication and Information Technologies, Republic of Indonesia</li> </ul>
9.20 – 9.25	Traditional Balinese Dance
9.25 – 9.30	Group photo
9:30 – 11.00	<p><b>Plenary Session 1: How can Media contribute to Human and Social Development?</b>  <b>Venue: Nusa Dua Hall 4</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Keynote speaker: Hubert Gijzen, Director and Representative, UNESCO Jakarta Office</li> <li>• Keynote speaker: Femi Oke, Journalist and Anchor of The Stream, Al Jazeera English, United Kingdom</li> </ul> <p>Speakers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Yanuar Nugroho, Director and Special Adviser to the Minister Head of the President’s Delivery Unit for Development Monitoring and Oversight (UKP-PPP), Republic of Indonesia</li> <li>• Gwen Lister, Chairperson Namibian Media Trust and Representative of Media Institute of Southern Africa, Namibia</li> <li>• Leon Willems, Chairman, Global Forum for Media Development, Netherlands</li> </ul> <p>Moderator: Guy Berger, Director of Freedom of Expression and Media Development Division, UNESCO</p>

11.00 – 11.30	Refreshments break	
11.30 - 12.30	<p><b>Parallel session 1: New Media &amp; ICT for Development: Challenges and Opportunity through the UNESCO Comprehensive Study on Internet-Related Issues</b> <b>Venue: Nusa Dua Hall 1&amp;2</b></p> <p>Speakers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Guy Berger, Director of Freedom of Expression and Media Development Division, UNESCO</li> <li>• Agung Hardjono, Deputy III on Technology Utilization and Information Analysis, President’s Delivery Unit, Indonesia. Founder of “LAPOR”, Indonesia</li> <li>• Gayathry Venkiteswaran, Executive Director of the Southeast Asian Press Alliance, Malaysia</li> <li>• Giulio Quaggiotto, Manager UN Pulse, Jakarta Lab, Italy</li> </ul>	<p><b>Parallel session 2: Providing Voice to the voiceless. Empowering marginalized groups through Media</b> <b>Venue: Nusa Dua Hall 3</b></p> <p>Speakers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Harry Surjadi, Expert on Environmental Journalism and Communication, Indonesia</li> <li>• Naranjargal Khaskuu, Chairperson of Globe International, Mongolia</li> <li>• Ana Catalina Montenegro, Coordinator Onda- UNED, Costa Rica</li> <li>• Francisco da Silva Gary, Director of Timor-Leste Media Development, Timor-Leste</li> </ul> <p>Moderator: Charaf Ahmimed, Programme Specialist, UNESCO Jakarta Office</p>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ang Peng Hwa, Director of the Singapore Internet Research Centre, Singapore</li> </ul>	
12.30 – 13.30	Lunch at Jimbaran Cafe	
13.30 - 15.00	<p><b>Plenary Session 2: Empowering people through Media (Access to information and civic participation)</b>  <b>Venue: Nusa Dua Hall 4</b></p> <p>Keynote speaker: Luis Esquivel, Access to Information Programme, World Bank, Mexico</p> <p>Speakers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Naranjargal Khaskuu, Chairperson of Globe International, Mongolia</li> <li>• Judhariksawan – Chairman Indonesian Broadcasting Commission, Indonesia</li> <li>• Toby Mendel, Executive Director of the Centre for Law and Democracy, Canada</li> </ul> <p>Moderator: Mogens Schmidt, Senior Media Advisor for the Global Media Forum, Denmark</p>	
15.00 - 15.30	Refreshments Break	
15.30 - 17.00	<p><b>Parallel session 3: Youth participation through social media</b>  <b>Venue:Nusa Dua Hall 1 &amp; 2</b></p> <p>Speakers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ulla Carlsson, Director of The</li> </ul>	<p><b>Parallel session 4: Gender Equality in and through the media: A necessity for all other development goals (Global Alliance on Media and Gender)</b>  <b>Venue: Nusa Dua Hall 3</b></p>

<p>11.30 - 12.30</p>	<p>International Clearinghouse on Children, Youth and Media at NORDICOM, Sweden</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Moez Chakchouk, Director of the Tunisian Internet Agency, Tunisia</li> <li>• Jeffrey K Hall, Innovation Lab Lead of UNICEF Indonesia</li> <li>• Maudi Ayunda, Indonesian young actress and singer</li> </ul> <p>Moderator: Iman Usman, Indonesian Youth Ambassador for ASEAN and Co-Founder of Indonesian Future Leaders</p>	<p>Speakers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Rachael Nakitare, International Association of Women in Radio and Television, Kenya</li> <li>• Usha Bahsin, Gender Adviser, Asia-Pacific Broadcasting Union</li> <li>• Varun Jhaveri, Young Leaders Consortium and Youth, India</li> <li>• Uni Zulfiani Lubis, Chief Editor of ANTV, VIVA Group</li> <li>• Lisa French, Deputy Dean, School of Media &amp; Communication, RMIT University</li> </ul> <p>Moderator: Andrea Cairola, UNESCO Beijing Office</p>
<p>17.15 - 18.00</p>	<p><b>SIDE EVENT: Asia Pacific Launch of the UNESCO World Trends in Freedom of Expression and Media Development</b>  <b>Venue: Nusa Dua Hall 4</b></p> <p>Speakers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cherian George, Associate Professor Cherian George, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore</li> <li>• Ammu Joseph, Independent journalist, India</li> <li>• Yuenying (Ying) Chan, Director of Journalism</li> </ul>	



	<p>and Media Studies Centre, The University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ulla Carlsson, Director of The International Clearinghouse on Children, Youth and Media at NORDICOM, Sweden</li> </ul> <p>Moderator: Guy Berger, Director, Freedom of Expression and Media Development, UNESCO.</p>
19.00	Dinner for Speakers (with invitation only) Venue: Hotel Courtyard Marriot

► **27 AUGUST**

9.00 - 10.30	<p><b>Plenary Session 3: How can Media contribute to Peace and Dialogue?</b>  <b>Venue: Nusa Dua Hall 4</b></p> <p>Speakers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Endy Bayuni, The Jakarta Post, Indonesia</li> <li>• Edetaen Ojo, Executive Director of Media Rights Agenda, Nigeria</li> <li>• Kavi Chongkittavorn, Former Chair of the Southeast Asian Press Alliance, Thailand</li> <li>• Leon Willems, Chairman, Global Forum for Media Development, Netherlands</li> </ul> <p>Moderator: Jesper Højberg, Director of International Media Support, Denmark</p>	
10.30 - 10.45	Refreshments Break	
10.45 - 12.00	<p><b>Parallel Session 5: Ethics and Professional Standards in Media</b>  <b>Venue: Nusa Dua Hall</b></p>	<p><b>Parallel Session 6: In Pursuit of Media and Information Literacy for All (Global Alliance)</b></p>

<p>9.00 - 10.30</p>	<p><b>1 &amp; 2</b></p> <p>Speakers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Yadi Hendriana, Chairman of Indonesian TV Journalist Association/IJTI, Indonesia</li> <li>• Toby Mendel, Executive Director of the Centre for Law and Democracy, Canada</li> <li>• Kavi Chongkittaworn, Former Chair of the Southeast Asian Press Alliance, Thailand</li> <li>• Aidan White, Director, Ethical Journalism</li> </ul> <p>Moderator: Chelsia Chan, Working Group on Law and Regulation of Indonesian Press Council, Indonesia Network, United Kingdom</p>	<p><b>for Partnerships on Media and Information Literacy)</b>  <b>Venue: Nusa Dua Hall 3</b></p> <p>Speakers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ulla Carlsson, Director of The International Clearinghouse on Children, Youth and Media at NORDICOM, Sweden</li> <li>• Kyoko Murakami, Asia-Pacific MIL Centre, Japan</li> <li>• Adama Lee, Gambia Youth Media Project, Gambia</li> </ul>
<p>12.00 - 13.00</p>	<p>Lunch at Jimbaran Cafe</p>	
<p>13.00 - 14.15</p>	<p><b>Plenary Session 4: How can Media facilitate Good and Effective Governance?</b>  <b>Venue: Nusa Dua Hall 4</b></p>	

	<p><b>Keynote Speaker:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Maria Ressa, CEO and Executive Director of Rappler.com, Philippines</li> </ul> <p><b>Speakers:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ye Min Oo, Secretary of Myanmar Journalists Association and member of Myanmar Press Council, Myanmar</li> <li>• Stefan Hall, Senior Associate, Global Agenda Councils at World Economic Forum, United Kingdom</li> </ul> <p><b>Moderator:</b> Kavi Chongkittavorn, Former Chair of the Southeast Asian Press Alliance, Thailand</p>	
<p>14.15 - 15.30</p>	<p><b>Parallel session 7: Rule of Law and Safety of Journalists Venue: Nusa Dua Hall 1 &amp; 2</b></p> <p><b>Speakers:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Yosep Adi Prasetyo, Indonesian Press Council, Indonesia</li> <li>• Jesper Højberg, Director of International Media Support, Denmark</li> <li>• Prima Jesusa B. Quinsayas, Philippines</li> <li>• Gayathry Venkiteswaran, Executive Director of the Southeast Asian Press Alliance, Malaysia</li> </ul>	<p><b>Parallel session 8: Investigative journalism in/ and fighting corruption Venue: Nusa Dua Hall 3</b></p> <p><b>Speakers:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Gwen Lister, Chairperson Namibian Media Trust and Representative of Media Institute of Southern Africa, Namibia</li> <li>• Bambang Harymurti, CEO and Chief Editor of Tempo Indonesia, Indonesia</li> <li>• Yuenying (Ying) Chan, Director of Journalism and Media Studies</li> </ul>

	<p>Moderator: Guy Berger, Director of Freedom of Expression and Media Development Division, UNESCO</p>	<p>Centre, The University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Edetaen Ojo, Executive Director of Media Rights Agenda, Nigeria</li> </ul> <p>Moderator: Maria Ressa, CEO and Executive Director of Rappler.com, Philippines</p>
<p>15.30 - 16.00</p>	<p>Refreshments break</p>	
<p>16.00 - 17.30</p>	<p><b>Special Session: Assessing State of Media in Indonesia: Challenges and the Way Forward</b>  <b>Venue: Nusa Dua Hall 4</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Aditya Wardhana, Bloomberg Indonesia</li> <li>• Freddy Tulung, Director General Information and Public Communication, Ministry of Communication and Information Technologies, Indonesia</li> <li>• Bagir Manan, Presdient of Indonesian Press Council, Indonesia</li> </ul> <p>Moderator: Endy Bayuni, The Jakarta Post, Indonesia</p>	
<p>19.00</p>	<p>Dinner for Speakers</p>	

► 28 AUGUST

<p>8.45 – 9.30</p>	<p>Traditional Balinese Dance</p> <p><b><i>Final Session 5: Presentation of the Bali Roadmap for Media and Development</i></b></p> <p><b><i>Venue: Nusa Dua Hall 4</i></b></p> <p>Guy Berger, Director of Freedom of Expression and Media Development Division, UNESCO</p>
<p>9.30 - 10.00</p>	<p><b>Asia – Pacific Youth and Civic Participation through Media</b></p> <p>Special presentation by the trainees of the ASPAC Youth Training on Media and Civic Participation</p>
<p>10.00 - 10.30</p>	<p><b>CLOSING SESSION</b></p> <p><b>Venue: Nusa Dua Hall 4</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Muhammad Nuh, Chair of Indonesian National Commission for UNESCO and Minister of Education and Culture, Republic of Indonesia</li> <li>• Tifatul Sembiring, Minister of Communication and Information Technologies, Republic of Indonesia</li> <li>• Nassir Abdulaziz Al-Nasser, High Representative for the Alliance of Civilizations</li> <li>• Irina Bokova, Director General of UNESCO</li> </ul>
<p>10.30</p>	<p>Refreshments break</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">END OF THE FORUM</p>	



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